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HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE YEAR

EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHT.

BY

THE REV. JAMES WHITE,

**AUTHOR OF "THE LANDMARKS OF THE HISTORIES OF GREECE,"
AND "OF ENGLAND," ETC.**

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THE design of this book is to give more prominence to some of the events which were merely adverted to in my "Landmarks of the History of England." It still limits itself, however, to the more striking incidents in our chequered story, and those which had an enduring influence on our national career. I have endeavoured to compress the infinite riches of our annals as far as possible, at the sacrifice, necessarily, of some of the minuteness of detail which gives such a charm to historic narrative in the hands of Froude or Macaulay.

I will only add, that although this volume aims at being an enlargement of my former publication, they are perfectly distinct and separate works, having not a sentence in common and being written on totally different plans.

In order to render the work complete, as a student's manual, a critical analysis of the leading events of English history, subdivided into sections, is given at the commencement of each book or chapter, and a copious historical index appended to the volume.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

THE CELTIC OCCUPATION.

FROM DATE UNKNOWN TO A.D. 43.

§ 1. The Celtic race. Ancient Britons.—§ 2. Geography of the country. Language of the people. The early Gaels.—§ 3. Pursuits of the inhabitants. Their traffic and intercourse with foreigners.—§ 4. The Roman invasion. Resistance offered by the Britons.—§ 5. The island comparatively unknown.—§ 6. First dawnings of civilization and art.—§ 7. The Druids, or priests. Religious assemblies of the people. Nature of the religion, and its ceremonies. Sacrifice of human victims. Form of the temples. Altars, cromlechs, and barrows. The Druids opposed to the growth of towns and the progress of agriculture.—§ 8. Roman invasion by Claudius, and final occupation of the island.

§ 1. IN walking through our own neighbourhoods we very often see the remains of a castle crowning a hill, or the marks of a ditch now nearly filled up to the level of the field; a crumbling old wall salutes us at the side of the river, and on the top of the down a mound of peculiar shape rises up in its solitude of furze and heather. Generally we pass them by without any particular observation; the castle is an old ruin, the ditch an indentation in the soil, the crumbling old wall is a fence between two fields, and the mound upon the down is a sugar-loaf sort of heap, composed of earth and pebbles. Is that all? have we no curiosity to find out who placed them there? what sort of people lived in the castle? what was the

use of the gaping ditch? who occupied the building at the winding of the stream? and what sort of thing is the heap on the top of the down? There are few parishes in England which have not specimens of one or other of those memorials of a vanished age. There is not a single village within a circuit of ten miles, which has not some tangible and unmistakable proof of what are called the successive occupations of the country. The Celt, the Roman, the Saxon, the Norman, and finally, the whole of these combined, have left indelible evidence that they were working, thinking, loving, and hating personages, just like ourselves. Those marks of their residence here carry us back an almost indefinite time in the history of mankind. When the Grecians were overthrowing the Persian monarchy, more than two thousand years ago, funeral processions were going on up the sides of our hills, and great chieftains were buried with stone axes by their sides, and all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war. But long before that, while Moses, perhaps, was leading the children of Israel to the promised land, it is supposed that a race and people, now utterly undistinguishable, held possession of this island. A wretched race and miserable island; for the arts were so unknown that they left no more mark of their presence than a herd of wild cattle would have done, and all that remains to give a colour to the supposition of so very early an occupancy, is the name, here and there, of some river or hill, which is not British, nor Roman, nor Saxon, and is therefore considered to have formed part of a language totally different from them all. Hills and rivers, though not the works of men's hands, are as good guides to a knowledge of our predecessors as the walls and ditches we have named. It is the use man makes of those two great natural features of a country which enables us to judge of his manners and position. If we find the elevation cleared of wood, and the river kept within its banks, we may conclude that agriculture and pasturage have begun. These two imply a knowledge of the

rights of property, for no one would begin to improve and cultivate what did not belong to him, and a knowledge of the rights of property implies all the rest—security of life, and the supremacy of law.

§ 2. It will be seen from this that it is necessary to bear in mind the geography of a country in order to understand its people. Fancy pictures have been drawn of the ante-historic appearance of what is now the best cultivated and most beautiful land in Europe; but there is no use in appealing to the fancy. We have only to turn to the books of travel of every day, and we see ourselves reflected in the savages, who excite alternately the fear and the pity of their visitors. In the same way as "'tis always morning somewhere in the world," there is always existent on some part or other of the earth's surface a population representing the degrees of civilization through which we have passed. The inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, on the shores of the Straits of Magellan, may enable us to see our predecessors as they probably would have been found in the period of the original settlement. "Their very attitudes were abject," says a recent traveller, "and the expression of their countenances distrustful, surprised, and startled. The language of these people, according to our notions, scarcely deserves to be called articulate. Captain Cook has compared it to a man clearing his throat, but certainly no European ever cleared his throat with so many hoarse, guttural, and clicking sounds." The early Gaels who succeeded those shadowy populations were, perhaps, in the state of advancement attained by the Caffres and Hottentots of the Cape at the present time. For a parallel to the Saxon principalities, with uneasy submission to a central power, we must look to some of the half-formed territories and states belonging to the American Union; and an exact reproduction of the Norman-feudal period is shown to us in the military and territorial

organization of Oude, with turbulent nobles and a debased and dependent peasantry. Whatever point, therefore, we reach in these sketches of our own land and people, we may rest assured that there is some living exemplification of it at this very day; that we who, with other nations, lead the van in the march of improvement, are only at the head of an unnumbered array of all climes and kindreds who follow closely in our steps; and that the ground we now occupy with a feeling of gratification at the progress we have made, will hereafter be occupied by the rearmost rank of our still advancing army, till knowledge, arts, and religion, the nurse and conservator of them all, shall be as universally diffused as the sunlight or the air.

§ 3. The soft breezes of the Atlantic encouraged the vegetation of the early woods till the whole land was shadowed over with a covering of trees. Sole obstacle to the universal spread of foliage were the immense tracts of lakes and marshy land formed by the overflow of the untended rivers. North and south, and east and west, were equally given up to the rude energies of teeming soil and moderate temperature; and for ages of uncounted length the sun rose and the moon shone down in beauty on a land where no human sound was heard, and where only the waving of the forest replied to the roaring of the river and the stormy waves on the sea-shore. Some day when the waves were calm, a fleet of boats must have sailed or paddled into a sheltered haven, and the Gaels leapt forth upon the soil. Chased by some domestic commotion from the opposite coast, where their countrymen had for some time been established, the new settlers must have brought with them their wives and children, the leaders of their tribe, and the arms which were necessary to defend them from attack. They must also have brought over cattle, and the precious metals, and some knowledge of agriculture and of the mechanical arts from their ancient seats; for we find, when their authentic history begins in the pages of Julius

Cæsar, that they had among them warlike, enterprising, commercial and political populations, with scythed chariots of great ingenuity and power; with an established religion and a patriotic love of their native country, which could only spring from an appreciation of the blessings they enjoyed. Intercourse was kept up with the tribes they had left behind by a constant commerce and the community of their faith; for the products of England were sent over in strong, though small-sized vessels, to all the Atlantic and Channel coasts of Gaul, and Gaul in return sent its youth to study science and religion under the Druids or priesthood of the favoured isle.

How long this state of affairs had lasted, or how long it might have continued, no man can venture to guess; but an incident occurred in the year 56 before Christ, which lifted the partition veil between this island and the civilized portions of the world, and changed the fortunes of warrior and Druid, of Roman and of Briton, for all future time. This was a quarrel between Julius Cæsar, the greatest of Roman generals, and a small tribe occupying the land near the present Morbihan in France. The Veneti, though situated in the northern part of the Bay of Biscay, on the stormiest part of the Atlantic, sent for their friends and customers, the Gaels of Britain, to come to their aid; and though the channel was broad, and the great promontory where Brest now is had to be passed, the barks of the gallant islanders risked all the dangers of the voyage, and sailed into the Bay of Vannes filled with armed men. Our first interference with continental politics had not a very favourable termination. Cæsar learned with surprise and anger who his new opponents were; made many inquiries about their island, and determined to go over and take signal vengeance on the innocent inhabitants of Kent for the insult offered to the majesty of Rome by the inhabitants most probably of Hampshire or Dorset.

§ 4. The first invasion of England took place from the small creek above which the column of Boulogne commemorates the preparation for the last projected attempt at the same operation under the great Napoleon. The Britons had heard of the collection of vessels and men on the opposite coast, and in all probability the heights of Dover were lined with watchers to announce the direction of the hostile squadron. Bearing boldly across towards the South Foreland, the Roman galleys ran upon the sandy beach, and armed warriors sprang from the decks with the eagles in their hands. Breast high in the water, shouting their war-cries, and brandishing their swords and axes, the Britons met their invaders before they touched the land, and for a while the issue was doubtful. But discipline and superiority of weapon prevailed, and Julius encamped that night (26th Aug., B.C. 55) on British ground, and added a new country to the curious geographies of Rome, and a new dependency, eventually, to its power. It was not, however, till the following year that he advanced into the interior. His course can still be traced by the description he gives of the streams and hills, but the minute features are undiscoverable; for what was a swamp in those days is now a rich and cultivated plain; the gloomy wood in which the awful rites of the Druidic worship were celebrated, is now an open green, with a village church raising its spire above the landscape, and the dubious path by which the legions marched towards the Stour is now exchanged for a railway conveying its passengers at forty miles an hour. When they came to the Thames, the invaders saw on the other side all the tribes who had had time to collect since the intelligence of the landing had reached them. The river was deep and the fords uncertain; but Cæsar had in his camp an elephant of prodigious size, and clothing it in armour, and placing a tower upon its back filled with archers, he sent the moving monster into the stream, with its trunk in the air and its tusks shining in the sun, and the boldest heart

among the Trinobantes, Dobuni, and all the dwellers of the east and north, were struck with such terror and amazement that no opposition was made. Delighted with his success, and skilfully determined to make use of his expedition in advancing his interests at home, Julius retired to the coast once more, and sent such accounts of his victories to his adherents in Rome, that games and illuminations were ordered by the senate for twenty days in honour of the conquest of Britain. The conquest of Britain, however, was as far off as ever, for the pride of the native warriors and their power of boasting were as great as those on the other side; and when a few years went by without any repetition of the assault, the chroniclers of national deeds must have easily persuaded themselves and their hearers that the victory was with the unconquerable islanders, and that Julius's precipitate retreat from the scene of his adventure was a tacit admission of his defeat.

§ 5. For ninety years from this time the island lay unknown, and had grown at Rome into a name representing the wild and wonderful. The intention had from time to time been entertained of renewing the attempt to subdue and colonize the great and mysterious land, at the very extremity of the globe, with fogs and darkness settling on its northern portion, and the sea impassable by reason of the hardness of its waves, which grew to marble, and resisted the stroke of the oar. With these vague imaginings about a frozen ocean and cloudy atmosphere the Roman rulers were forced to be content; for great things were occupying them at home. In the interval the Great Name became known, in a small village in Judea, which was to unite the Roman and Briton in a closer bond than conquest could effect—for nearly midway between the repulse of Cæsar and the aggression of Claudius, Jesus Christ was born.

§ 6. Ninety years is not a long space in the history of a nation; but it must have been filled with great political changes

and considerable advances in the arts of life among the tribes of Britain. Perhaps the remembrance of a common danger had led them to a closer union among themselves; larger bodies we perceive are brought into the field; and the maintenance of an army is the surest proof of agricultural wealth and the consolidation of power. Savages have no commissariat and no government. We find also, when the curtain next draws up, that the feminine character is greatly elevated, and the female virtues appreciated. Savages have no respect for women, and no reverence for the purity and gentleness which supply the want of physical strength.

§ 7. Little is known of the domestic life of our predecessors in those years of literary eclipse. Their Druids or priests, we are told by Cæsar, were their leaders in council and instructors in sacred things. On great plains, like the downs of Wiltshire, vast enclosures were made in the form of an amphitheatre, and within the circle the solemn business of the community was transacted. Thousands of spectators, seated on the outer embankment, commanded a view of all that was going on; and councils of war and peace, of alliance and opposition, were held before all the people. We still see pictures of the long-bearded priests, clothed in loosely-flowing mantles, and bearing the sickle in their hands, with which they cut the mysterious and holy mistletoe found in the forests: and sentimental antiquaries have lavished their praises on an organization by which religion was introduced into the commonest affairs of life. It would be well, perhaps, to inquire what the religion was before they rejoice in its universal diffusion. It was a faith originally derived from the wild and tangled wildernesses of some uncultivated and barbaric land, and retained traces of its origin in the blood-thirsty ceremonies by which it imposed upon the people. It was a system of ambitious and unprincipled priestcraft, by which the liberty of thought and action was entirely done away. A sacred caste ruled over chief and peasantry, as the

insolent and pampered Brahmins of Bengal affect a superiority over the ordinary Hindoos. Personal suffering, and the offering of riches on the shrines of their vengeful deities, increased the officiating dignitaries' influence and wealth. For when they proclaimed a human sacrifice to appease or gratify the gods, persons of all ranks and ages were equally exposed to the selection of the priest, and, mingled with malefactors and even with voluntary victims, they were enclosed in wicker baskets of enormous size, and slowly burned to death. Their temples were in the neighbourhood of those mounds of assembly, and were composed of circles of rough and prodigious stones, scientifically arranged, with some allusion to the movement of the heavenly constellations, and presenting altars called cromlechs, of two upright pillars, supporting a slab laid horizontally on the top. Whether a lower stone was used as the place of bloody sacrifice, antiquaries are not agreed; but it is ascertained that, in addition to the victims who were burnt, there was another class, who were put to death with the consecrated knife. All round these amphitheatres and temples the graves of the superstitious natives are still found. They form the little tumuli now called barrows, of which we have already spoken; and when we encounter one of them in our excursions, or possess several of them in our parish, we are to remember that they are characteristic of the period of the Celtic or Gaelic occupation, and of the Druidic supremacy. They are opened by the curious every day, and the things found in them give us some idea of the manners and beliefs of the time. The chieftain is buried either after being burnt on a funeral pyre, and his ashes collected into a vase, or simply interred in a stone coffin, surrounded in both cases with the possessions he had loved on earth—his weapons or ornaments, his brass sword, or coloured glass beads. In some there have been found articles of greater artistic skill—bracelets and buckles, in silver and even in gold, which bespeak greater wealth in the possessors, and a higher

range of civilization. But the general level was still very low. The ordinary inhabitants lived in huts, which were scarcely discoverable, so diminutive was their size and rough their material; so low that the occupiers had to enter them on hands and knees, they were shaped like enlarged beehives, and owed their protection from wind and rain to a little thatch spread over the conical roofs. A naked barbarian, coloured with the juice of woad, and tattooed like the South Sea islanders, was the type of the common inhabitant of the land. The chiefs might be more nobly housed, the populations on the coast might be more civilized, and we hear of walled cities, which give an idea of power and order. But the name of city was lavishly bestowed on the smallest collection of miserable huts. The Druids, whose faith was essentially opposed to the growth of towns and the progress of agriculture, were masters of all, and prolonged their baleful supremacy by the degradation of the other classes.

§ 8. It is, therefore, with no feeling of patriotic indignation that we hear of the second Roman attempt at our subjugation and improvement. Claudius, one of the most brutal and cruel in the long list of brutal and cruel Emperors of Rome, sent Aulus Plautius, in the year 43, to recover the former conquest of Julius, and annex it permanently to the imperial throne. That it was no slight or temporary invasion which was now meditated is proved by the choice made in the same year of the best general of the Roman armies to command the expedition, and the visit to the newly-occupied region of the Emperor himself. For sixteen days the master of the Roman world resided in our isle—was present at the capture of Camelodunum, which is generally supposed to be either Colchester or Maldon, in Essex; and by a triumph on his return to the capital, put his seal on the commencement of the Roman occupation of Britain. Triumphs had indeed lost their value in the eyes of reflective citizens, when they were no longer proofs of military skill and discipline. An emperor,

without talent or courage, sate in his gorgeous chariot and ascended the Sacred Way amid as jubilant acclamations as when the whole population

“Climbed up to walls and battlements,
To towers and windows, yea, to chimney-tops,
Their infants in their arms, and rested there
The livelong day, with patient expectation,
To see great Pompey pass the streets of Rome.”

But there was another reason for impressing the people with feelings of joy and pride on account of the annexation of our poor and thinly peopled isle.

The conquest, barren as it might be of political or commercial results, was a fulfilment of the intentions of the founder of the imperial race, whose ambition was as unfailingly the inheritance of his successors as his name. It was enough to justify any enterprise that it had entered into the designs of Julius; and although his triumphs and aggressions were the expiring efforts of the old republic and the cause of its final overthrow, it was considered indispensable to show that the empire had equal power in adding to the Roman territory. Some few admirers of the vanished form of government might deplore the extinction of liberty, barbaric and ignorant as it was, even in the instance of so remote an island as Britain; but the cultivated and uncomplaining populations of the subject states felt an alleviation of their own dependent condition when they saw another people brought within the sphere of polished life and owning the same master with themselves.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

B.C.

55. The Romans first invade Britain under Julius Cæsar.

— Britain at this time divided into several petty kingdoms under Cassivelaunus.

54. The second invasion of Britain by the Romans under Julius Cæsar.

B.C.

23. The first coin made in Britain under Cunobeline.

A.D. Birth of Jesus Christ.

43. The Emperor Claudius sends an expedition against Britain under Plautius.

— Capture of Camelodunum, and settled occupation of the island.

BOOK II.

THE ROMAN OCCUPATION.

FROM A.D. 44 TO A.D. 418.

§ 1. The Roman Empire.—§ 2. Vespasian. Advance of the Romans into Hampshire and the interior.—§ 3. Ostorius Scapula. His advance to the Severn. The Romans establish themselves.—§ 4. Caractacus defeated and taken prisoner.—§ 5. Reign of Nero. Paulinus Suetonius appointed Proprætor. Isle of Anglesey. Opposition of the Druids.—§ 6. Religious toleration of the Romans. Their slaughters.—§ 7. Boadicea. Defeated and slain.—§ 8. Extension of the Roman conquests from the Castle of Richborough, in Kent, to the fortresses on the Forth and the Clyde.—§ 9. Agricola. His high character and victorious career.—§ 10. The Roman language and literature. Introduction of Christianity.—§ 11. Roman arts and improvements. The four great Roman roads.—§ 12. The Caledonians defeated by Agricola.—§ 13. Peaceful rule of the Romans. The Picts' wall built by the Romans. Albinus.—§ 14. The Rebel Carausius.—§ 15. Pudens, the noble British lady, and a Christian. Roman Pantheism and Civilization.—§ 16. Constantius. His son Constantine the Great.—§ 17. General state of Britain. Exposed to the attacks of the northern barbarians.—§ 18. Roman Remains.

§ 1. THE Roman Empire at this time presents a double aspect to the historic student. At home the spirit of the grand old people who had subdued the world was totally destroyed. The populace who crowded the forum, and howled their gratification at the bloodstained scenes of the arena, were ruled over by a succession of monsters in human form, whose vices and even whose cruelties endeared them to the congenial minds of the degraded multitude. The vast city, with all its palaces and towers, and the great recollections which made its name something sacred and ennobling in the ears of the most distant populations, was itself a prey to the wildest

licentiousness and suffering. The Emperor was an embodied terror, before which all men quailed. His words were listened to with dread by the greatest of his chiefs, for a whisper, or a wave of his hand, or a nod of his head, might doom them to death. There was no safety except in his protection, and the inhabitants of the city, from the highest to the lowest, seemed given up to the caprices and exactions of the basest and most pitiless of mankind. But abroad, where the majestic eagles pursued their flight, and the strong-disciplined legions carried the irresistible sword which had conquered in so many fields—where law followed their settlement, secured by distance from the arbitrary interference of the despot who had placed himself above all laws, human or divine—the name of Rome and of the Emperor was a guarantee for unnumbered blessings. The throne of the whole earth, in the awe-struck imagination of a Gael or Briton, was filled by the most beneficent of powers. At his command hills were levelled, bridges built, rivers embanked, towers constructed, towns made free, violence checked, the weak protected, the ignorant taught. A magnificent language, containing the garnered up thoughts and incidents of seven hundred years, spread its refining influences wherever the Roman camp was pitched. The imperial treasury poured out its wealth to support the armies of the State, and a religion purified by poetry from the grosser parts of its superstition, and elevated by the belief it inculcated of a just and superintending providence, enriched the populations, on whom Vespasian now inflicted the benefit of a conquest, with higher thoughts as much as with imported coin. This was the period at which began the system of permanent fortifications, of which the strange ruins still remain to us in the shape of grass mounds and sunken ditches. Where you see a large square space, in open meadows or on the slope of gentle elevations, enclosed in rounded walls of green turf, with a large opening at the sides and at each end, and a sinking of the ground all round at a considerable

distance from the walls, you may safely conclude that it is the situation of one of the old Roman encampments, with which many parts of the country are thickly overspread. Wherever the soldiers rested for the night, some fence of this sort was drawn round them to prevent surprise. According to the size of the enclosure we can calculate the numbers of the troops, for the camp-measurers invariably assigned ten thousand square feet (or one hundred feet square) to the tents of a hundred and twenty men.

§ 2. Marching down the coast, from Kent to Hampshire, Vespasian, the general-in-chief after the Emperor's departure, secured his footing as he advanced by these temporary, though enduring forts. Aulus Plautius, the next in command, directed his attention to the more inland tribes, and left marks of his progress in grassy hillock and sunken trench all the way through Surrey, Berkshire, and Wilts. The beautiful Isle of Wight yielded to the arms of Vespasian, and still retains on its southern shores unmistakeable marks of the Roman possession. Cinerary urns—vessels of crockery ware—containing the bones of Roman garrisons, have frequently been found near the romantic village of Bonchurch, and even the names of places in that neighbourhood recal the ancient race. But Aulus and Vespasian were soon withdrawn from their obscure proceedings at this outskirt of the world; and Vespasian, as if to show the extent of the territory of the Empire, next emerges into fame at the famous siege of Jerusalem, in the year 69. ✕

§ 3. Ostorius Scapula, the successor of those commanders in Britain, stretched his power to the Severn, and introduced the system, never afterwards relinquished, of retaining his acquisitions by the erection of strong castles and easily-defended walls. To this sagacious general we are indebted for the first specimens of those military and guarded stations which, from the Roman name *castra*, a camp, have retained the terminations of "chester," and other cognate sounds. Stretch-

ing his lines and fortresses from the Thames, near London, to Gloucester, he extended his protection to the gentler and more commercial tribes who inhabited the south and south-east of that boundary. Ever subduing as he advanced, ever softening and elevating where he subdued, we may trace the progressive stream of Roman energy and refinement by following his line of buildings. Beacons to direct the course of approaching vessels from Gaul, and strongholds to defend the peaceful soil from the unsubdued savages outside—towers and high enclosures of unequalled Roman masonry—began from an early period to stud the coast and boundaries of the Roman power. Steadily spreading as the advantages of Roman government were perceived, the great circle included tribes and families whose names it is useless to record and whose true appellations it is impossible to guess at in the disguise of a Latin pronunciation; but before Ostorius had been three years in command, his entrenchments extended as far north-east as the Iceni, or the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, and on the west offended the pride of the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales.

§ 4. Dimly emerging from the mist of antiquity and the Romanized form of his family name, Caractacus stands forth a hero of that time, whose Cambrian countrymen proudly boast of his achievements under his native title of Caradoc. A great battle, fought in the year 50, brought the contest to a fatal issue for the noble chieftain. He was taken prisoner, and sent in chains to make a holiday for the Romans. For once the sanguinary appetite of those remorseless enemies of every virtue but their own, was satisfied without the blood and suffering of the conquered king, and Caradoc disappears from history as pardoned by the tyrant Claudius for the crime of venturing to defend his wife and children, and what he considered the liberties of his native land. Others, however, rose up in his place. Combats followed in quick succession, where the wild defiles and jutting precipices of the country

were in favour of the inhabitants, who knew every spot of the ground.

§ 5. When Ostorius died at the end of that year of fatigue and disappointment, rebellions broke out in the already pacified, and even disarmed districts ; and thoughts are said to have entered the cowardly heart of Nero, who had succeeded Claudius in 54, of withdrawing from the occupation of an island so difficult to conquer, and so expensive to retain. But Paulinus Suetonius was appointed proprætor in the year 59, and the tide of affairs was immediately changed. Fresh levies enabled him to increase his territory, and at the same time to defend the acquisitions already made. He gathered all his strength for one final and decisive blow, and poured with horse and foot, with native recruits, and Roman veterans, towards the seat and stronghold of his enemies' power, the distant isle of Anglesey, which was at once a refuge for the scattered fragments of a defeated army, and the centre of the Druidic interest. From this sacred and impregnable position, the priests of the old superstition hurled their curses against the invaders and their incitements to their countrymen to resist.

§ 6. The general policy of the Roman people was toleration of all religious faiths. In Gaul the Druidic ceremonies were permitted as long as they were not repugnant to natural law ; and only their ferocious sacrifices and cruel customs were interdicted. In other respects they were treated with silent contempt, and the frivolities of their worship were left to the slow effects of advancing knowledge and an increase of wealth and refinement. But in Britain, Druidism became a confederacy against the Roman cause. It ceased to be a religious organization, and formed itself into a political society. Suetonius, therefore, proceeded against it as a hostile institution, and carried the war at once into the heart of the enemy's country. The Menai Strait, where now the wonders of modern science are to be seen in their most majestic form, was

crossed in boats of every shape and size, and the Romans stood upon the sacred soil. Thousands of long-robed priests and infuriated women joined in the dreadful fray. Unaccustomed to such foes, the soldiers for a while were unable to proceed against the array of fulminating Druids and shrieking females. But the sword came forth at last. A great rush was made upon the howling and excited multitude; the ranks of the defenders gave way, and pitiless havoc strewn the ground with innumerable slain. The survivors, still denouncing vengeance, still screaming for aid, were driven back upon the long line of fire which they had kindled for the sacrifice of the prisoners they expected to secure after they had vanquished the approaching host, and perished in the midst of it themselves.

The bitterness of religious hatred had now been let loose. The holy groves, where the rites of the old faith had been performed, were cut down and desecrated; the highest dignitaries had been slain; extermination had been vowed against the professors of so brutalizing a creed, and persecution as usual advanced the cause it was meant to destroy. All the old enthusiasm for the belief they had been brought up in—for the majestic Taranis revealing himself in thunder, and Hesus, the lord of battle, and Bal, the deity of light, spread throughout the island, and disturbed the peace of the hitherto submissive provinces within the Roman pale.

§ 7. Boadicea, another name of which it is impossible to recover the native sound, arose at this critical time to give a leader and a cause to the revolted tribes. Departing from their usual mildness, the Romans had treated this woman with every indignity; they had scourged her with rods, and heaped unutterable wrongs on her family of grown-up daughters. Suetonius, still occupied with the destruction of the inhabitants of Mona (or Anglesey), heard that the Iceni (the men of Suffolk and Norfolk) and the Trinobantes (the men of Essex) were in open revolt, and in full march to London.

London was at that time a place of some trade, and had begun to be peopled when it had become a permanent position of the invading force. Unable to resist their march, unable to hold London against their assault, the surprised and humiliated Romans left the town to its fate. The enraged Gaels, bitterer probably against their acquiescent countrymen than their foreign foes, put every inhabitant to the sword. Verulam (or St. Albans) shared the same fortune, and the terrified annalists of Rome give the number of the victims of this frightful massacre at seventy thousand souls. But cruelty always brings its own revenge. The Romans were not to be outdone even in slaughter, and when Boadicea and her defenders were defeated in a great engagement near London, and the heroic queen had saved herself from worse calamities by a dose of poison, the rage of the conquerors knew no bounds. There were injuries on both sides which banished all lenity from their hearts. The destruction of seventy thousand by the Gaels in their insurrection against their masters, was returned to them by the death of eighty thousand Britons, slain either in the heat of battle as untameable enemies, or in cold blood after the victory as doubtful friends.

§ 8. Great wisdom and forbearance were required to heal the wounds which were embittered by so many recollections, and precautions were taken against the recurrence of discontent. The dangerous parts of the population were draughted away to all quarters of the widespread empire of Rome. All the young men whom the centurions could allure to embrace a military life, were formed into garrisons in far distant towns, and thousands of the Brigantes from York and Durham, the wild Silures from Wales and Monmouth, and the Cornavii from Cheshire and Salop, were ere long guarding the southern banks of the Danube against the advancing Goths, or keeping watch over the uneasy Persians across the Euphrates. Illyrians, Syrians, Spaniards, and specimens of

all the peoples who owned the imperial sway, from the Atlantic to the Propontis, were imported in the same manner into these distant isles. Cohorts accordingly of every name and kindred then known in the eastern world might be found gathered round the Roman eagles throughout the whole of the present England and a part of Scotland, from the strong castle of Richborough, near Deal, to the fortresses on the Forth and Clyde. The fittest man to inaugurate the new policy of clemency and civilization was Agricola, who was appointed to the British command in the year 78.

§ 9. A picture is drawn of this great soldier and statesman by his son-in-law, the historian Tacitus, in which, amid all the flattery of affection, and the satire which the portrait of a good and generous man was intended to be upon a generation in which goodness and generosity were unknown, it is easy to trace the true lineaments of a just and sagacious leader. In seven campaigns, from the year 78 to 84, the benefits of a strong hand and benevolent will were shown throughout the island. The more intelligent of the natives began to perceive something far more valuable in the regulated freedom of their Roman conquerors, than the wild absence of law and order which they called liberty. They clustered round the *Castra*, where justice was administered in the grand language which Cicero had ennobled in pleading the cause of dethroned kings and oppressed populations—where they saw the wonders of Grecian art ornamenting the walls and floors of the *proprætor's* dwelling—where the majestic toga of the civil officer had greater respect paid to it than the military cloak of the tribune; and lost in surprise, or fired with emulation at all these things, they despised the mental poverty of their former state; and we learn that many British chieftains at this time became masters of the Latin tongue, and affected Roman manners and tastes. Tacitus, whose hatred of the tyranny of his time makes him savagely devoted to the untrammelled happiness of a barbarian life,

attributes to Agricola the cunning design of keeping the Britons in subjection, by effeminizing their minds with poetry and the arts. He encouraged them to build spacious houses and noble temples; to adopt the Roman dress, and to taste all the pleasures of luxury and vice. What Tacitus calls luxury and vice, were probably immense improvements both in life and morals upon the brutalized habitudes of the woods from which they had emerged. They probably ate cooked food instead of raw meat, and cheated each other in trade instead of murdering their enemy from behind a tree, and selling his wives and daughters into slavery. But this amount of vice and luxury was required to qualify the Britons for a still higher rise in the scale of education; for the time was at hand when those primeval children of the caves and forests were to receive the light of Christian truth.

§ 10. What fitter preparation could there be than the spread of the Roman language and the security guaranteed to them by the Roman conquest? The universal diffusion of the Greek literature and Roman power was as evidently a providential arrangement for the conveyance of the message of salvation as the creation of the all-encasing air for the existence of animated beings. In the head-quarters of the general, and round the smaller encampments of the inferior chiefs, those two prevailing tongues were familiarly known. Latin was the language of law, and religion, and authority. Greek was the language of subtle thought and high philosophy—it contained all that the wisdom of mankind had heaped up in the course of two thousand years, and—newest of its treasures, and more valuable than the wealth of Homer and of Plato—it contained the narrative of the Saviour's life and sacrifice. Some of the Gospels were already known; but in the mixed multitude of soldiers who served in Britain, there must have been many who had heard the glad tidings from Peter and Paul; and it is not a great stretch of the imagination to believe that some of the grey-haired veterans

who were garrisoned in Colchester or St. Albans, might have witnessed the plaiting of the crown of thorns and seen the Cross on Calvary. However this may be, there is no doubt that during this period the Christian faith made progress in our land. It had, indeed, no very dangerous rival to its progress; for the used-up gods of Druidism had died a natural death, and the deities of Olympus had long lost their hold on the credulity of mankind. Jupiter and Venus, Mercury and Apollo, had been so symbolized away that the ignorant could easily perceive the wise and learned had ceased to believe in them as real powers. It did not matter to the peasant whether Jupiter was an emblem of power and Venus of beauty. The believing mind cannot be satisfied with emblems, and longs for something true and solid on which to rest its hopes. The result at first was that the one sole power recognised in fane and temple as all-powerful and divine, was the power of the base and wicked monster who might happen at the time to fill the imperial throne. The image of Nero was more worshipped, the altar of Domitian heaped with richer gifts, than those of the old divinities. But still stranger was the ending of that other and more debasing superstition that had filled the baskets at Stonehenge with human victims. Of all the triumphs of agriculture, this is the greatest, that it overthrew a national faith, not by violence or hostility, but by its mere progress in clearing the country and reclaiming the soil. The Druidic deities lived in the depths of woods, upon the margins of marshy expanses, and spread a supernatural horror through the hearts of their adorers by the gloom and mysteriousness of their dismal retreats. But Agricola—in the double sense of that noble name—arose and put the wretched brood to flight. The marshes were drained, the wood was cut down, the sunshine poured into its recesses, and the dreadful Taranis, or omnipotent Thoth, was found to be no more terrifying than a death's-head lantern in the blaze of day. If a savage ceases to fear his gods, he despises them

Long-bearded priests pretending to see visions at the farther end of caves, and to gather wisdom from bunches of mistletoe, were found out to be wretched impostors when the cave was turned into a granary of corn, and the oak that nourished the mistletoe had been cut down to fence a field. There were large tracts of country all round the stations of the Roman armies where the harvests were sown, and reaped, and gathered in peace. The wives and families of the soldiers came over to join them in their island quarters, and at last, colonists in the true sense of the word, removed their goods and household hopes from Italy or Cisalpine Gaul, and established themselves as permanent occupiers and owners of the soil. What Canada or Australia is to us, Warwickshire and Essex were to the overcrowded or impoverished inhabitants of the Milanese and Naples. They came over to seek new employment for their skill and labour—they ploughed, and wove, and painted—built noble galleys for the protection of the shore, and elegant carriages for traffic on the roads.

§ 11. Mighty changes had taken place upon the communication between camp and camp since the days of the unsocial Gael. Broad highways, with a noble disdain of engineering difficulties, went on, straight as an arrow from the bow, to the point they aimed at. Climbing steep hills or sinking into valleys, turning neither to the right nor left, the wonderful flight was pursued. Raised eighteen inches at the centre, the road admitted of drainage to the ditch at each side; the materials were massive blocks of stone; the workmanship extraordinary for its care and finish; and thousands of thoughtless travellers have trotted or rolled along these solid and enduring causeways without considering their obligations to the real conquerors and civilizers of the land. The ancient inhabitants are supposed to have had some pathways of communication between the remote districts of the south. But it was the Romans, who knew the value of good roads, both morally and politically, who converted the rude levellings of

their predecessors into the spacious highways which united the most distant portions of their domains.*

§ 12. While these great operations were in progress; while towns, or at least villages, were rising round the camps, and settlers were arriving from foreign countries; while woods were disappearing, and the simple coracle, or canoe, of the native islander was replaced upon the lakes and estuaries by fishing-boats of larger and more scientific build, Agricola was engaged on the northern outskirts of his territory in curbing the incursions of the barbarians of Caledonia. These occupied the mountainous districts to the north of the great embankments that had been erected uniting the Forth and Clyde. All the land up to Edinburgh and the site of the present Glasgow, had been subdued and quiet for some years. The same process was going on of gradual refinement, under the control of law, upon the banks of the Tweed, the Forth, and the Esk, as on those of the Thames, the Trent, and the Severn. But beyond that quiescent boundary, wild tribes still roved unreclaimed, and boasted of their freedom from all restraint, which was typified, perhaps, by their want of clothes. A nation intolerant of trousers could disdain to yield to the Roman yoke. We need not, therefore, waste much sympathy or admiration on a naked savage defending his unadorned independence, in spite of all that patriotism and poetry have done for Galgacus, the Caledonian chief. Galgacus, at the head of clans of unknown name and lineage, was defeated and slain in a great battle near the Grampians, and Agricola finished his seventh and last campaign by a voyage round the north head-

* The great lines were four—the Fosse, Watling-street, Ermine-street, and the Ichenild.

The Fosse began at Totness, in Devonshire, and went to Lincoln.

Watling-street (so called from its foundation of wattles or hurdles) began at Dover, and went through London into Durham, crossing the Fosse at Bosworth, in Leicestershire.

The Ermine-street began at St. David's, in Wales, and went to Southampton; and the Ichenild—so called from the Romanized name of the men of Norfolk and Suffolk (the Iceni), went in a straight course through Dunstable from the east coast to the west.

lands of Scotland and the discovery of the Orkney isles. This was the first positive proof of the insular character of the whole of Britain, for Roman galleys had now visited every portion of the coast.

§ 13. "Happy is the land," says the proverb, "whose annals are not worth recording;" for all national annals consist of little but sufferings and battles. This happy state existed in Britain for many years after the withdrawal of Agricola. Attempts, indeed, were made in various parts of England, and particularly by the inhabitants of the borders of Wales, to resume the stormy liberty they had formerly enjoyed. But these were probably risings of discontent at the labour exacted of the natives on the public works of their masters. Galgacus had professed himself the champion of the unfortunate Britons who were compelled to clear away woods, and drain morasses, and level roads. A hateful thing, he thought, for a gentleman of ancient descent, as all his countrymen even then were, to exert his strength in such degrading employments, although paid for his work in Roman coin. In all likelihood, the Celtic families in England were of the same opinion, and occasionally longed for the time when no impertinent Roman lictor interfered with their forays on each other's huts, and no brutal centurion put a spade and pickaxe into their hands instead of the old-fashioned dagger or stone hatchet, with which they had slaughtered their enemies. Rebellions of this sort were easily put down, and in the course of time the Gael, having ceased to preponderate in the population of the south and east of England, yielded to what they considered the miseries of their position, and became as helpless and abject in their dependent state as they had been furious and boastful in the time of their so-called freedom. They sank to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and left the protection of the country, the building of houses, the trade of the towns, and the commerce of the sea, to the more enterprising colonists, or to those of their countrymen

who had amalgamated with the Roman settlers. The Britons, properly so called, had gradually accumulated in the mountainous regions to the west. Accessions had come to them from all parts of the lower country of families who feared or disdained submission to the Romans, and a line was clearly drawn between the populations.

Now, more than ever, it became necessary to prevent incursions by those embittered exiles on the seats they had lately left, and castles, walls, and ditches were multiplied along all the border. On the north, the former embankments against the Caledonians were strengthened, and an inner rampart was drawn by the Emperor Hadrian, in 121, from the Solway to the Tyne—a military work which remains to the present day, and is known as the Picts' Wall. For fifty, or even a hundred years, the condition of the respective parties continued unchanged—progress, peace, and safety within the Roman bounds, and a furious, hungry, agitated population seething and storming on the outside. The curious incident of the nomination of Albinus, the general of the British army, to the imperial throne, scarcely interrupted the usual tenor of affairs; for Albinus was speedily conquered and slain, when he carried over some of his forces into Gaul, and Severus, now sole emperor, renewed the plans of his predecessors, and augmented the strength of his outward fortifications. It seems, however, to connect the Britain of that remote period more closely with the better known fortunes of Rome, when we read that one emperor (Severus), died, and another (Constantine), was born at York (Eboracum, 273). It could be no obscure city which, in so short an interval, beheld the grave and the cradle of two of the masters of the world.

§ 14. The fame of Constantius is founded on his recovery of Britain from the hands of an usurper, no less than for the birth of his son. One of the Roman generals, a Belgian by birth, of the name of Carausius, rebelled against the authority of the Empire in 286. For eight years he resisted all the

power of Rome, and has ensured himself a place in the memory of the English, by the successful efforts he made to found a navy. By the aid of his ships, in which he placed his sole defence, he prevented a landing on the shore; and, as he retained the support of the army and the confidence of the people, combining the characters of king and patriot, coining money and establishing courts of law, it is impossible to say how long he might have lived in safety behind his wooden walls, if the treachery of his lieutenant had not terminated his career in 294. In two years after this, Constantius effected a landing on the island, overthrew the forces of Alectus, the murderer, who had assumed the name of Emperor, and restored the power of the Romans to all its ancient extent. This was, in fact, little more than a military revolt; for the population took no part in support either of Carausius or Alectus; they were too busy with their peaceful occupations to engage in transactions for which they were disqualified by the disarmed condition in which the jealousy of the conquerors kept them, and sighed for nothing so much as for a powerful government to secure their civil liberties and the safety of their possessions.

§ 15. But there was a more powerful instrument of national civilization than Roman laws and the increase of commercial wealth, which had for many years been silently at work among the populations of our island. From the earliest years of Christianity, we have said, some of its professors were inhabitants of Britain. The excusable credulity of our ancient chroniclers dwells on the name of Pudens—described as a noble British lady in the poetry of Martial—and recognises her in the higher character of a Christian convert in the Epistle of St. Paul. The oratorical flourish of Tertullian, who boasts that Christianity had penetrated to regions inaccessible to the Roman arms, is fondly taken as a historical statement that the Gospel was known beyond the ramparts against the Picts and Scots. Other vague hints are seized on with the purpose of claiming our uninterrupted descent from

the earliest holders of the true faith, but the first proof both of the numbers and the sincerity of the Christian flock is the persecution they endured in the reign of Diocletian, in which it is reported that St. Alban, the first martyr, and seventeen thousand of his co-religionists, were cruelly put to death. This is, of course, an exaggerated estimate of the numbers, but the great fact of persecution for the Christian faith remains beyond dispute. Roman pantheism was the dominant and political faith of the Empire, as Roman Catholicism was in later times, and both were tolerant and benign as long as their wealth and influence were left unassailed. Neither Flamen nor Pontiff resorted to persecution till their authority and possessions were in danger. The lowly places of worship resorted to by the converted Britons were looked on with benignant contempt by the priests of the great temple of Minerva which stood on the elevation now crowned with the noble cathedral of St. Paul's; but when the followers of the new faith preached against the rapacity and avarice of the officials of the shrine, and invited the people to bend at altars where the waters of more than heathen lustration were offered without money and without price, the priests of Apollo and Venus felt their craft in danger; they denounced their assailants as false to the nation's gods and refusers of divine honours to the brutalized tyrant who swayed the Roman world; and fire and sword were plied as irresistible arguments against the preachers of such subversive and revolutionary ideas. But swords are always blunted against ideas, however sharp they may be against flesh and blood. And the great idea, the greatest that God has ever vouchsafed to mankind, of a brotherhood of all peoples and kindreds through the uniting and purifying influence of a divine and yet a human Saviour, maintained its ground against the sword of Diocletian and the priesthood of Jupiter.

§ 16. Two years after the persecution had ceased, Constantius Chlorus, who had married a noble British lady, (or, as

others say, a beautiful British peasant girl), of the name of Helena, took possession of the Roman throne. Residing principally at York, he gave his commands to Gaul, and Spain, and Italy, and Greece, and Syria. It was in this centre of earthly power that the son of Constantius was hailed Emperor of the World on the death of his father, and commenced the career which has made the name of Constantine the most remarkable (if we consider the effects of his actions), in the whole history of our race. For what were the conquests of Alexander, or the deeds of Cæsar, compared to the establishment of the Christian faith? or what the overthrow of Darius, or the abrogation of a degenerate republic, to the desertion of old Rome and the transference of Roman supremacy to the shores of a distant and semi-barbarous sea?

§ 17. It presents a curious picture of the intermixture of nations which by this time had occurred, when we see Constantine, a native of York, and son of a British lady, commanding the Roman world from his palace in Constantinople on the banks of the Bosphorus. But when power was removed to such a distance, the reins of government became relaxed. The emperors were brought into livelier contact with the nations of the East, and Britain ran the risk of sinking again into a dependency too remote to be considered of any value. From this, however, it was delivered by the new incidents which occurred in the regions near at hand. The proprætors appointed to Gaul and Britain assumed a great degree of independence when they found their masters engaged beyond the Euphrates, and struggled for superiority and conquest as if they had been rival kings. Belgians, Vandals, Burgundians, who had been transplanted into our island, and even colonies of Saxons, and other tribes whose names emerge from obscurity at this time, began to play an important part in the occupation or defence of Britain. Sometimes an army of the Romanized inhabitants was taken over to Gaul; sometimes an army of Gauls was brought into Britain. But

whether the native levies and foreign garrisons were engaged in resisting invaders on their soil, or in carrying destruction into the neighbouring continent, the Picts and Scots, availing themselves of the occupation or the absence, were perpetually thundering at the gate. Wales was perpetually writhing in what she considered her chains, and peaceful merchants in the cities, and industrious settlers on the farms, must have looked with sad forebodings to the time, now rapidly drawing near, when their Roman protectors would be withdrawn, their own population would be enlisted in the disappearing legions which crossed to defend the empire from its gathering foes, and the wild spirit of retribution and conquest would send the fierce savages of the north over the guardian walls, and the kindred tribes upon the west to riot in the destruction of their long-inhabited houses and well-filled granaries and fields.

§ 18. While this time of suffering and despair is as yet only in expectation, let us see the proofs which survive to us of the nature of the destruction that ensued. The remains left by our Celtic ancestors have already been mentioned in the form of barrows and temples ; but a chieftain's grave, or circle of rough stones on some desolate plain, commemorative only of death and a bloodthirsty superstition, can bear no comparison with the citadels and roads, the bridges and towers, which are still lying within our reach. We have spoken of the fair cities and handsome residences which were clustered round the stationary camps ; of the elegance of the dwellings of the commanders, and of the stateliness of the public buildings dedicated to religion and trade. For a long succession of ages these statements had to be taken on trust. The chroniclers lived so near the time that we gave them credit for having known the number and extent of those evidences of wealth and civilization. But within the last hundred years our scholars and antiquarians have been busy in verifying those descriptions, and almost as plentiful as Gaelic cairn or Druid

cromlech are now the habitations of general and centurion, of Italian colonist and Romanized Briton. An acknowledgment of Roman skill and judgment is conveyed in the mere fact that the sites originally chosen for their cities have been so well adapted for their purpose that all succeeding populations have fixed upon the same. It is, therefore, beneath existing towns that the ruins of their predecessors are to be found. "The dust we tread upon was once alive."

A few feet below the level of the crowded pavements of London lies a city of richer ornament and finer architectural taste than the great metropolis which conceals it. Outside the boundary wall, thirty feet high and twelve in thickness, the wooded south shore of the clear and silvery Thames sloping upwards towards Camberwell and Herne Hill, was studded with the mansions of the military and civil chiefs. A beautiful landscape must have presented itself to the citizens who wandered up to the court of the sacred fane on Ludgate Hill, for on all sides the view was unobscured by lofty buildings, and nothing was seen but the porticos and gardens of those rustic retirements and the windings of many little brooks, now degraded into drains and cesspools, which pursued their course through groves and meadows till they were lost in the abounding river. Within the rampart, wherever we make an opening and dig deep enough, between Newgate and the Tower, magnificent tessellated pavements and fragments of marble statues reward our toil. The juxtaposition of modern names and associations with those reappearances of a long vanished state of manners is almost ludicrous—a mosaic picture of Europa on the bull, fresh in colours and perfect in design, beneath the busy multitudes of Bishopsgate-street, and bracelets of noble ladies beneath the gas-pipes of Cornhill—though it perhaps has a fitter connexion with the site of its discovery when we read of a splendid representation in coloured tiles of Bacchus, the conqueror of the East, in front of the India House, in Leadenhall-street.

But London, it may be supposed, was the principal seat and station in the South, and the Romans confined their grandeur and ostentation to the seat of government. Wherever they settled the tale is still the same; still, stately buildings and luxurious homes. At Uriconium, or Wroxeter, on the Severn, the world is every day astonished at the results of exploration under the soil. Streets have been uncovered, ornamented, like those of London, with spacious temples, and guarded by ponderous walls. The ruins of the Roman city have in some places overtopped the sod, and projected their summits into the daylight of fourteen centuries without ever having attracted notice, or being of more use than perhaps to give name to a field. But these, and other evidences of the same kind, prove that the Roman style of military occupation was different from ours. As the missionaries of the Christian faith carry the sacred truths of our religion among the ignorant and benighted, the Romans, the missionaries of social life, carried their domestic ideas and private habits into whatever quarter they visited. More efficacious in reclaiming from barbarism than any eloquence or authority, was the sight of the daily existence of the race which had conquered the world. The forebodings of the civilized natives were founded on the reverence they themselves had entertained for the outward symbols of settlement and peace. The comfortable house, the cultivated garden, the ornamented street, the richly decorated temple,—these they had looked on as the external manifestations of the imperial power, and of the security and freedom they enjoyed. When the assailant comes, they thought, he will wreak his first vengeance on the monuments of that happier existence which he does not understand, and what distinction will be left between the howling barbarian who never knew the elevating enjoyments of a safe and happy home, and the dispossessed proprietor whose peaceful cottage, as it was in ancient days, an emblem of advanced intelligence and recognised law, is now a charred and crumbling ruin, the type of a return to

the same savage degradation from which the Romans drew our ancestors so many hundred years before.

The humiliating truth implied in those helpless anticipations must be confessed with respect to all the other populations which had become subject to Rome. She first civilized them with her arts and elevated them with her principles of law, and then enervated them with her protection, and, as her own ancient spirit decayed, corrupted them with her vices. A government can do too much as well as too little. The central power was everywhere; and, except in the petty struggles of the municipal towns, individual action was unknown. The frightful wickedness of the capital was extolled and imitated here. Men who could not fight and would not govern, crowded to the amphitheatre and saw the combats of beasts and gladiators. As we feel no compassion for the overthrow of the wild liberties of our barbaric predecessors by the Claudian invasion, we shall do well to curb our indignation at the destruction of a refinement which incapacitated a people from serious endeavours, and of a system of government which reduced it to the dependent condition of children or slaves.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

- 44. State of the Roman Empire.
- 45. Vespasian's conquests in Britain.
- 47. Ostorius, the Roman general, advances westward to the Severn.
- 50. Caractacus defeated, and taken prisoner.
- 54. Accession of Nero.
- 59. Paulinus Suetonius appointed Proprætor.
- 60. The Christian religion first preached in Britain.
- 61. Boadicea, her defeat and death.
- 78. Agricola appointed to the command of the Roman armies.
- 78-84. Wise administration of Agricola.
- 84. Voyage round the headlands of Scotland, and discovery of the Orkney Islands.
- 121. Emperor Hadrian visits Britain,

A.D.

- and constructs a great northern rampart from the Solway to the Tyne, known as the Picts' Wall.
- 210. Severus, the Emperor, visits Britain, defeats the Caledonians, and builds a wall of stone, which still bears his name.
- 211. Death of Severus.
- 286. Rebellion and usurpation of Carausius.
- 293. Carausius assassinated by Alectus.
- 294. Constantius arrives at the Isle of Wight, and is cordially received.
- 306. Death of Constantius at York. Constantine the Great, who was born at York, assumes the imperial purple.
- 337. Death of Constantine.
- 364-418. Exposed to the incursions of the northern barbarians.

BOOK III.

THE SAXON OCCUPATION.

THE HEPTARCHY.

A.D. 418 TO THE UNION OF STATES UNDER EGBERT, A.D. 830, AND HIS DEATH, 837.

§ 1. Disturbed state of the world after the departure of the Romans.—
 § 2. Britain, exposed to the irruptions of the Northern barbarians, solicits the Romans for assistance, but in vain.—§ 3. Vortigern, Prince of the Danmonii, applies to the Saxons for aid. The Saxons effect a landing in the Isle of Thanet.—§ 4. Their conquests.—§ 5. Kingdom of the East Angles established.—§ 6. Wessex, and the kingdom of Northumbria. The seven States of the Heptarchy.—§ 7. Extensive territories occupied by the Saxon lords.—§ 8. Advantages of property and order appreciated. Augustine, the monk, recognised as Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England.—§ 9. Vast improvements in the thoughts and feelings of the people. Annals of the Heptarchy confused. The Kingdom of Wessex.—§ 10. Consequences of the death of Egbert, the first monarch of England.

§ 1. THE annals of our island for a period of thirty years after the temporary retirement of the Romans in 418, are so involved and contradictory, that great scope is left for the ingenuity of historians to unravel and reconcile them. It was a period of disturbance and unrest in all quarters of the world. As soon as Rome was found to be weak, the savage peoples who had been collecting for ages on the limits of her power, and had been repelled by the strength of her legions and the awe they still entertained for her name, broke through the boundaries, and poured themselves all over the civilized lands which had resisted their attempts so long. Tribe after tribe of strange and uncouth name followed each other with the regularity and force of waves of the sea. Burgundians,

Visigoths, and Sweves established themselves in Switzerland and Spain. The rich shores of Africa were seized by the Vandals; and the hardy sons of the north, the Saxons, the Jutes, and Angles prepared to follow the example of the other barbarians, and transport themselves into more fertile lands. There never was a prey more tempting or more easy than the disarmed and Romanized Britain. Its southern portion lay open to the hand of the first invader who chose to seize it. The inhabitants were wealthy and spiritless—the youth of the country and all its foreign garrisons had been carried over to resist the hordes which were devastating the Italian fields; little confidence could be placed in the turf bank which guarded them from the Picts and Scots, and still less in the undefended walls which surrounded their luxurious towns. Wherever there had in old times been a “castra,” or permanent camp, there was now a city filled with all the appliances of a civilization which was in fact too high for the people on whom it had been impressed. A complicated machinery of taxation and government was almost unintelligible to a population whose ambition was curtailed within such narrow bounds. They had no arms, no discipline, no patriotic feelings; they could only “eat, and sleep, and hoard,” and left all the rest to the superior power.

§ 2. Eight-and-twenty municipal towns and innumerable smaller stations, churches, and other public buildings, with villas and country-houses belonging to the great officers of the occupation, scattered as they were all over the country, acted as baits to the cupidity of the still unreclaimed barbarians of the north. These savage hordes, bursting over the feeble ramparts of Hadrian and Severus, pressed onwards towards the central lowlands, and are reported to have made a dash upon London itself. But necessity and fear at last produced some appearance of combination and courage on the part of the civilized Britons. The towns entered into confederacies for mutual support. Arms were put into the hands

of the population, and leaders arose who established their authority on independent terms. Their independence, however, took the unhappy form of mutual war. Instead of combining against the common foe, they weakened the country by factions and quarrels. In these civil distractions the contending parties bargained for assistance from every quarter. There were settlements of northern peoples all along the eastern coast, thinly populated, and probably not unconnected either with the Roman or British authorities. Some small districts had been assigned to foreign tribes by the Emperors of later date, and the families of the native wives of the soldiers remained in the land of their birth after the withdrawal of their fathers. Those fathers, though serving in the Roman ranks, were certainly not Roman, and very likely not even Italians. They might be Illyrians, Goths, Scythians, swarthy men from the Numidian plains, or the light-haired dwellers of the Rhætian Alps. Enlisted on different sides in these local dissensions, the diversified populations had no central authority round which to gather. Town after town was therefore given to the flames by the advancing Picts and Scots on the north, and the returning thousands of ancient Britons from the borders of Wales. Twice the application made for assistance by the distressed inhabitants was successful with the Roman chiefs. On each occasion a single legion was sufficient to expel the invaders, and reinstate the citizens in their former security; but when the heart of the empire became weak, and enemies were gathered round the walls of the Eternal City itself, no further aid could be given. The "groans of the Britons," as their last touching appeals were called, were disregarded, and the legion which had been their sole protection was finally withdrawn in 447, having given the last proof of its care for the land which it had so long protected by repairing the rampart between the Tyne and Solway.

It is a mere rhetorical exaggeration of the now degraded

condition of the Romanized natives, when we are told that they were incapable even of so unscientific an operation as building a stone wall. Perhaps they had found out the futility of these inanimate defences when brave hearts were no longer to be found within, and considered such bulwarks as labour thrown away. Hopeless of resisting, and too uncertain of their tenure to plough their fields, they allowed the land everywhere to go out of cultivation. When their northern invaders accordingly burst through the newly-renovated walls, they found no active enemy to face them with arms in their hands. The desolation of the country was its true defence. The cities were attacked and plundered, but the inhabitants had betaken themselves to the woods and morasses; the corn was either hidden in holes in the earth or utterly destroyed, and the Caledonians were forced to retrace their steps by the want of food. While the Celtic warrior was reconciled to his paradise in the Grampians, by comparing it with the howling wildernesses of Leicestershire and Derby, the citizens crept stealthily out of their hiding-places, and resumed their old occupations.

§ 3. The old dissensions, however, arose with the old condition. Rival chieftains again fought for the pre-eminence in a realm which neither of them could defend. Vortigern, of pure Celtic blood, was the leader of the old or national party, and was opposed by Ambrosius, whose name demonstrates his civilized descent, as champion of the Romanized natives. As if to scatter the last hope of combination, a religious schism embittered the feelings on both sides. With the marks of conflagration still blackening the ruins of their churches, and their houses scarcely recovered from the Celtic ravagers' assault, they disputed on the Pelagian heresy, founded by an ancient Briton of the unmistakeable name of Morgan, with the same animosity as had maddened the defenders of the Temple at the siege of Jerusalem. Prodigies were related on both sides in support of their respective faiths. The orthodox

Germanus of Auxerre had come over to arrange the question, and showed the credentials of his authority in a great victory over the Picts, where, by the mere cry of Hallelujah! which his newly-baptized battalions of Britons were ordered to raise, he dispersed the enemy with enormous slaughter. But it was easier to slay the barbarians than to convert the heretics, and the theological disputes went on. In these it is possible the more educated party had the advantage in eloquence; and protection was required by the unmixed Britons equally against the Pelagians and the Scots. Vortigern, therefore, applied to the Saxons, who could fight but could not argue, for aid against his rivals in policy and religion, and the most ferocious of the heathen tribes at that time existing became the bloody arbiters in a discussion about the deepest mysteries of the Christian dispensation.

The sober inquiries of recent times have interfered very much with the beauty of the ancient legends. Heroes and kings are reduced to very small dimensions; the impossible grows improbable, whereas it was at one time the greatest test of truth; and even the improbable is looked on with suspicion, if any other method can be detected of arriving at the same results. The narrative of the invitation to the Saxons, as it is called, would be very simple if it rested only on the real facts of the case. A tribe, or at least a considerable number of Norsemen—the men of Denmark and Jutland—had been settled for many years on the coasts of York and Durham. Having a greater affinity to the Celtic than to the Roman element in the British population, they in all probability sided with Vortigern in his contests with Ambrosius. What more natural than that the Saxons of the shore promised to obtain for him farther aid to the common cause from their countrymen, whose ships they constantly saw cruising from the north, and with whom they had kept up relations of amity and trade? A signal hoisted on the cliffs attracted the first barks which passed within sight, and three

“keels” or vessels bore towards the land. The white horse—the noble animal sacred to their tutelary Woden—was the ornament of their standards at the mast-head; and the pirate chiefs, who happened also to be brothers, obtained from those bearings the names of Hengist and Horsa, being, in the languages of the Baltic, the names respectively of “Horse” and “Mare.” The services of this Horse and Mare were repaid by the gratitude of Vortigern with the gift of all the isle of Thanet—a rich and level plain divided from the rest of the country by a channel at that time a mile in width, and therefore the strongest and most desirable position for aggression which a maritime nation could possess.

§ 4. The common story that Vortigern summoned the Saxons to aid him against the Picts and Scots is contradicted by the place of their landing and the ground they retained as owners. The Isle of Thanet is not an advanced position against the inhabitants of Berwickshire and Dumfries. The rovers came over to help the ancient Celtic party to regain its superiority over the Roman. In this it was successful, although the son of Vortigern resisted the new supporters of his father's cause, and when the British annalists introduce the incident of the captivating Rowena, the daughter of Horsa, presenting the wine cup to Vortigern, saying “*Waes Hael*,” and subduing him by her beauty till he forgot his duties as patriot, we are to take it as a legend invented by their national vanity to account for the rapid successes of the northern strangers. That their successes were rapid and their numbers greatly augmented, we may conclude from the undoubted portions of their story; for we find in 488 that Eric, the son of Hengist, had stretched his authority over the whole of what is now the county of Kent, and became the founder of the first of the Saxon kingdoms.

While Cantwarra-land, or Kent, was receiving its new lords, fresh shiploads of armed colonists had come over from

the mainland, and in a very few years the kingdom of the South Saxons—now converted into Sussex—took its place as a recognised state.

Stretching westward from Sussex, a new establishment of Saxons rose on the boundaries of the present Hampshire, Dorset, Berks, and Wilts, and gave to their confederacy the name of the “Land of the West Saxons” or Wessex. Their territories extended to the Thames, but did not include the great trading town of London. Beyond the noble river, which the Romans had adapted for navigation by deepening its channel and restraining it within artificial banks, lay the seat of another detachment of the northern reivers, which, extending from Wallingford to Bedford, took the name of the “Land of the East Saxons,” or Essex, and enclosed the citizens of London and its contiguous domain between the eastern and western realms, enforcing on them by this means the name of Middle-Saxons, or men of Middlesex.

§ 5. There was a vast promontory of firm and fertile land, at that time separated from the rest of England by swollen rivers and impassable fens, which lay above the kingdom of the Eastern Saxons, and tempted the ambition of a multitude of savage warriors from a nook or *angle* of land on the banks of the Eyder. The whole population of that desolate region embarked for the great expedition, and succeeded in establishing a kingdom of the East Angles, which was divided into two tribes, called, according to their geographical positions, the Northfolk and the Southfolk, in which it is not difficult to trace the present Norfolk and Suffolk. An enormous fortification which these new arrivals drew across the country where the marshy defences ended, protecting it from the incursions of the Britons or the more dangerous hostility of their countrymen of the midlands, kept them also so divided from the interests of the rest of the island that little is known of their progress. It is only ascertained that by the year 590

they possessed a compact and fertile territory, and were ruled in peace and quiet by hereditary chiefs descended from their first leader, who bore the name of Offa.

A large tract of country at a distance from the sea, and surrounded on three sides by the Saxon settlements, and on the west by the hills and forests behind which the ancient Britons had retired, fixed up the landmarks of its extent along the whole external line of its possessions. Hence the name was given to it of the "Land of the Marches" (or limits), which took the Latinized form of Mercia.

§ 6. The two most formidable enemies of this strangely enclosed domain were Wessex and the kingdom of Northumbria—a land of varying extent, consisting of two independent and yet connected peoples, the Deirians and Bernicians—but too busy with its enemies on the Pictish border to retain more than a momentary predominance over its southern neighbours. Northumbria, however, prevented for a long time the expansion of the inland Mercians towards the north, and left them to maintain their military discipline by continual battles on the west with the barbarized refugees of Wales.

These, then, are the states and principalities known as the Heptarchy, which means the seven realms. Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, East Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria, form the exact number which gave rise to the collective name, yet it is undoubted that those seven kingdoms never existed in their separate form at the same time. Sometimes bearing rule over their neighbours, sometimes subordinated themselves, and sometimes split into still more numerous combinations, the independent states varied from five to eight or nine, for we occasionally find Northumbria acting as paramount to Mercia, and Wessex again dominating Essex and Sussex; and, on the other hand, we find Middlesex asserting its independence, the Isle of Wight erected into a separate power, and Bernicia and Deira asserting their alternate claims to the sovereignty of Northumbria.

§ 7. Battles were fought during all these alternations of aggression and defence, of which the monuments remain to us in the heaps of bones which are turned up by the plough and the spade. Names also have continued, the landmarks of a dark and stormy period, on some of which the genius of the greatest of our poets has poured fresh light, and given a renewed existence to the shadowy impersonations of Romance. We love to recal the heroic Arthur—more heroic in his gentleness than in the exercise of his military and knightly skill—and almost persuade ourselves that his victory at Baden Hill over the West Saxon, Cerdic, the combats at Glem, and Duglas, and Bassa were distinguished by the valour and courtesy which never deserted “the Blameless King.” We use fresh efforts to trace the course of this noblest of knights and gentlemen, from his palace at Caerleon to his grave at Glastonbury beside the magic mere, but are forced backward from the enchanted ring, in which all noble things are true, into the world of cold and real existences, where Arthur and his Table Round disappear before the light of common day. The contest between the combined invaders and the remote defenders of the west was sure to terminate in the triumph of the more vigorous race. Many of the defeated tribes crossed over the Severn sea from Cornwall and Devon, and found refuge in the fastnesses of the opposite shore; adding new bitterness to the feelings of their countrymen, who had long ago found a shelter from the Roman conquest in the same inaccessible defiles.

From the Straits of Dover to the mouth of the Forth, the whole land was occupied by its Saxon lords in less than a hundred and fifty years after the withdrawal of the Romans. It is impossible to over-estimate the sufferings of that extended period. In a very short time the superficial civilization introduced by the legions was effaced by the pirates from the north. The only opposition made to the ferocity of their new oppressors was by the indomitable bar-

barism of the original Celts, which had offered an equal resistance to the arts and laws of the Romans. Pursued by the fresh hordes of heathen invaders as enemies, and equally hated by the ancient Britons as traitors, the Romanized natives had no chance of transmitting their refinement or experience to their posterity after the first generation. In thirty years, the few terrified inhabitants of the magnificent cities which studded the land must have looked with helpless despair on the infuriated savages who brought in their ferocious habits and terrible gods. The next generation must have betaken themselves to the woods and wildernesses, or hidden amid the half-buried ruins of the temples and public halls which marked the sites of the dilapidated towns. Christianity fled before those sea rovers as fearfully as civilization and wealth; and before sixty years were expired we may picture to ourselves a wasted realm and ruined population, the arts of life trampled under the feet of a pitiless immigration, and bands of ravagers ransacking all the land for whatever spoil the excesses of their predecessors had left them.

§ 8. Gradually a feeling of the advantages of property and order must have dawned upon their minds; and a great step was gained when the place of leader, which the necessity of warfare had created, by the nomination of the expeditionary tribe, was converted into that of hereditary chief or king, who should regulate their affairs in peace as well as in battle. It is the first great step to political improvement when a barbaric host give their adhesion to an office and not a man. The wise and elevating thought takes possession of their minds that obedience is no longer a proof of inferiority; for the object of their submission, the king, is himself subordinated to the law, and represents the power of the nation of which the subject forms a part. The hereditary principle—modified, however, by the fact that elections might still appoint any member of the blood royal, to the exclusion of the lineal heirs—was accordingly the first element of the

combined kingly and popular authority. By the year 560, when Ethelbert succeeded to the kingship in Kent, all enmity between the races which occupied the south of England had ceased, either by the extirpation or submission of the British families. It is impossible to think that all the inhabitants of so large a district can have been slain, or driven away ; it is much more likely that the new possessors became softened towards them in course of time, and heard from them the stories of the ancient Roman sway, and of the doctrines of the Christian faith ; so that when Augustine the monk came over from Rome in 597, his efforts only spread into new quarters a flame which had never entirely died out, and converted the descendants of Woden and successors of Hengist to a belief which had long furnished consolation to the oppressed peasantry of native blood. It is only on this supposition that the rapid reception of Christianity can be reasonably accounted for among the masses of the people. The bloody feasts of the Walhalla, which fired the imaginations of the first invaders, and formed the subject of song and prophecy in the wild regions bordering on the Elbe and Eyder, lost their attraction amid the rich fields and in the milder air of Kent. Ethelbert married a Christian lady called Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, of Paris, in 575, received the emissary from Rome with kindness and respect ; and in 602 we find Augustine recognised in language which might suit the prelate of the present day, as “ Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England.”

But the pride of the ancient Britons would no more submit to the spiritual supremacy of this intruder from Rome than it had submitted to the domination of the Saxon invaders. The bishops of Wales declined the jurisdiction of the Pontiff's nominee, and preserved the independence of their sees and their equality with the chair of St. Peter itself. The state assumed by the Roman legate offended the ecclesiastics of the west by the double claim it ostentatiously made of supremacy for a

priest in Italy, and for a cathedral seat in the dominions of the hated Saxons. National animosity infused itself into their religious differences, and Augustine, whose haughty bearing had run counter to their ideas of Christian meekness, now justified their dislike by the bitterness of his upbraidings. These took the form of prophecy, and in a year worked their own fulfilment. "If the Britons," he said, "refuse their assistance in the conversion of the Saxons, behold! the Saxon sword will be let loose upon the land." The Saxon sword obeyed the zealous missionary, and directed its vengeance principally against the rebellious priesthood, of whom two hundred were pitilessly slain near Bangor, as they prayed for the success of their countrymen.

But Edwin of Northumbria having, in 625, extended his authority over all the other kingdoms except Kent, married a daughter of Ethelbert and Bertha, and speedily submitted the nations who owned his sway to the authority of the Roman Church. The bishopric of York, which had been founded during the Roman rule, was re-established in favour of Paulinus, the favourite priest of the new queen, and step by step the blind and debasing superstitions of Scandinavia retired before the advancing gospel, as Druidism had expired before the march of material improvement. Idolatry was overthrown without the dangerous aid of persecution. The more reflective minds were attracted by the beauties and elevating promises of the new dispensation; the grosser intellects were disgusted with the powerlessness of their gods when brought into contrast with a religion of holiness and purity; and some—like the ambitious priest Coifi, who discovered the dulness of his divinities in the fact that they had neglected to promote a man of his extraordinary merit to the richest offices in the order—were discontented with the inadequacy of the hopes held out by the Edda, and turned with trust and happiness to the new revelations of a future life.

§ 9. Amid all the childish exaggerations and simple cre-

dulity of the venerable Bede, and the other chroniclers of those early days, we can see a vast improvement in the thoughts and feelings of the people. Gentleness to the weak, generosity to the poor, humility in themselves, are inculcated on the newly-converted heathens in every page; and if we are inclined to laugh at the futile wonders and impossible incidents recorded at the same time, we must accept them as the measure of the critical faculty of the period, and turn with truer admiration to the precepts of charity and forbearance when we find them asserting their divine origin unobscured by the ignorance which lies so thick and palpable on every other subject.

The annals of the Heptarchy are confused by a want of method, and by the unavoidable uncertainty of events where there were no witnesses to record them till long intervals had elapsed, and the story had passed through several hands. An aged monk, sitting in his solitary study in a monastery on the distant Wear, was dependent for his narrative of incidents in Essex or Kent on the hearsay evidence of some other monk, who travelled on the business of the church, and found shelter in the walls of Jarrow. For the proceedings of kings and warriors in Northumberland itself he had to trust to the still less reliable reports of soldiers who had escaped from some battle, and were fed at the refectory door; or some despoiled and revengeful priest who had been ruined by the invasion of the Welsh. There were no conflicting accounts from different and independent sources to be sifted and weighed against each other, as in our newspaper announcements of the present day, and many, in despair at the difficulty of unravelling the tangled skein of the chronicles of the boisterous and unsettled Saxon confederacies which called themselves kingdoms, have passed them over altogether as no more deserving of notice than the quarrels and reconciliations of kites or crows. But though individual traits may be undiscoverable, the broad impress of that struggling and active

time is left upon our land, and we ourselves, even in the combat between those jealous and contiguous princedoms, see the indomitable energy and aggressive disposition of our race; and as the populations of all the seven had the same descent, and were equal in courage, and several were nearly balanced in extent of territory, it is interesting to see the circumstances which threw the final preponderance on the side of one of the sister states, and stamped on all the component territories the great name of England.

The first element of conquest abroad is security at home. Rome was safe within the sea-girt peninsula and the Italian Alps before she sent her eagles to Syria or Britain. Greece was impregnable within her own boundaries before she attempted the subjugation of Persia; and if you will examine on a smaller scale the map of heptarchic Britain, you will see the future dominator of the rest in the one which has the most easily defended borders. This was Wessex. The sea was on the south throughout its whole extent, and when it had overrun the thinly-peopled districts of Sussex, and united them to its powers, and when Kent also fell under its authority by the disorders which distracted its government, its northern boundary was the easily defended Thames and the wild lands extending from Dorchester to the Bristol Channel. Its west was guarded from the subdued and dispirited Britons of Cornwall and Devon by the hills of Somerset; and a simple restoration of the old Roman fortifications gave the unscientific Saxons of Wessex all the advantages of that conquering and restraining people's military and engineering skill. Nearest to Wessex in population and extent was the midland Mercia; but the name itself is a proof that its lands were everywhere conterminous with a rival state's. If it gathered its forces to resist Wessex, bands of enemies crossed over to it from the peninsular East Anglia, crowded down upon it from the warlike and hostile Northumbria, and came shouting across the Wye and through the Forest of Radnor from the unappease-

able valleys of Wales. When at length the kingdom of Wessex, thus strengthened by its tributaries, fell into the hands of one of the great men whom even the darkest ages sometimes produce, and Egbert—who had spent many years of exile, an honoured guest and appreciating scholar, in the court of the great Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle—was restored to his rightful inheritance, all the constituent parts of supreme authority required only to be fitted together, and the crown of all England rested on the brow of the wisest and best of Englishmen. Soon after this time we hear nothing of the old partitions of the country. The names died out by the substitution of other territorial divisions which still remain; and probably a man of Staffordshire or Yorkshire would have been as much astonished in the tenth century as in the present, if he had been called a Mercian or Deirian.

Wessex, fortunate equally in rulers and situation, had boasted in the previous century of the only other Saxon king who could compare with the politic and warlike Egbert. This was Ina—admired by all the nations as a warrior and king, but lauded with the eloquence of enthusiasm when his chroniclers describe his piety of life and generosity to the Church. A ruler and legislator greatly in advance of his time, his crowning achievements are the foundations of monasteries like Abingdon and Glastonbury, and his bestowal of Peter's Pence on the Roman chair. Tired of state and trial, the saintly king resigned his dignity in 728, and retired to Rome. Avoiding show and ostentation, clothed in plebeian apparel, and living by the labour of his hands, he grew old, and died in that capital of the faith. Great trouble had followed his desertion of the throne. The public estimation of the monastic virtues had changed, and his wiser successor knew the duties of his royal state too well to be seduced by his example; but unfortunately, ten years after the submission of all the kingdoms came the untimely death of Egbert, the

Bretwelda—or wide ruler—a name equivalent to that of Emperor, as it expressed a royalty superior to that of kings. Though ostentatiously assumed at intervals by seven of the chiefs of states which happened for a short time to be predominant over two or three of the others, this title had never been so justly earned or so nobly borne: and anarchy was again threatened to the land when the strong hand and clear intellect were withdrawn in 837.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

- 418. State of Britain after the departure of the Romans.
- 447. Vortigern, Prince of the Damnonii, elected sovereign of South Britain. Invites the Saxons to defend the British against the ravages of the Picts and Scots and his rivals.
- 449. The first disembarkation of the Saxons in the Isle of Thanet.
- 450. The Saxons send for further reinforcements, and expel the Picts and Scots.
- 452. Hengist sends for further supplies.
- 454. Vortigern deprived of all authority.
- 455. Contests between the Britons and the Saxons.
Hengist declared King of Kent.
- 458. The defeated Britons retire into Wales and Armorica, or Brittany, in France.
- 467. The famous Arthur, King of Devon and Cornwall.
- 475. Vortimer poisoned by his mother-in-law, Rowena.
- 476. Hengist murders Vortigern and his principal nobility.
- 488. Death of Hengist.
- 495. Cerdic, a Saxon general, arrives in Britain, from whom descended the Kings of England to Edward the Confessor.
- 497–527. Various contests between Cerdic and the Britons.

A.D.

- 511. Battle of Baden Hill, near Bath, where Cerdic is defeated by Arthur.
- 521. Cerdic founds the West Saxon kingdom, and is crowned at Winchester.
- 527. Kingdom of the East Angles founded.
- 530. Cerdic subdues the Isle of Wight, and slaughters the inhabitants.
- 542. King Arthur is slain, and buried at Glastonbury.
- 547. Ida, the first king of Northumberland.
- 571. Kingdom of the East Angles founded.
- 584. The kingdom of Mercia founded.
- 593. Fifth king of Kent and sixth monarch of Britain began to reign.
- 597. Arrival of St. Augustine, who settles at Canterbury.
- 709. The Saxon laws promulgated by Ina, king of the West Saxons.
- 787. First arrival of the Danes in England.
- 810–812. Egbert reduces the Welsh of South Wales.
- 824. Termination of the Saxon Heptarchy.
- 827. Egbert, the first sole monarch of the kingdom.
- 837. Death of Egbert.

BOOK IV.

THE DANISH-ENGLISH OCCUPATION.

A.D. 837 to A.D. 1066.

§ 1. Sea kings, or Norsemen.—§ 2. Northern pirates. Scandinavian songs.—§ 3. Invasion of the Danes, and capture of York, &c.—§ 4. Alfred the Great.—§ 5. The Anglo-Saxon and Danish territories.—§ 6. Government and laws.—§ 7. Genius and energy of Alfred. Reign of Edward.—§ 8. Athelstane's power and conquests.—§ 9. Edmund, son of Athelstane.—§ 10. Reign of Edred. State of the Church and clergy. St. Dunstan. His influence and pretended miracles.—§ 11. Reign of Edwy. His contests with St. Dunstan.—§ 12. Reign of Edgar. His fortunate position.—§ 13. Reign of Edward. Assassinated.—§ 14. Reign of Ethelred II. Incursions of the Danes, and their massacre.—§ 15. Sweyn, King of Denmark. His conquest of England.—§ 16. Invasion of Canute. Death of Ethelred. Edmund Ironside. He divides the kingdom with Canute. Accession of Canute after the death of Edmund. §. 17. The principal acts of his reign. His character. His popularity. He rebukes the flatteries of his courtiers. His devotion to the Church. His death. Emma, Queen of Canute. Reign of Harold Harefoot.—§ 18. Hardicanute.—§ 19. Edward the Confessor. Earl Godwin. Earl Godwin's revolt, and seizure of his estates.—§ 20. Eustace of Bologne.—§ 21. Visit of William, Duke of Normandy.—§ 22. Rise of Harold. Pope Nicholas II.—§ 23. Harold succeeds to the crown.

§ 1. It needed a strong hand and clear intellect to resist the enemies which now made their appearance in the land. Egbert's death, besides depriving his subjects of his guidance, had weakened the country by a division of his various states among his sons. Wessex was again a separate kingdom, and might have begun its course of victory and supremacy once more against the other populations, but was diverted from its dreams of ambition, if any it entertained, by a danger that made it apply all its efforts to self-defence. This was an

invasion of a new and totally uncivilized people, who made landings in various parts of the country, and everywhere marked their presence with the blood of all they met. Possession had by this time entirely obliterated from the descendants of Hengist and Horsa the nature and circumstances of their own invasion. But if the wish of the poet had been granted them, "to see ourselves as others see us," they could not have had a closer presentment of their own onslaughts upon the Romanized Celts. The same brutal disregard of life, and enmity to the very appearance of refinement, the same truculent beliefs and degrading ideas of a future life characterized the Sea-kings, or Norsemen, who now descended on our shores, as had carried terror and destruction among the cities and villas of that earlier time. While the Saxons were irritated at the audacity of those imitators of their own achievements, and wondering at the lawlessness of those pitiless barbarians, horde after horde of armed Danes and Norwegians mounted their small barks in the bays and creeks of the Baltic, and in three days' sail, when they availed themselves of a favourable wind, ran them on the beach of our eastern coast. Gathering the crews of as many of them as they could, they murdered, burned, and pillaged throughout the district where they had landed; and loaded with booty, and shrieking songs of triumph over the massacre of monks and women, betook themselves to the sea again, and carried the same devastation to some other part of the shore. The first landing in Cornwall (which occurred in Egbert's life-time) was repulsed with loss, and the native Britons still occupying that district were ruthlessly punished for the aid they had afforded the invader. The next landings were in greater force, and in another quarter. Division and enmity had broken out in the newly-resuscitated Deira, Bernicia, and Mercia. They owned the uneasy sway of the younger son of Egbert, and were paralyzed with the diversity, unexpectedness, and fury of the assaults.

Yet the Saxons retained the ancient courage of their race. The Norsemen found no effeminized population to contend with, but had to fight for every inch of ground. One great battle still continues the theme of ballad and tradition. In the fields of Surrey, where the gentle eminence called Leith Hill now looks over one of the richest views in England, and the eye ranges unchecked over swelling down and pastoral valley, till the blue distance of the chalk ranges of Sussex forms a delightful framework to the picture, there was an enormous gathering of all the forces of the rovers and Saxons. At Aclea, now called Ockley, Ethelwolf, the son of Egbert, at the head of the men of Wessex, inflicted a frightful overthrow upon the heathen, and avenged the defeat he had sustained at the beautiful village of Charmouth, in Devonshire, eleven years before. When time and the remembrance of danger had called the imaginative faculties of the combatants into play, the popular legends circulating in the huts of the Saxons represented the Danes as gifted with more than human skill. The peasantry still point out a ruined castle which they believe was battered down by the Norsemen's stone-throwing machines planted on Berry Hill, at a distance of two miles. Defeats and repulses, however, seemed of no use against those swarms of homeless desperadoes. If driven off in Wessex, they appeared in the north; if they were dispersed by the courage of Bishop Ealstan, of Sherborne, on the Parret, they crowded faster than ever into the Isle of Sheppey, and established themselves in Thanet. But in a short time the multitudes who had landed on the eastern shore began to taste the sweets of a settled home, they fixed permanent colonies, guarded by camps and garrisons, a little way inland, and gradually drove the inhabitants towards the west, as their now harassed and unconscious predecessors had done the Gael.

§ 2. The chief of the first successful invasion was an ancient pirate of the name of Regner Lodbrog. The pride or

patriotism of his descendants has enriched him with noble birth and the hand of a Danish princess; but his contemporaries seem to have had a juster notion of his position, and distinguished him by an allusion to the leather trousers—Lodbrog—with which he ornamented his person, and which, though elevated into the romantic by the legend of their miraculous qualities, were probably merely a luxury beyond the reach of humbler men. Regner and his three sons made many expeditions against the coasts of England, in which we do not hear of a single vessel being sent out to meet them. Had the old Saxon love of adventure and tendency to maritime enterprise entirely died out? What had become of the White Horse of the original settlers, which waved from so many masts and was seen on every shore when Vortigern summoned it to his aid? The island seems to have been entirely without a fleet, and its subjugation was the inevitable result. Encouraged by the success of his previous attempts, the leather-loined pirate now meditated a greater exploit. He built two vessels of extraordinary size, filled them with his bravest followers, and waiting for a favourable breeze, slipped his anchors at the mouth of the Baltic, and bore right down on the coast of York. But the ships were too large to run uninjured on the sand; they were beaten to pieces by the surf, and the invaders found themselves on a hostile strand, with nothing but their swords and courage, and no refuge in case of a reverse. Old Regner was undeterred by these considerations, and began his march. He carried on the same system of extermination and rapine as if he had had a place of retreat and safety, but was finally brought to a pause when Ella, the King of Northumbria, with an army, barred up his way. The battle was soon decided; the pirates were killed to the last man, and their leader taken prisoner, to be reserved for a more lingering death. His death it is necessary to look at; for, whether the reported circumstances were true or false, it exercised a permanent influence on the course

of future events. He was thrown into a dungeon, and exposed to the assaults of the venomous snakes that had made their nests in the cave. In a very short time the death-song of Regner Lodbrog was sung all over the hills and valleys of Scandinavia. Popular enthusiasm attributed the lines to the sufferer himself; but it was enough that they were put into his mouth, and dramatically represented his feelings:—

We have struck with our swords!
In my youth, when we rushed like a storm on the East,
And the wolf licked its maw at the bloody feast,
When Helting lay desert, her people all slain,
And lances and swords gleamed on Yfer's plain! Hurra!

We have struck with our swords!
Ah! little I thought, when I launch'd my prow,
That a coward like Ella would triumph as now;
But I'm gladdened with thoughts of the joy shall befall
When I drain the skull-goblet in Odin's Hall! Hurra!

We have struck with our swords!
The serpents cling round me, they bite at my breast;
There's a sting in my heart, I am faint for my rest;
But my sons shall revenge me, and tell how I died,
When Ella expires with their points in his side! Hurra!

We have struck with our swords!
In fifty fierce battles my blade has been shown,
No name than old Regner's more proudly is known;
I have longed for a death like the death I am dying,
And I smile when I feel how the moments are flying! Hurra!

No man can over-estimate the importance of a popular song. Even in later times we have known Ireland driven nearly frantic by "Lillibullero" and "Croppies lie down," and two revolutions in France consummated to the tune of the Marseillaise. But in a wild, imaginative, bloodthirsty land like Norway, where the whole genius of the people had condensed itself into a burning excitement, which only found vent in passionate words and stirring melodies, the effect was instantaneous and immense. The death of the aged buccaneer

became a religious offering to the gods of the northern faith. He was a son and victim of Odin; and all the fiery aspirations of the north took the double form of patriotism and religion. The same spirit, however, was roused on the other side. To be slain by a heathen was to be sacrificed for the cross as well as slaughtered for fatherland. And we accordingly find a long list of Anglo-Saxon martyrs, and even saints, who showed no sign of their Christianity except being murdered by the idolater's sword.

§ 3. Ella is reported, whether truly or not, to have fallen into the hands of Regner's sons, and to have atoned for his cruelty to their father by a death of equal pain. The flood of savagery and vengeance still swept on, no longer, however, directed by the desultory wishes of individual adventurers, but guided by higher authorities, till it assumed the magnitude and solidity of a national invasion. The city and territory of York fell into the hands of the Danish army in 870, and after fortifying their position, and constituting the city the base of their operations, the eight chiefs who headed the expedition began their southward march, and never ceased their advance till the whole of East Anglia and the greater part of Mercia submitted to their power. A Danish king was accepted by the wretched survivors of the ancient inhabitants, who were speedily reduced to slavery by their insatiable lords, and there seemed little chance of putting a stop to the ambition of the innumerable warriors who kept pouring into the country. All to the north of Essex was held by Danish rulers. The small remains, therefore, of the Heptarchy consisted of Wessex, which had long absorbed the tributary states of Kent and Sussex; and all that for a short time could properly be called England was contained between the Thames and the mouth of the Severn.

§ 4. It was in this year that Alfred the Great succeeded, not so much to the throne, as to the struggles and dangers of his ancestors. A king of two-and-twenty (he was born in

849), without assistance from his neighbours or union among his subjects, he showed as much policy as courage, and procrastinated while he was weak, that he might collect his forces for a final blow. He entered into treaties with the Danes, binding them to leave his patrimonial Wessex undisturbed, and applied all his faculties to the consolidation of his power at home. In this at first he was unsuccessful, for he had none of the generous cordiality of manner or tenderness of disposition which characterized his later years. He was harsh and self-willed, always anxious to pursue the best course, but always offending the feelings of his people by the sternness and severity of his actions. They did not comprehend a policy which put a judge to death for misbehaviour in his trust, a freeman's life being at that time more valuable in Saxon eyes than impartiality in legal causes; and Alfred, after seven years of conflict with his Danish enemies and disagreements with his subjects, was driven to find a refuge among the swamps and morasses which surrounded a muddy island in the lower part of Somerset, called Athelney, and from that secure retreat watched the proceedings of the enemy. Here a great change was operated on his disposition; he threw off the prejudices of his education, and presented, on his next appearance on the public stage, the spectacle of a character which all ages have agreed in accepting as nearly the supreme perfection to which humanity can aspire. Liberal, just, and true, thoughtful of others' feelings, neglectful of his own, a man who could obey as well as govern, religious without fanaticism or credulity, and learned beyond the learning of his time and country, it is no wonder that the admiration of his subjects and contemporaries, who saw the result of these noble qualities in the restoration of the nation's freedom, and the civilization even of the unenlightened enemies who were ranged against him, has been ratified by an impartial posterity, which sees clearly a lofty nature and a life of heroic endeavour in a person surrounded by so few ad-

vantages, and at a period when barbarism seemed on the point of settling once more over all the land.

We will leave out the story of the old woman scolding him for inattention to the cake she was baking on the hearth, and also of his visit to the Danish camp disguised as a harper, and these at best are but exemplifications of the good-natured kindness and personal activity for which he was afterwards famous. We will pass on to the victory he won over Guthrum, the Danish king, at Athenden, near Westbury, in Wiltshire, and the treaty he forced the vanquished leader to enter into, confirmed by his oath on the "holy ring," that he would be content with the territories assigned him on the north of the Thames, and that he would be baptized with all the captains of his host. The oath on the holy ring of Odin was so binding that the heathens became Christians to avoid the pains of perjury. A curious instance of the communication which must have existed between the Danes and Saxons; for it is impossible to believe that the ceremony can have been proposed to the followers of Guthrum for the first time, or that they would have accepted it, if they had not been prepared for the rite by a previous knowledge of what it implied.

§ 5. This is the first legal and formal division of any part of the old Anglo-Saxon monarchy with the Danish immigration. Other districts had been seized and held by force, but now there was the authoritative sanction of the English king to the Danish possession of all the country on the east or right-hand side of the great Roman road called Watling Street, and extending from the mouth of the river Lea, near London, as far north as the old barrier between the Tyne and Solway. This whole district was called Danelagh, or the country ruled by the Danish laws.

§ 6. That it was ruled by any laws at all was a great improvement on the former state of affairs. When a large fine is exacted for the slaughter of an unoffending neighbour, murder becomes too expensive an amusement to be indulged

in so often as when no punishment follows the deed. Theft also ceases to be a sign of superior cleverness, as in the old Spartan customs, when it is instantly rewarded by a whipping and a fourfold restitution of the goods abstracted. The laws which had been brought over from Denmark were not different in their principles or institutions from those which had been imported by the Saxons four hundred years before. The languages were still so similar that the peoples could understand each other, and a very few years' residence in the same village must have gone far to assimilate the late arrivals to the former occupiers of the realm. We hear even of towns divided so equally between the nations that one half was under the Saxon law and the other under the Danish. And when property desired still further security, and life grew to be considered of more value, and justice required to be more freely and more minutely administered, recourse was had to partitions of the country into easily managed portions (as had been the case in the ancient seats both of Danes and Angles), and new vitality was given by Alfred to the ancient demarcations, when he confirmed the divisions of the whole kingdom into tythings, hundreds, and shires.

The first consisted of ten families, the second of a hundred. The members of these were held to be jointly and severally responsible for any crime or outrage committed within their lands, and were bound, under what was called "frank pledge," to produce any one of their number who might be accused of any delinquency before the proper court. That proper court in no long time became an impannelled jury of his equals, in presence of a legally appointed official. But at first it was merely the audience hall of an administrator of the law, before whom it was competent for the accused person to bring ten or more of his neighbours—inhabitants of the same tything—who from their knowledge of his acts on the day specified, or their general confidence in his honesty, swore that they did not believe him guilty of the crime laid to his

charge. These were called "conpurgators," and are evidently the origin, not only of the trial by jury, but also of the "witnesses to character" which a culprit is allowed to call at the present time. The shires were large districts containing many of all the smaller subdivisions, preserving to a great extent their own peculiar rights and privileges, but presided over by a great functionary, nominated by the king, called the Shire Reeve, now shortened into Sheriff.

With little communities of ten families, and larger ones of a hundred (groups consisting of fifty and five hundred individuals), each responsible in his own person for the behaviour of all the rest, with their tything men and hundreders to take cognizance of all their proceedings, it was difficult for an offence to escape detection. But the system had several drawbacks to counterbalance this advantage. A member could not leave the community he belonged to when he chose, for nobody would consent to be answerable for his conduct in his absence, and no new society would receive him, declining, very naturally, to be bound for the behaviour of a stranger whose character it did not know. The Frank-pledge acted as the necessity for a passport now does in some despotic kingdoms. It prevented the internal traffic of the country and the freedom of locomotion, without which no other freedom can exist. And this narrowing institution was the cause of the slow progress England made in civilization and refinement in the Anglo-Saxon period; for it confined the population in so many distinct and small communities that knowledge could not possibly become diffused. Every little clearing of the forest which gave residence and occupation to ten families kept them from intercommunication with the rest of the world. There might be twenty families of the same extent in the circuit of the same wood, but they knew nothing of each other. There was probably no road between them; and this is the way historians account for the otherwise inexplicable fact that, at a time when the population of

the whole country was under a million and a half, there were more towns and hamlets than at the present time. Every fifty people who lived in the same legal enclosure constituted a "town," and only in the great cities founded by the Romans, and occupied by the Saxons or Danes, were any larger numbers to be found.

§ 7. The indefatigable activity of Alfred's mind was shown more in peace than war. With the instinctive wisdom of an English King, he perceived that there was no safety for the land but in the possession of a powerful fleet. He therefore launched his galleys from all the ports at which invasion could take place, and took command of the narrow channels dividing us from Germany and France. He cultivated letters, setting an example to future scholars in the purity and elegance with which he translated Latin authors into his native tongue. He simplified and softened the laws, abrogating the insulting and dangerous practice of assessing the lives of different populations at different sums. Henceforth, he said, all lives shall be of equal value, the Dane's life and the Englishman's. And the result was, that admiration produced what treaties and battles had not done. The sceptre of the great Anglo-Saxon stretched practically over the Danelagh, and Guthrum's position was similar to that of an inferior and yet nominally independent king in the time of the Heptarchy. A few years would have completed the amalgamation of all the nationalities, for Alfred's policy consisted in teaching the later settlers that they were as thoroughly English as their predecessors on the soil, and he guarded their tenure of the lands he had assigned them in the treaty, as the surest means of strengthening the whole island against the aggressions of less civilized hordes. The Danes, however, seemed to have an innate aversion to the steady decorum of a settled life. From time to time the sea-madness took possession of them, when Alfred's death left them comparatively unchecked, and they rushed into their

ships, and devastated towns and territories with which their rulers were at peace. They pretended in their public treaties to be "Christians" and "quiet folk," but in their hearts they were pirates and heathens, as when they first sailed out of the Baltic. Edward, the son of Alfred, after several years of active warfare, succeeded in driving the Northmen beyond the Humber. Athelstane, his successor, pushed his arms still further north, and finally established the limits of his kingdom at the river Tweed. Once more the Saxon White Horse had superseded the Danish Raven, from Norfolk to Northumberland, and Athelstane was about to consolidate his authority in the newly-recovered monarchy, when a great confederacy was got up against him by all the discontented peoples he had so lately incorporated or chastised.

§ 8. Olaf, the dispossessed Norwegian king of Northumbria, took the command. There were men of all the tribes and lineages who then occupied the British soil. Danes from all their settlements, Cymri from the west coast, and Gaels from the distant Hebrides, and Scots from the Grampians, and Ancient Britons from Galloway and Dumbarton. One more chance was given to the old inhabitants to re-assert their property in the soil, supported as they were by the armies of the Northmen and the disunion of their Saxon supplanters. Among the weapons mentioned, which appeared at the great battle of Brunnenburg, the "claymore" takes a prominent place; but the broadsword, which has decided the victory on so many occasions since, was ineffectual at that time. The confederated peoples were discomfited by Athelstane, and paid dearly for their temerity in venturing on English ground. He attacked the Welsh, and exacted tribute from the fiery mountaineers. He expelled the British half of the inhabitants of Exeter, and left the whole city to its Saxon occupiers. He appointed his own magistrates over the Northumbrian Danes, and could now say with truth, that the Saxon race was dominant through all the land.

§ 9. The boast, however, did not stop at the limits of the present England. The power of Athelstane, as lord superior, stretched to the farthest north, and the King of Scots did homage for the country he was allowed to rule. Great in battle and great in power, Athelstane was also great in legislation. He enacted many laws, which were all of a liberal and elevating tendency ; he confirmed the franchises and free lands of many of the towns, and left a reputation for wisdom and goodness which has not yet died away from the places where his benefits were bestowed. His influence extended into quarters where it was least likely to be found. The King of Norway, the ancient enemy of his country, was so impressed with his superiority in virtue as well as strength, that he sent his eldest son, afterwards King Haco, to be educated in his court ; and the chieftain of the colonizing Britons who had established themselves in France, and were now expelled from Brittany by an invasion of the Normans, found an equal refuge in the palace of the king.

When this noble monarch died, in 940, the kingdom fell to Edmund, his son ; and immediately the old commotions began. Cymri and Scots again tried the fate of battle, but with the same want of success as before. The impetuosity of the prince, which might have been useful to him in war, was fatal in peace. He was murdered by one of his nobles after a short and eventful reign.

Edmund was succeeded by his brother Edred, whose reign, though containing no such stirring events as a Fight of Brunnenburg, is made memorable by the first appearance in this country of the struggle which lasted till the Reformation between the civil and ecclesiastical powers.

§ 10. The Church had been making silent and unobserved advances during all those years of anarchy and danger. From the time when Augustine established his humble chair at Canterbury, and succeeded in displacing the national Christianity of the Britons to make way for the authority of Rome,

the tide of its prosperity was on the flow. The inherent excellence of the Gospel faith made it almost independent of the ignorance and ambition of its papal missionaries, and from a very early date the profession of priest and bishop became sacred, and formed a safeguard to the properties conveyed to them in the midst of the lawlessness and injustice of the times. Secure in the high consideration of the people, and enriched by the munificence of the kings and nobles, the usual effects of affluence and idleness were speedily seen. Before the end of the seventh century, the monasteries and nunneries, which were thickly spread all over the land, were the acknowledged receptacles of debauchery and vice. An ostentatious regularity in external observances was believed to compensate for every excess; and the wickedest of the nobles retired to a convent, which he endowed with his estate, to have a freer indulgence of his inclinations in the midst of drunken monks and immodest nuns, than he could expect in the world. The violences of the Danish invasions put only a temporary check to this state of affairs. The successful leaders of the northern swarm were speedily won over by the luxuriousness of their new dependents; and the result of all these combining causes was seen in the reign of Alfred, when he complained that no clergyman north of the Humber could translate his Latin prayer-book into English; and south of the Humber no clergyman could read any language whatever.

Yet this ignorant and demoralized priesthood had enormous influence on the still more ignorant population. Miracles were never wanting when grasping abbot or self-indulgent bishop required to win over or silence the multitude. As long as those performers of legerdemain tricks were on the side of the kings and nobles, no fault was found with their supernatural powers. They might divide the wood of the cross into as many chips as they chose, and heal cattle of all manner of diseases by incantations over a well, but when there arose an ambitious churchman who turned against the

Crown and the aristocracy—a man who found himself at the head of the most numerous and best organized of all the orders of the state, with abbeys and priories, bishoprics and monasteries, all plentifully endowed, and the Church confirmed in possession of the tithes of all England since the year 855—his powers were examined a little more closely, and his pretensions to superhuman wisdom not so patiently received.

This man was found in the reign we have now reached in the person of the famous Dunstan. There is a very close resemblance between his life and that of the still more famous Thomas à Beckett, whom we shall meet with in a future chapter, and we shall perceive that the methods of gaining influence over the common mind were the same in both cases, and pursued for the same purpose. He was presented to King Athelstane when he had just taken the clerical habit, and soon gained his majesty's affections by the variety and excellence of his accomplishments. He painted and carved; he worked in gold and precious stones; he wrote the most wonderful hand, and illustrated books with the most beautiful designs; and, above all, he composed the sweetest of tunes and sang the merriest of songs, accompanying himself on almost any instrument then known. Some people have supposed that he was also a ventriloquist, and availed himself of his powers of mimicry to make certain sounds appear to come from a harp which he hung up on the wall. But the deceit was found out by the enmity of the other courtiers, and Dunstan was turned out of the Court. He went down to the church at Glastonbury, built a small cell, and coiled himself up in it, to the surprise of the beholders. All his gay doings were forgotten as if they had never been. He wore hair shirts, and inflicted penances on himself, and fasted so much and slept so little that the Evil Spirit began to tempt him in hopes of interrupting so holy a life. He put his ill-omened countenance through the little hole that gave light to the cell, and

began some depreciating remarks; but Dunstan, who happened to be hammering some iron at the time, caught the visitor's nose in his red-hot tongs, and squeezed it till the enemy of mankind confessed himself defeated, and howled to be let go. Now it began to be whispered abroad that miracles had heralded the holy Dunstan's birth, and surrounded him in his youth, and expectation rose high of the grandeur of his future career.

Fuller than any one else of these expectations was Dunstan himself. Edmund, the king, thought that so powerful a champion should not be left in so humble a position, and made him abbot of Glastonbury. Edred would not be left behind his brother in recognising such merits, and offered to make him a bishop. Dunstan refused, and the king did not renew the offer. Immediately there was spread a report by the holy man himself, that three of the Apostles had appeared to him, and rebuked him for his folly in rejecting the poor see of Crediton, and commanding him to accept it if he had the chance given him once more, and not even to say "no" if the king asked him to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury. In proof of the reality of the visit and of the serious nature of their indignation, the repentant abbot showed the marks on his back which the rods of St. Peter and the other Apostles had left. Edred, moved perhaps by this extraordinary manifestation of the heavenly will, sent for the abbot, and made him his guide and counsellor in the affairs of state. Dunstan had only two objects in life—to introduce the new doctrine of celibacy among the clergy, and spread the papal power. Up to this time the English clergy married if they chose, though the popular prejudice against matrimony was skilfully kept up by the monks and the Pope. And a fortunate thing it is that they for a while succeeded in their design; for if the powerful office-bearers of the Church had been allowed to wed, they would soon have degenerated into a hereditary priesthood, in imitation of the hereditary nobility; and the

endowments of the Church would have been taken from the people at large to swell the revenues of a few influential families:

§ 11. Madly hating marriage and madly worshipping the Pope, Dunstan determined to show his supremacy over the highest in the land when Edwy, the nephew of Edred, succeeded to the throne. The king was but sixteen years of age, and had given his hand, without consultation with the Church, to a noble maiden of the name of Elgiva. At the marriage festival, at which Dunstan was present, Edwy, tired of the noisy enjoyments of his nobles, retired to a room where Elgiva and her mother were awaiting him. Instantly the furious abbot rushed in search, tore the youth by main force back into the banqueting-hall, and made him ridiculous in the eyes of the drunken crowd.

Edwy perceived the danger he incurred if the abbot and his rabble of monks were not checked in their ambition. He banished Dunstan from Britain, and turned out the recluses of Glastonbury to make way for the married parish priests. But Dunstan had a coadjutor at home whom Edwy had not taken into account. This was Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, who entered into the quarrel with all his heart. He therefore stirred up treason against the crown, and Mercia and Northumbria rebelled. When Edwy was weakened by the loss of the greater part of his kingdom, Odo proceeded more boldly. He seized the beautiful Elgiva, on pretence that she was some third or fourth cousin of her husband, and pronounced the marriage void. He then took precautions against the loveliness of his victim, which might still hold its empire over Edwy's heart, and he had her fair face scarred with hot irons till not a vestige of her faultless features remained. But youth and hope work more miracles than Dunstan, and a few months restored her cheeks to their colour and her skin to its freshness. She rejoined her husband, who never would acknowledge the divorce, and Odo kept no farther measures. The young couple were seized at Gloucester. The queen was

mangled beyond all hope of restoration to her former charms, and expired in the agonies of the torture. Edwy could not survive so great a sorrow, and died in a few months. Triumphant in his victory, and breathing vengeance against his foes, Dunstan came once more over the sea, and never cast a thought of pity on the victims of his zeal, who had both died before they were nineteen years of age.

§ 12. There was no farther opposition to the claims of the Church when Edwy's brother Edgar succeeded. He threw himself into the hands of Dunstan, promoted him to Worcester first, and finally to the primacy; and the object of the monk's efforts was attained. The Benedictine rulers were accepted in the English monasteries, and the country became tributary to Rome. With the help of this great ally, Edgar's authority was stretched farther than that of any of his predecessors. He summoned a meeting of his vassal kings at Chester. Eight subordinate rulers obeyed his command, and rowed him on the Dee in a boat steered by his royal hand. On this occasion he received the homage of Kenneth of Scotland, Malcolm of Cambria, Maccus of Man and the Hebrides, three chieftains of the Britons of Wales, and the kings of Galloway and Westmere (Stirlingshire and Argyle?) Pouring forth his treasures in the erection of monasteries and churches, blindly submissive to the orders of his spiritual adviser, there is no wonder that the Church, which was the judge of men's behaviour, and the monks, who were the bestowers of fame, were lavish in their pardons and panegyrics of so liberal a benefactor.

Edgar heard of the beauty of a lady called Elfrida, and sent one of his nobles to ascertain if she deserved the praises given her by common report. Athelwold went, and was captivated with her charms. He offered her his hand, and, on his return to Edgar, described her as not worthy of her reputation; but informed him that, as she was wealthy and well born, he had married her himself. A short time after-

wards, Edgar was hunting near Athelwold's house, and determined to see the bride. Athelwold hurried forward, and besought her to show to as little advantage as she could, and told her the circumstances of his mission. She prepared to receive the king, and dressed herself in the most becoming apparel. The king was captivated as his emissary had been, and the ambitious Elfrida perceived it was not yet too late to attain the dignity of which Athelwold's love had deprived her. The guilty pair speedily came to an understanding. Edgar availed himself of the first opportunity, and, stabbing Athelwold to death with a hunting spear, raised Elfrida, the unshrinking accomplice of the murder, to be the partner of his throne. We do not hear that the thunders which destroyed young Edwy for marrying his distant relation were launched against this hideous crime of the obedient Edgar. Nor was he severely punished for one of the greatest outrages which a Christian could commit. He tore a beautiful nun from her convent by force, and was condemned to fast twice a week, and to abstain from wearing his crown for the space of seven years. For so ostentatious a potentate, who seems to have been childishly delighted with the appearances of authority, while the whole government was in the hands of Dunstan, the interdiction of that mark of sovereignty was perhaps as severe a punishment as any penance which could have been imposed.

This period is the turning-point of Anglo-Saxon history. The debaucheries and crimes of Edgar, and the fierce fanaticism of Dunstan, threw the whole nation into the utmost dissolution of morals combined with the bitterest polemical disputes. The thanes, or nobles, who resided in their distant demesnes, sided with the parish priests to whom they had been accustomed; and the peasantry also were satisfied with the married clergy, whose wives and sisters were of the same rank with themselves. But Dunstan banished the unhappy clergymen who preferred the mothers of their children to the

revenues of their churches, and filled the parochial charges with monks who were ready to support him in whatever he proposed. It is curious to remark that the Danish populations were generally favourable to Dunstan's policy; they were more recently Christianized, and saw less difference between the regulars and seculars than the Saxons of older faith; but in other respects the men of the Danelagh felt themselves to be as English as the men of Kent or Sussex. Great intermixtures had taken place. Odo, the archbishop, was a Dane's son; Edgar himself had been educated by a Danish chief; and the two populations were more like what we should call a Danish party and a Saxon party (as we used formerly to speak of the court and country parties), than national enemies encamped on the same ground.

§ 13. The death of Edgar deprived Dunstan of his greatest support, and Edward, his son by his first wife, although at first accepted by the Romish party, speedily perceived that the liberties both of crown and people depended on the diminution of the Church's power. He, therefore, dispersed the monks who had been established in place of the exiled priests, and was supported by the gratitude of the men he had restored to their homes, and by the assembly of the Witan or parliament which he summoned to meet at Calne. Dunstan, however, was not to be daunted by a young king and a secular council; and when the whole of the nobility and higher clergy were met in an upper chamber, and were prepared to pass resolutions against the presumptuous archbishop, that holy man had recourse to prayer, and prayed so long and so successfully, that the joists of the floor gave way at the end where his enemies were seated, and left him safe at the other corner. There were many deaths and severe sufferings caused by this miraculous incident, and the monks were eloquent on the evidence it afforded of the saintliness of their chief. Modern inquirers, however, have been inclined to believe that the early studies of the recluse in carpentering

and ironwork had more to do with the failure of the beams than the credulous ecclesiastics supposed.

The miracle was successful for a time; but an event which happened in the following year was not so favourable to the prelate's views, for it strengthened the hands of his enemy, the ferocious Elfrida, who had endeavoured, on the death of her husband, to procure the crown for her son Ethelred, to the exclusion of his elder brother. Dunstan, at the head of the monks, had opposed her in this attempt, and probably regretted the part he took in securing the succession of Edward, when he perceived the little influence he obtained over the young king's mind. Elfrida lived with her son in discontented retirement at Corfe Castle, in Dorsetshire, keeping up a correspondence with the earls or eoldermen of the various shires who were in favour of the secular or married clergy. Edward was only eighteen years of age, and Ethelred scarcely ten. The brothers had not shared in the animosities of their respective adherents, and loved each other with sincere affection. Edward was out hunting in the neighbourhood of Ethelred's house, and rode up to the door alone. He asked for a little wine to drink his brother's health, and Elfrida, with exaggerated expressions of kindness, gave him the cup. While he was drinking it, an attendant of the queen, not, we may believe, without a signal from his mistress, stabbed the young monarch in the back. The horse started off alarmed. Weakened with loss of blood, the rider lost his seat, and was dragged by his stirrup a long way. When his companions tracked him by the gore upon the sand, they found him mangled almost past recognition, and the guilty hand was immediately suspected. No suspicion, however, attached to Ethelred, and in a short time he was crowned by the archbishop in person, who had failed in persuading a daughter of Edgar—by the nun whom he had torn from the monastery at Wilton—to leave the cell from which her mother had been forced, and mount the vacant throne.

§ 14. Ethelred obtained, from the enmity of the archbishop, the depreciatory name of "the Unready," and appeared to fulfil a curse which the prelate had uttered against him on his coronation day, by the calamities of which he was constantly the victim, and sometimes the cause. The public attention had been so occupied with the great ecclesiastic dispute, that the defence of the nation against foreign enemies had been neglected for many years. It was now found that the triumphs of Dunstan had so filled the land with monks, that there was a scarcity of able-bodied laymen either to fight or plough. Vast numbers had shaved their heads, and sunk into the useless security of the cloister, who might have been relied on with bow and spear, when the danger, long threatened, at last drew near. The Norsemen were again upon the sea, and having established a powerful state on the opposite shore, under the name of the Dukedom of Normandy, were determined to make themselves masters of the unprotected and monk-ridden England in the same way.

Year after year the demands of the pirates rose. They were bought off with sums of money; first they were contented with ten thousand pounds of silver, then with sixteen thousand, then with twenty-four, and at last they refused to retire from their prey unless they were bribed with forty-eight thousand pounds. These do not seem very large sums at the present time, but we are to remember that five pounds weight of silver would purchase a hundred acres of land. It was worth forty oxen, or two hundred and fifty sheep. The sums therefore exacted by the invaders in the ten years of Ethelred's reign, from 991, may be considered equal to ten or twelve millions sterling. Add to this the damage they did during their stay, the farms they ruined, the towns they burned, the treasures they seized, and you may safely double, or even treble the amount; for the destruction of agriculture is a far greater calamity than the mere seizure of money, and spreads its effects over all the years required to recover it.

former state. A tax was raised throughout the country by the name of the Dane-geld, to satisfy these rapacious visitors, and winter quarters and maintenance were assigned to several detachments of them which delayed their departure till the spring. The ancient Danish settlers on the north and north-east of the Thames were by this time, we have seen, scarcely distinguishable from their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. They married, and were buried together; they attended the same church, and spoke the same language. Nevertheless, it is possible that they were more leniently treated by the new swarms of their countrymen, and that their resistance to them was not so decided as if they had been of an altogether different stock. The rage of the Anglo-Saxons took the form of a massacre such as is rarely met in history, and in spite of the exaggerations surrounding the details, we cannot doubt the horror of the event.

On the thirteenth of November, 1002, we are told that everywhere—in town and village, farm and castle—the prepared Saxons rose upon the unprepared Danes, and put them to death. Old and young, mother and bride, boy and girl, all were doomed to death; and some have gone so far as to say that there was not one Dane left alive. In some places where the pirates had created more than usual hostility, it is likely the outraged Saxons slew all of them they could reach. In many cases, too, the foreign mercenary whom the king himself had placed in the Anglo-Saxon cottage to ensure the fidelity of his subjects, and who had used his opportunity to oppress and insult the proprietors of the house, may have fallen a victim to the revenge of the father or husband; but it is utterly impossible that so scattered and so ignorant a race as the Anglo-Saxons should have had the secrecy and combination necessary for so great an act; and we are reduced to believe that an outbreak of popular fury, which undoubtedly occurred in various localities, took the form, in the ballads of both the populations, of a wholesale slaughter;

and that St. Brice, on whose festival the event took place, became a cry of proud recollection to the Saxons, and of vengeance to the Danes.

§ 15. The revenge came very soon. The Baltic coast sent forth its warriors in greater numbers than before. Ethelred was deceived by his flatterers, and forsaken by his chiefs. When efforts were made and a fleet collected, quarrels broke out among the leaders; the ships were deserted, and wrecked upon the shore. A large army of the enemy besieged Canterbury. Alphege, the archbishop, resisted to the last; but treachery opened the gates, and the inhabitants were sold as slaves. A party of the triumphant Danes were celebrating their success, and ordered the prelate to be brought before them. "We must have ransom," they cried. "Gold, bishop! gold!" But Alphege said he had no wealth of his own, and would rather die than allow his flock to impoverish itself by purchasing his release. The drunken revellers cast the relics of their feast at the old man's head, and massacred him amid shouts of derision. They only extinguished one feeble life, but gave a martyr to the Saxon Church, before whose shrine their descendants in the next generation were kneeling in deepest veneration. The prey was now thought to be too valuable to be left to the hands of subordinate chieftains, and Sweyn, the King of Denmark, embarked with a royal army, and attempted the conquest of the kingdom. When the men of the Danelagh saw the ancient standard of their race, and reflected at the same time on the powerlessness of their nominal sovereign, they professed their allegiance to the invader, and deserted Ethelred's cause. Sweyn left his son Canute in charge of the ships and shore, and marched triumphantly through the land. Everywhere the Danish element in the population united itself to his fortunes—a clear proof that the massacre of 1002 was not so universal as we are told; and at last the Saxon king, who was equally unready to fight or die, fled with his wife, Emma, to her brother's

dukedom of Normandy, and Sweyn was accepted as undisputed monarch of the land from the Solway to the Channel.

§ 16. Yet when the first fear of the Danish invasion was passed, the old Saxon affection for the line of Woden returned. Emissaries were sent over to invite Ethelred to return, on condition of better government for the future; and as Sweyn's death had removed the greatest difficulty in the way of his restoration, the Unready came back to contest the prize with Canute, whom the Danes had nominated to the crown. Fortunately the national cause was entrusted to a stronger champion, when the death of Ethelred opened the way for his illegitimate son Edmund, a man whose strength was so great that he is known by the homely name of Ironside, and whose courage and conduct were equal to his bodily force. He challenged Canute to decide the quarrel by single combat; but who could have any chance against a man that could perform such feats as Edmund, who could cleave trees asunder with his sword, and tire down a horse on foot? Canute declined the invitation to fight, but suggested a division of the kingdom, as had been practised before; and his proposal was accepted amid the rejoicing shouts of both the armies. But before the terms of the agreement could be fully carried out, the iron-sided warrior died, and Canute was installed in the undivided kingdom, as if he had been the natural heir.

§ 17. Affecting a moderation he did not possess, Canute endeavoured to soothe the alarm of the nation by promises of mercy and justice. His acts, however, soon belied his words. He put all the relations of the late royal family to death, or forced them into banishment. Two princes, the sons of Edmund Ironside, he sent to the King of Sweden, with a request that he would deliver him from such dangerous opponents. The Swede was more pitiful than the Dane, and sent them to the distant Court of Hungary, to keep them out of Canute's power. Edward and Alfred, the sons of Ethelred

and Emma, were protected by her brother Richard, at Rouen, and were likely in a few years to be personally dangerous; but Canute took the surest means of disarming their mother's enmity, for he made her an offer of his hand; and when Emma felt herself again a queen of England, and mother of a prince who might hope to succeed his father, she turned bitterly against her sons by Ethelred, and made them feel that they had no country beyond the territories of their uncle. They grew up accordingly more Norman than English, and Emma's unnatural harshness was in this way the not very remote cause, as we shall see, of the Norman conquest.

Prosperity had the same softening effect on the character of Canute which labour and suffering had had on that of Alfred. The rude Dane forgot to be bloody in the midst of an obedient people, and made himself popular in a way very unusual with kings—by writing songs and ballads, which spread into hall and cottage. One of his verses is still preserved, and as it is said to have been a favourite among the English peasantry, we may conclude that Canute had paid them the additional compliment of adopting their language as the vehicle of his poem. He was rowed by some of his attendants on the river Renne in the neighbourhood of the great cathedral of Ely, and as the psalmody of the monks reached his ear, he sang:—

Merie singen the munches binnen E—ly,
Tha Cnut Ching rew there by,
Roweth, enihtes, near the land,
And here we these munches soeng.

In more modern spelling we can judge of the royal poet:—

Merrily sang the monks of Ely,
When King Canute rowed thereby,
Row, my men, the land a near,
And the monks' singing let us hear.

His popularity, however, is better shown by the less authentic story of his rebuke to his admirers, who told him there was

no limit to his power. He placed his chair within the reach of high-water, and ordered the advancing tide to retire. When the waves came on, he turned to his sycophants, and exposed their flatteries and meanness. This anecdote is never omitted in a life of Canute; and in spite of the exceeding improbability of a middle-aged gentleman exposing himself to be drenched by the increasing water for the mere purpose of conveying a lesson which nobody required, it has become a fact of the most indubitable kind, and on a slab recently inserted in the wall of a house near the shore at Southampton, the words appear:—"Here Canute reprimanded his courtiers."

The firmness of his power was shown within a very few years. He left his new acquisition in 1019, and remained a whole year in Denmark, carrying on a successful war with Sweden and Norway. The latter of these he subdued and annexed to the Danish crown; and after a long interval of repose at home and honours abroad, he completed his character of a Christian king by a pilgrimage to Rome. Here he was received with extraordinary respect by the pontiff and several potentates, including the German Cæsar, who happened to be in the city at the time. They gave him vases of silver, and other marks of consideration; but he obtained more valuable proofs of the papal and imperial friendship in a promise that his clergy should no longer be oppressed by Romish exactions, nor pilgrims insulted and robbed in their passage through the states of the emperor. Delighted with all he heard and saw, the Dane came back to England more zealous in support of the Church than ever, and presented to the shrine of Coventry the arm-bones of Saint Augustine, which he had bought at Pavia for a thousand talents of silver and a thousand talents of gold. If the talent of gold represented eleven hundred pounds sterling, and a talent of silver seventy-five, this relic of the Bishop of Hippo, who died in 430, cost probably three or four years' amount of the whole

revenue of England. It is surprising that this purchaser of sacred treasures, and builder of churches, and bestower of tithes escaped canonization when he died in 1035.

On hearing of his stepfather's death, Edward, the elder son of Ethelred, who had waited his time in the Court of Normandy, put to sea with a few adherents, and laid claim to the vacant throne. He marched with all speed towards the residence of his mother Emma, relying on her support. But Emma was his bitterest enemy. She was engaged in furthering the success of her son by Canute, who was known as Hardicanute, but was unfortunately at that time in Denmark. Edward, always pusillanimous and easily daunted, fled to his ships when he discovered his mother's hatred, and became more Norman in his feelings than before. His brother Alfred was more unfortunate. Emma beguiled him over by promises of aid, and when he landed on the Kentish coast with five or six hundred retainers, he was waited on by Earl Godwin on her behalf, and welcomed to the kingdom. When his followers, however, were skilfully divided into small parties, after they had amicably marched across to Guildford, they were arrested as enemies of the crown; the common soldiers were tortured and put to death, and Alfred was blinded with brutal violence, and died of the operation. Harold, an illegitimate son of Canute, was now apparently without a rival, for England had been left to him by his father's will; Norway was bequeathed to his illegitimate brother Sweyn; while Hardicanute, the legitimate son of Emma, was appointed to the crown of Denmark.

§ 18. Emma fled to Flanders when Harold was elected, and was joined at Bruges by Hardicanute. The mother and son had not long to wait, for after an inglorious reign of four years, chiefly devoted to hunting, in which agility gained him the name of Harefoot, he made way for his brother's claims.

Hardicanute seemed in no hurry to urge those claims by

force. He waited so long in Denmark, in ostensibly preparing his forces, but in reality in gluttony and drunkenness of the most outrageous kind, that the ambitious mother began to despair of his success. It was only when he had torn himself from his festivals in the north, and was astonishing the Flemings with his powers of drinking at Bruges, that a deputation from England saved him all further trouble by making him an offer of the crown. Over he came, feasting and carousing all the way, and soon showed that a tipsy king is more expensive than a warlike one. He re-imposed the old Dane-geld, which had been raised to resist or buy off his countrymen's invasions, to pay for his wine and beer. He ate and drank his way through all the taxes, and laid heavy burdens even on the Church. Rebellion probably would have ensued, but luckily one night, in celebrating the marriage of one of his lords, he proposed so many toasts, and drained so many bumpers, that at last his majesty fell speechless on the floor. The flagon was still in his hand, but he was unmistakeably dead—a warning to both Danes and Saxons, who were the most drunken people in the world, that excess brings its own punishment.

§ 19. And now came an incident which gives us a curious view of the state of national feeling among the Danes and English, and shows us that the struggles for royalty we have been reading of since the death of Ethelred were very different from the conquest of one people by another, and the imposition of the conqueror as king. The throne was ostensibly elective; and even when a strong competitor like Canute had an army at his beck, the form of a nomination was gone through. The Danish party was predominant, and as long as the lineal descendants of Canute remained, there would probably have been a competition at each demise of the crown between the Danish and Saxon pretenders. But on the death of Hardicanute there was no legitimate heir to Canute's authority, and the whole nation—Danes and Anglo-

Saxons—elected Edward, the son of Ethelred and Emma ; as if, on the extinction of the intrusive family, the rights of the old Anglo-Saxon branch revived ; and the Danish monarchy, after lasting twenty-five years (from 1017 to 1042), came peaceably to an end.

If the laws of direct descent had been firmly established in those days, Edward's claims would have yielded to those of another Edward, known from his perpetual exile as Edward "the Outlaw," the son of Edmund Ironside. But the son of Ethelred was sufficiently near, and had gained the support of the most powerful of the English earls, whose name is even now more familiar to us than that of the king he made. Strange stories are told of the birth and fortunes of the great Earl Godwin. He was the son of a Saxon churl, and was in the time of Sweyn's invasion engaged in guarding a herd of oxen, when a fugitive Danish noble, who had been defeated in a battle near Warwick, besought him to act as his guide to the shore of the Severn. Compassion moved the young Saxon, and he led the suppliant in safety to his ship. When success crowned the Danish party, no reward was too high in the estimation of the grateful warrior for the person who had saved his life. Godwin grew rich and great by the favour of the enemy, but never lost his love for England, or his desire to free her from oppression. All through the reign of Canute his wealth and influence increased, for he managed to maintain his character at once of a patriotic Saxon and a serviceable Dane. Earldoms accumulated in his hands—crimes were imputed to him by one party, and virtues, perhaps as ill-founded, by the other. He was accused of having aided or counselled the ruthless Emma in the murder of the youthful Alfred—of having sold his country to the Danes—of having defended his countrymen against the Danes—of being a Dane, and of being an Englishman ; but Godwin bore the accusations very peaceably, and, at the end of the reign of Hardicanute, was possessor, along with his five sons, of almost all the

south or Saxon part of England, and of several of the great earldoms in the north.

We are not to think an earldom a mere title of rank, as in our own days, without any substantial power. An earl in the days of Godwin was the ruler of his county or earldom with greater and more immediate authority than the king. He appointed to all offices, administered justice, collected revenue, and commanded the armed array. When Godwin stood up in the Witanagemote, surrounded by his five sons, Harold, Sweyn, Tostig, Gurth, and Leofwin, he not only represented six votes in the decision of a question, but the six highest officers and greatest landholders in the country. When this powerful family was ascertained to have given its adhesion to Edward, no further opposition was made. The Duke of Normandy parted with his cousin, who had resided so long with him at Rouen, with great joy at his good fortune; and the son of Emma, now near forty years of age, was presented by Godwin to the assembled lords and counsellors, and proclaimed King of England without a dissentient voice.

A more unfit man to maintain the dignity of the crown, threatened as it was by the overweening authority of his nobles and the plots of a foreign enemy, could not have been found. His feelings towards England were probably those of positive dislike. It had been a rude and bitter stepmother in comparison with the maternal tenderness extended to him by Normandy. He had seen his brother Alfred treacherously slain; he had been himself forced into ignominious flight. The healthy energy of the earls, old Godwin equally with young Harold, made them look with pity if not with contempt on the unmanly tenor of his existence—his subordination to the Romish priests, and gratification at the flatteries of the Norman nobles. But perhaps their personal ambition was satisfied, at the same time, with the prospect of so weak and spiritless a master. To tie him still more to the interests of the family, the great Earl made him agree to marry his

daughter, the beautiful Edgitha (or Edith), and, strengthened with this royal connexion, there was no limit to the possible advancement of the descendants of the Saxon churl.

Edward, as if to show that he was not so spiritless as his subjects thought, inaugurated his reign by an assault on his mother's wealth. Emma, the widow of two kings, and equally detestable in her characters of wife and mother, was now spending her old age in Winchester, and hoped perhaps to escape the recollection of her ill-used son, and enjoy her wealth in peace. But Edward saw great advantages and little danger in stripping so unpopular a personage of her estates; and he made a sudden dash down into Hampshire, and took possession of her goods and lands. To show his impartiality, however, he stripped a Saxon bishop of all his holdings, at the same time as a Norman princess, and gratified his dislike of the nation he professed to rule by turning Stigand out of his episcopal office. At a very early period of his reign his ecclesiastical policy was shown. It was simply to root out the English clergy, and supply their places with Normans. In this he was supported by the authority of the Pope and the advice of Norman William. The Saxons had offended the curia at Rome by withholding the Peter's pence which Canute had agreed to pay; the old contest also between the monks and seculars still smouldered in the land, and even the Danes had become so far identified with their neighbours, that they were no longer the blind supporters of the Papal claims which they had shown themselves immediately after their conversion.

Edward, however, made up for any religious deficiency of his subjects by the most slavish prostration before the Church. He tried indeed to imitate the asceticism and voluntary sufferings of the heroes of the monkish legends, and commenced by refusing to live with Edith, the fair daughter of Earl Godwin, whom he married in 1045, on the plea that celibacy made him more like a monk than matrimony. Earl Godwin was

of course displeased with this resolution of the self-denying husband, as he had been in hopes, through his daughter's marriage, of being the founder of a line of kings. But when this justifiable ambition was shut out from its natural gratification, we must not be surprised if other thoughts came into many people's minds, when they compared the priest-ridden, self-flagellating, fasting, and relic-visiting Edward with the bold-eyed, frank-mannered, strong-armed Harold, who bore the sharpest sword in England against its enemies, and the strongest shield against the oppressors of the poor. The delight with which the English had seen the restoration of the old Saxon line in the person of Edward—the descendant and representative of the half-fabulous Cerdic and the patriotic Alfred—was soon changed into dislike and apprehension by the proceedings of the king. The popularity of the Godwins evidently displeased him, and availing himself of the indignation excited by the unpardonable conduct of one of the earls, Sweyn, in breaking into a nunnery at Leominster, and carrying off the abbess, although with her own consent, he succeeded in producing a quarrel in the wrongdoer's family, which weakened it more than any external enmity could have done. When Sweyn endeavoured to obtain a reversal of the sentence of banishment pronounced on him for his crime by some private arrangement with the king, Harold and his kinsman Beorn interfered. Sweyn stabbed Beorn in making his escape, and thus there was a blood feud between the brothers. Edward therefore lost no time in restoring Sweyn to his earldom, as an additional guard against the designs of his family, and had the gratification at the same time of nominating a Norman bishop, Robert of Jumieges, to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

§ 20. Considering themselves now strong enough to proceed more openly, the Norman party invited a great French noble to visit the Court. Eustace of Boulogne, the brother-in-law of the king, came over with his attendants, and was

received as befitted the dignity of so great a man. He was so inflated, indeed, with the notion of his importance, that, on his departure from England, he determined to make his entrance into the peaceable town of Dover in a manner worthy of the most powerful potentate. He pulled up in a meadow a little way from the walls, and put on his armour. His helmet was ornamented with two bits of whalebone, by way of pennon, in proof that as Count of Boulogne—which perhaps had a few fishing-boats lying high and dry on the sands—he was a maritime power of the first magnitude; and ordering his attendants to follow his example, he sprang on his war-horse, pointed his spear, and dashed through the streets of Dover as if he had taken the town by storm. Having sufficiently alarmed the inhabitants by this warlike approach, he ordered his train to mark with chalk the best houses they saw, as a sign they would occupy them for the night. But one surly Englishman disregarded the chalk on his door, and would not let the Frenchman in. The Frenchman drew his sword, and wounded the inhospitable citizen. He called out for help. His family came to his aid, and the intruder was slain. Eustace heard of the riot; mounted his horse again, and, breaking into the Englishman's house, killed him on his own hearthstone. He then scoured the streets, crushing over women and children, and putting men everywhere to the sword. Some few took to their bows and quarter-staves, and resisted the assailants; and in a few minutes Eustace was in headlong flight, leaving nineteen of his followers dead upon the causeway.

He fled as fast as fear and a good horse could carry him to Gloucester, where the king was holding his court, complained of the insolence of the townsmen of Dover, and demanded vengeance for the injuries he had received. Edward was very angry, as befitted a man who valued a Frenchman's comfort more than an Englishman's life, and ordered Godwin to take what force he required, and execute unsparing justice on the guilty town. Godwin thought, perhaps, it

was very unlikely that unarmed citizens would rise without provocation on so many steel-clad horsemen, and flatly refused to obey the king's command. Edward was equally resolved, and summoned Godwin to appear before a council to answer for his disobedience. Godwin soon discovered that the council was packed with his enemies, and raising all the forces he and his sons could immediately summon, he appeared near the place of meeting, and made a demand for Eustace to be delivered into his hands, to be tried by the laws of the land for housebreaking and murder. The king became alarmed, and sent for the northern Earls, Leofric and Siward, to counterbalance the family of Godwin. The Earls, however, of Mercia and Northumbria, as the greatest effort they would make on the royal side, insisted on a reconciliation, and Edward apparently pardoned his presumptuous subject. Godwin and Harold dismissed their forces, and immediately the king, finding himself master of the situation, advanced with a large army, commanded by his foreign favourites, to London, where another council had been called, and ordered the English recusants a second time to appear. They demanded hostages for their safety if they came, and when these were refused, they declined obedience to the summons. They were allowed five days in which to fly the country, their goods and honours were confiscated, and the most powerful family in England found itself suddenly reduced to poverty and weakness. Getting or taking a dispensation from his promise of five days' grace, the king sent armed men after the fugitives to slay them wherever they could be found. The armed men, however, were English at heart, and would have taken care not to overtake Godwin and his sons if they had lingered a month upon the road. But they did not linger. The father, with his wife and three sons, went over to Flanders; Harold and Leofwin went to Ireland; and Edward, delivered for a time from the grim presence of his father-in-law, dismissed Edith from even the nominal position

of his wife, and immured her in a nunnery near Andover, of which his sister was abbess.

§ 21. While the Saxon princess, "in prayers and tears, expected the day of her release and comfort," a portentous visitor made his appearance at the English court, and raised the expectations of the Normans to a higher pitch than ever. This was William the Conqueror; not yet endowed with that title, and scarcely perhaps with the idea of his future exploit, but bold, ambitious, self-willed, and already, by force of character, assuming a superiority over the indigenous nobles, and even the legitimate king, which might have given them all fair warning of the danger of so powerful a guest. William was at this time twenty-four years of age, strong and athletic, florid in complexion, with eyes of the most irascible expression, and a voice of the harshest tones when anything discomposed his temper. What his public reception was it is useless to inquire; it was his private and confidential interviews with Edward which attracted the notice of all. In one of these he seems to have either flattered or terrified the spiritless king to sign a paper appointing him heir to the crown of England; and engaging him, in all probability at the same time, to continue the system of encouraging the settlers of Normandy, and humiliating the English proprietors and people to the utmost of his power. Satisfied with this, and scattering his money and promises wherever they might be useful, William took his leave, and meditated on his chances of success.

§ 22. All the castles which owned the king's authority had been placed in Norman hands. The earldoms of the great Saxons had been given to foreigners or the king's friends. The appearance of the strong body-guard which William had brought with him, and some of whom he left behind, encouraged the hopes of his partisans, and when it was reported that Godwin was preparing an expedition to re-assert his rights, the country was all alive with expectation. Edward sent a

fleet to prevent his putting to sea from the ports of Flanders, and kept his soldiers ready to repulse him if he landed. But Godwin eluded the fleet, and landed on the Sussex coast. Harold collected a squadron near the Isle of Wight. All the south-west counties joined him with money and men ; and in a great and hourly-increasing cavalcade, the father and son sailed up the Thames to London, with acclamations from multitudes on both the shores. Edward tried to summon courage for a battle, but could not. The Witan, or great council, assembled, declared Godwin and Harold innocent of the crimes laid to their charge, and added the startling resolution, that the foreigners had been guilty of treason in giving bad advice to the king, and banished them from the realm. Bishops who had turned out the old Saxon prelates, were driven away by force. Castles were seized from the custody of Norman nobles. Edith was brought in triumph from her cell at Wherwell ; Godwin and Harold were reinstated in all their earldoms and offices, and the revolution was complete.

Harold was now the great officer of the State ; for when his father died in the year following their restoration, there was no person who could be put on a level with so powerful and active a man. Edward, however, was discontented when he dared, and occasionally made a show of resistance. He recalled Edward the Outlaw, for instance, from Hungary, and received him as next heir to the crown. All the Saxon feelings which had been outraged by the prospect of a Norman successor gathered round the representative of the ancient blood. He took the title of Atheling, or Noble (equivalent, perhaps, to our Prince of Wales) ; and great rejoicings, in spite of Harold's popularity, hailed the reappearance among the people of the son of Edmund Ironside and his youthful family of two daughters and a son. The rejoicings, however, were short-lived. The Atheling died in a few months after his arrival, and again the antagonism of Harold and William revived. Edgar, the son of the Atheling, who now took the title,

was too young to be chief of a party, and was considered by Edward too powerless to be nominated heir. He, therefore, again secretly appointed his Norman cousin his successor, and gratified his hatred to the family of Godwin by elevating a potentate to be their master whose ferocity would revenge the indignities they had cast upon himself.

Harold, however, went on as if unconscious of the king's dislike. He reduced the rebellious Welsh to order, put the land in a state of defence against hostile attempts—for the Danes had again become threatening on the eastern coast—and from policy and natural inclination encouraged a strong national feeling, by which he hoped to profit when the struggle with his foreign rival began. To keep this patriotic sentiment entire, he went so far as to side with the men of Northumberland against the cruelties and oppressions of his brother Tostig. First placing himself at the head of an army which could have forced them to submit, he listened to their complaints, and on finding they were well-founded, condemned Tostig to the loss of his earldom, and conferred it on the son of Alfgar, whose earldom of Mercia was, next to Harold's own possessions, the most powerful in the kingdom. The Northumbrians, instead of fighting the great justiciary of the king, found him a just and gentle judge. He won over the hearts of a great county, and lost the affection and aid of an ambitious and unpatriotic brother.

But his regard for England roused various enmities abroad. William, who had a genius for hating, hated him with all his might. In one of his treaties with Edward, the English earl had given two of his nephews as hostages. Edward had sent them for safe custody to William, and William kept them long after the articles of the treaty were executed. Harold went across to negotiate for the release of his relations, and was forced by a storm into the mouth of the Somme. Here he was seized as lawful prize by the Count de Ponthieu, the small potentate on whose territory he had landed. He was

stript of all he had, and thrown into a dungeon to expedite his ransom. William saw his advantage in this incident, and paid the sum required. Harold proceeded to Rouen to thank his benefactor, and the great English earl found himself the guest of his hated rival. That rival affected the greatest kindness, offered him his sister Adele in marriage, and having confidentially told him of Edward's will in his favour, asked him to promise his assistance when the throne was vacant, and trust to his gratitude for a reward. Harold looked round, and saw no means of escape. He promised all that was asked, believing, probably, that an extorted promise has no validity; and was even persuaded one day to swear that he would be true liegeman to the duke. An ordinary oath was not thought much of while it depended on the mere honour and truthfulness of the swearer, but William prepared a sanction for the engagement of which Harold little dreamed. When he had said the words of the oath, a cloth was removed from the table over which he had stretched his hand, and a basket of holy bones and other relics was displayed. An oath over the remains of saints and martyrs was of holier binding power than any other, and Harold was perplexed in mind. Perhaps he thought of applying to the Church for a dispensation, but he and his nation were so unpopular at Rome that he had nothing to expect from the friendship of the Pope.

The pontiffs had for a long time been greatly irritated by the behaviour of the English clergy. Stigand of Canterbury, elected by his priests and people when the Norman intruder was expelled in 1052, had applied for the pallium, the sign of his episcopal induction, to the then occupant of the papal chair. This was Benedict the Tenth, who was about to ratify the English nomination in the usual manner, when the emperor, who still considered the popes his servants, dismissed the Roman pontiff, as being appointed without his sanction, and installed a dependent of his own in his place. Nicholas the Second reversed all the acts of his predecessor, and refused the

canonical institution to the English primate. Stigand therefore made up his mind to do without it, and fulfilled all the duties of his office without troubling himself any farther about the successor of St. Peter and nominee of the German Cæsar. But William had more wisdom. He stationed his favourite theologian, Laufranc, the best scholar and most eloquent teacher of the age, at the apostolical court; and in a very short time there was no more obedient subject or warm supporter of the Duke of Normandy than Nicholas the Second of Rome.

§ 23. Meantime Edward, the king-monk, softened towards his countrymen as his end approached. Perhaps he saw the perils that hung over them from the violence and harshness of his Norman kinsman. He saw Harold's character rising every day, and on his death-bed got so far over his repugnance to the son of Godwin, that he named him to the bystanders as the person to whom he left the crown. This was so natural a course of proceeding, that his appointment was ratified at once by the national voice; and Harold, on the day after Edward's death, was publicly declared king of England, and crowned in Westminster Abbey by Stigand, the Archbishop, who at that very moment was at open enmity with the Pope. There could be no real grief for the loss of so useless a sovereign as Edward, but it was felt that he had acted as a defence against the storm which all men saw was about to burst upon the realm; and when the English spirit of ecclesiastical independence was exchanged in a few years for the slavish submission which characterized the early Norman occupation, the follies and even the faults of the last legitimate king were lost in the remembrance of his monastic virtues. His indolence, cowardice, and neglect of all the duties of his station were elevated by priestly adulation into almost supernatural graces. Popular affection, as we shall see in a future page, in the same manner clothed the son of Cerdic with political virtues to which he could make no pretence. Statements were pertinaciously made within a year of his death of the amount of English liberties under his administration; and

documents, at a later period called the Laws of King Edward, were forged by patriotic antiquarians, professing to contain the Anglo-Saxon laws and customs of his time, and deriving a more binding authority by being published in his name. The greatness of his ancestors and the cruelty of his successors were equally favourable to the reputation of one of the weakest of our ante-Norman kings; and while, on the one side, he escaped from the intrusive clergy the title of Saint, and from the English, his contemporaries, the less complimentary nickname of the Frivolous or Simple (as the blunt simplicity of the Gauls would have called him), he is still known in our almanacs as Edward the Confessor, as if his peaceable demise before the days of trial had been the only cause of his not earning the martyr's crown on behalf of the Romish Church, to which the amalgamated peoples had become equally devoted.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

838. Ethelwolf, son of Egbert, assumes the sovereignty of all England, with the kingdom of Wessex.

858. Ethelwolf grants the tithes of England to the Church.

857. Death of Ethelwolf, who is succeeded by his sons Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred.

872-897. Alfred the Great, and his sanguinary contests with the Danes.

890. Alfred divides the kingdom into counties, hundreds, and tithings.

900. Death of Alfred, who is succeeded by Edward the Elder.

927-938. Contests of Athelstane with the Danes, Scotch, and Welsh.

945. Edmund I. gives Cumberland and Westmoreland to Malcolm, King of Scots, for his assistance against the Danes.

951. Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury.

955. Edred, the first who was styled King of Great Britain.

960. Dunstan made Archbishop of Canterbury.

975-8. Controversies between the regular and the secular clergy during the reign of Edward the Martyr.

A.D.

991. The first land-tax in England; and figures of arithmetic first introduced in England

998-1008. Repeated invasions of the Danes. Ethelred orders a general massacre, when their countrymen invade the kingdom, and after levying heavy contributions, subdue a great portion of the kingdom.

1018. Sweyn, the Danish sovereign, invades England, and after repeated victories is proclaimed king.

1014. Canute, son of Sweyn, proclaimed king.

1028-1033. Canute takes the title of King of England, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and acquires the surname of Great.

1042. Edward the Confessor succeeds to the crown.

1049. Banishment of Earl Godwin, and the forfeiture of his estates.

1051. William, Duke of Normandy, visits King Edward, and receives a promise that the crown should descend to him.

1066. Harold, son of Earl Godwin, elected to the crown.

BOOK V.

THE NORMAN OCCUPATION.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

FROM A.D. 1066 TO A.D. 1087.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE — Philip I., the Fair.

SCOTLAND.—Malcolm III. (Canmore).

POPES.—Alexander II.; Grégory VII. (Hildebrand); Victor III.

- § 1. Retrospect of the Saxon rule, and of the general condition of society.—§ 2. Existing remains of the Saxon period.—§ 3. Etymology of the names of places.—§ 4. Accession of HAROLD, and claims of WILLIAM of Normandy, who assembles his fleets and armies.—§ 5. Harold's preparations for resisting the Norman invasion. Invasion of Tostig and Harold Hardrada. Battle of Stamford Bridge.—§ 6. The Norman invasion. William lands near Pevensey Castle. Anecdotes of the Saxons and Normans.—§ 7. Battle of Hastings. Death of Harold.—§ 8. Reflections on the battle and its consequences. Coronation of William. Massacre attending it.—§ 9. William's arrival in London, and his proceedings for subduing and reconciling the people.—§ 10. The widow of Godwin and mother of Harold takes refuge in Exeter. Siege of Exeter, and flight of Harold's mother.—§ 11. Resistance made to the Normans, but without combination or military skill. Their devastating career and ferocious cruelty. Resistance of the Saxon clergy.—§ 12. Further inundations of the Normans.—§ 13. Introduction of the feudal system. The whole kingdom divided among the Conqueror's retainers in manors-in-chief. Ceremony of receiving the feud.—Amount of a knight's fee. Number of knights' fees.—§ 14. Privileges of the Norman nobility, and their abuses.—§ 15. The general survey of England begun, called Domesday. The nobility and serfs.—§ 16. King William's military array. Despotism of the times.—§ 17. War with France, and death of William. His character.

§ 1. THE Romanized Briton, the Saxon, and the Dane had now settled down into an undistinguishable people throughout

the south of England. In the north there was still a Danish spirit kept alive by frequent immigrations of the original stock ; but the language was everywhere radically the same, the habits not more different than may now be found in distant districts, the government universally acknowledged, and the laws, both Saxon and Danish, administered on fixed and intelligible principles. Our national pride is apt to make us look back on the period of undisputed Saxon superiority as the palmiest state Old England knew. But a little closer inquiry reveals the disagreeable features of that peculiar era, and makes us look with less displeasure on the next great incident in our history, which for a long time placed the Saxons in a subordinate position, and changed the whole character of the land. It was high time for a change ; for if we consider the situation of affairs during the reign of Edward the Confessor, and the dispositions and habits of the people since the first occupation of the soil, we shall see that, without some intermixture of new elements, nothing was to be hoped in the way of cultivation or advancement.

The five or six hundred years of troubles and fights among the small potentates of the Heptarchy, interspersed with Danish invasions and disputed successions to the crown, had been a period of deterioration in many respects. When a great proprætor lived in the mansion near the camp, surrounded by the villas and gardens of his officers ; when justice was administered according to the practice of the Roman courts, and the franchises and privileges granted to the rising towns were guaranteed by the irresistible authority of the master of fifty legions, the amenities of society and security of life and property were greater than in any period of the succeeding occupation. The great cities fell into ruin when the eagles were withdrawn ; the villas were buried in the soil, and are every day discovered by the plough and pickaxe, and thrown open with their treasures of art and elegance to the admiration of the present time ; the roads became choked, the

rivers overflowed their banks, the forests resumed their reign; and at the most flourishing date we have traversed the inhabitants were scattered in miserable hamlets, bound to the soil by the debasing institution of slavery. Towns themselves were not worthy of the name, for the number of heads of free families was so small as to reduce us to the conclusion that even within the walls serfdom was almost universal. Dover, for instance, is mentioned as having only forty-two residents, Bedford nine, St. Albans forty-six, and Bristol ten.

The land had got into few hands. We have seen half the kingdom divided between the five members of one family; and though they of course did not occupy, nor in a legal sense hold the whole of those domains in personal property, there were immense tracts of country dedicated to their use, and held by their retainers, while the franklins—who were the squires, or country gentlemen of the time—held their estates subject to some acknowledgment either in money or service to the king. Surrounded by their numerous dependents—their house-servants and farm-labourers—these freeholders of the Saxon blood led a life of the most coarse enjoyment, unrestrained by the presence of the Saxon prior or parish priest, who was, if possible, beneath the laymen in knowledge and refinement. Vast festivals, where oxen and sheep, and goats and deer smoked upon the rough board, were followed by drinking bouts such as amazed the visitors from any other nation, except the Danes, who excelled the thirstiest of the Saxons in the quantity they could swallow. Cudgel-playing, wrestling, chasing the boar, breaking each other's heads, and occasionally taking each other's lives, diversified their orgies; but the national vice, brutal and unconcealed, because not considered degrading, was intoxication. Animal courage, a spirit of personal independence, and a determination not to be tyrannized over, were the counterbalancing virtues to those savage characteristics; but little was to be expected from a people who considered eating and

drinking the supreme good, and submitted to Sweyn or Canute, or reinstated their own legitimate princes, without either a feeling of humiliation in one case, or triumph in the other. They thought England was superlatively happy so long as they were not stinted in their beer.

§ 2. Before we go on to the overthrow of this state of things, let us point out a few tokens by which the prevailing Saxondom of our country may be known. We spoke of the barrows on the downs, and the monuments of Stonehenge, as relics of the ancient Britons before the Roman invasion, and of the towns ending in "chester," or syllables of similar sound (derived from *castra*), as commemorative of the Roman power. The Saxons, however, left their marks far more widely scattered in the names of places with which we are all familiar; so that in travelling through the country we can tell to which of all our earliest predecessors we are indebted for the villages and ancient clearings that charm us on the way. To the next race of invaders we are indebted for the majestic fabrics devoted to religion, and the castellated houses which were symbols of the solidity and grandeur of the empire their owners hoped to found. The Gothic cathedrals and Norman towers which give such beauty to the landscape, represent the superiority in refinement and skill of the people who built them, but the frequency of the Saxon hamlets shows in which race the predominance of number was to be found. The gentry for a hundred and fifty years was Norman, but the nation was always Saxon.

§ 3. Whenever you find a termination in "field," or "feld," you may consider it was at one time a small collection of huts in the felled or cleared-out portion of a wood. Mansfield and Sheffield, and a hundred others, are examples of this. Chesterfield represents a small settlement near an ancient Roman station. The absence of a bridge and the convenient passage of a river is shown by the ending in *ford*. A situation by the water side is also proved by the termination

“bourne,” or the sheltered valley by “dene,” or “don;” in the still umbrageous thickets, by “hurst,” like Lyndhurst, and others in the New Forest; and in addition to these, a descriptive meaning is attached to the names ending in “ham,” “ley,” or “leigh,” “burg,” or “bury,” “stone,” “stoke,” “worth,” “holt,” “sted,” and “thorp.” Compare these with the “monts” and “villes,” the “bels” and “beaus” of the Norman nomenclature, and you will see how slight the impression of the foreign occupation on the names of towns and districts.*

* It may be useful to show at a glance the changes introduced by the successive occupiers of the soil in the greater divisions of the land. We therefore subjoin the kingdom as it was divided at the different periods previous to the Norman conquest:—

ROMAN PROVINCES.	SAXON HEPTARCHY.	ENGLISH COUNTIES.
Cantii	Kent	Kent.
Regni Atrebatii }	South Saxons	Sussex and Surrey.
Dobuni Belgæ } Durotriges } Damnonii }	West Saxons	{ Berks, Southampton, Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and part of Cornwall.
Caticuchlani } Trinobantes }	East Saxons	{ Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herts.
Parisi Brigantes } Gadeni } Otadeni }	Northumbria	{ Lancaster, York, Cumberland, West- moreland, Durham, and Northumberland.
Iceni	East Angles	{ Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Isle of Ely.
Coritani Cornavii Silures (partly) Caticuchlani (partly) }	Mercia	{ Gloucester, Hereford, Chester, Stafford, Worcester, Oxford, Salop, Warwick, Derby, Leicester, Bucks, Northampton, Notts, Lincoln, Bedford, Rutland, Huntingdon, part of Herts.

§ 4. But now the final addition to our English ancestry was about to take place. Harold was crowned king on the sixth of January, 1066, and made preparations at once for the opposition which was certain to arise. William heard the news of Edward's death and Harold's coronation by the same messenger, and vowed vengeance on the friend who had deceived him, and the perjured rebel who had forgotten his oath upon the holy relics, and had usurped his throne. He summoned assistance from all quarters, and from all quarters it came. The French king encouraged the preparations for the dangerous enterprise, in the pleasing certainty that if the expedition succeeded, it would keep his dangerous vassal occupied for many years; if it failed, it would deliver him from his neighbourhood altogether, and make the lapsed State of Normandy a prize of the French crown. England, even at that early period, had the dangerous reputation of great wealth and perfect openness to attack. All the evil spirits of the time, all the spendthrift gentlemen, and ambitious artisans, and discontented soldiers, and ruined gamblers, down to stable-boys and feeders of hounds, enrolled themselves in the service of William. But William was too sagacious a man to rely on such a miscellaneous collection of the scum of field and town, and applied to higher quarters for aid. He still had the learned Lanfranc at his right hand, and Lanfranc's eagerness for ecclesiastic supremacy was second only to that of the notorious Hildebrand, who was now Pope, under the name of Gregory the Seventh. The English Stigand still exercised his archiepiscopal authority without the ratification of St. Peter; the English clergy gave obedience to the intrusive prelate, and the English commonalty had lost their reverence for the monks and friars who had acted as the trumpeters and defenders of the claims of Rome. William's expedition was therefore blest as if it had been a crusade against the unbelievers, and holy banners were presented to the host, with relics of miraculous power embroidered on the silk. All

the ambitious and discontented churchmen cast in their lot with the ambitious and discontented laity. Rich churches were promised to them in the fat fields of England. Monasteries of great income were offered to priors and abbots on condition of their raising and arming a certain number of their retainers for the voyage; and, when nine months were passed in levying, clothing, drilling, and encouraging the motley multitude of nobles, adventurers, priests, serfs, handicraftsmen, and professional robbers and partisans, the fleet was assembled at St. Valery, the relics of the patron saint of that town were carried in grand procession through the camp, and procured them a favourable wind. The expedition embarked in four hundred vessels of considerable size and two thousand boats: and it may show the small scale on which ship-building was carried on, when we learn that the cavalry amounted to only four thousand, the infantry to twelve thousand, and that the crews, sutlers, and followers of all kinds included, the invaders did not exceed twenty or twenty-five thousand men.

§ 5. Harold had a fleet which might have met the hostile vessels, and an army which might have prevented the landing. But there was treason in the English camps. Tostig, the brother whom Harold's sense of justice had ejected from his earldom of Northumberland, landed in his ancient possessions supported by an army of Norwegians and Flemings. When he was defeated, and found safety in the court of Malcolm of Scotland, a great Norwegian king, of the name of Harold Hardrada, appeared with a new expedition on the eastern shore, and put the troops, who had been hurriedly led against him, to flight. Harold of England was disturbed by the intelligence of this new attack. It came upon him while he was making his preparations to give a reception to his Norman rival; and, trusting to the swiftness of his motions, he resolved to exterminate the Norsemen in Yorkshire, and get back in time to resist his other enemy. The march was rapid, and the success complete. Hardrada, the

invader, was killed in a great battle near Stamford Bridge, his followers were mercilessly pursued, and the twenty-fifth of September would have been considered the happiest day of Harold's life—as it for ever extinguished the hostility of the Scandinavians—if he had not learned in a short time that three days after his victory a landing had been effected on the coast of Sussex, and that William and all his host were encamped in the neighbourhood of Pevensey.

§ 6. Pevensey Castle has had the peculiar fortune of having been a Roman encampment, a Saxon “burg,” and a Norman “tower.” Something in its situation pointed it out to those three warlike peoples as a position of defence; and accordingly William rested under the old Roman walls, which contained the old Saxon keep, and waited to see what his competitor would do. He made as little hostile demonstration as possible, and endeavoured to establish his claim as legitimate heir to Edward the Confessor. It is probable he resolved to receive the attack of Harold, and put the whole quarrel on the arbitrament of one great battle, and therefore he rejoiced greatly when, in the afternoon of the thirteenth of October, he saw the dust-covered banners and toil-worn followers of the English king present themselves on the brow of the opposite range of hills. Harold had marched without stopping in search of his foe. News had reached him in York of the Norman landing, and in a fortnight he had traversed two hundred and fifty miles, with an army triumphing; indeed, in its recent victory, but thinned by its losses in the field, and weakened by fatigue. The difference between the two men is shown in the few anecdotes recorded of them at this time. William, in springing on shore, had fallen on his face. The presage would have been discouraging, and might have weakened the hopes of his men. He grasped the soil with both hands, and said by this formal action he took possession of the kingdom. He rested with wise delay in the situation he had first seized, and drew up his fleet in safety, in case of a

reverse. Harold, on the other hand, was impetuous and inconsiderate. His advisers pressed him to halt in London, and gather all the strength of the realm, and refresh his exhausted companions. He considered a moment's delay treason to his crown, and pressed on. When they came within sight of the regular tents and wide-spread array of the Normans, the English king was again advised to retreat upon his supporters, and lay waste the country. "God hath given me this land to defend and cherish, not to injure and destroy," said the patriotic Englishman but unscientific commander, and resolved on an immediate assault.

All night long the camps were awake with expectation; the Normans, we are told, spending the hours of darkness in prayer and religious services, the English in drunkenness and riot. We are to take the accounts we find of the vanquished people with some reservation, knowing how bitter for a long time against them was the feeling of the monkish historians. To them we are also indebted for the statement that when William sent his rival a cartel of defiance to decide the quarrel by single combat, and denounced him, by his herald, as a perjurer, excommunicated by the Pope, Harold turned deadly pale, and was conscience-stricken at the remembrance of his broken oath and unchristian disobedience. But there was no sign of despondency or regret when the battle was joined.

§ 7. It was at nine in the morning of the fourteenth of October that the fatal struggle began. The English with axe and spear poured across the narrow valley, and were received by flights of arrows from yews and cross-bows. Still the unwavering lines pressed on, and nothing seemed able to resist their advance. William ordered a feigned retreat, and the English pursued in disorder. Then the well-trained bands turned upon them. Horsemen with flashing sword and waving plume dispersed over the field, and dashed against the broken columns. Still there was no thought of yielding.

The English turned on their assailants; William had three horses killed under him; and after nine hours' fighting, when the autumn sun began to get behind the hills, the carnage was going on unchecked. Harold himself was gathering a body of horsemen round the royal standard to pour down upon the Normans. He was pointing with his sword, and saying a few words of encouragement, when an arrow pierced his eye, and he fell dead upon the spot. Onward hurried the Normans to capture, the English to defend; crowds fell all around, and thousands kept advancing to the ground. At last a cry was raised—"Harold is killed!"—and the English hope was broken. Harold, his brothers, his companions, all the proud leaders of his army, had fallen in that narrow ring; and when his soldiers were dispersed, and the Norman cavalry pursued them while daylight lasted, the heaps that covered his body were thrown aside, and with great difficulty the features of the defeated king were recognised. When William was certified of his rival's fate, he knew that the object of his expedition was attained, and that a new dynasty was seated on the English throne.

In parting with Harold, we are to remember that he was the object of two very different feelings among the persons by whom his character is described. The English saw in him the last representative of Saxon independence; the men of the Conquest saw in him the last rebel against the Norman power. But neither the gratitude of his countrymen nor the hatred of his enemies can altogether hide his true features from our view. He was bold, impulsive, and generous; his personal bearing was frank and open; great in council, great in battle, he was no less distinguished in the banqueting-hall. His rudeness of manner, compared to the artificial stateliness already cultivated in France, endeared him the more to his homespun neighbours by its resemblance to their own. And when the griefs of the new occupation began, and the population compared the genial warmth and hearty patriotism

of the late king with the foreign habits and cold reserve of their present masters, we are not to wonder that Harold became a kind of hero in their eyes, on whose life or death the whole fortunes of the land had depended. The beautiful legend which tells us that he was only identified among the heaps of slain by which he was surrounded by the fond eyes of the lady he loved (called, from her graceful form, the Swan's-neck), was perhaps only an embodiment of the national affection which for a long time rested more warmly on this son of the Saxon swine-herd than on any of our kings.

§ 8. It is a paltry excuse offered for the defeat of our forefathers at the battle of Hastings, that they had neither bowmen nor cavalry. The question immediately occurs, why had not they? The nation which does not keep itself on an equality in military skill and materiel with its neighbours is already half subdued; and as in ancient times the Danes made their landings because the Saxons had neglected their ships, those imitators of Ethelred the Unready had now only themselves to blame for the overthrow inflicted on them by the Normans. For a while, as if unconscious of their permanent inferiority in strength and arms, they made a show of national resistance and elected Edgar Atheling, a nephew of Edward the Confessor, to be their king. But there was disunion and disorder everywhere. Morcar and Edwin, the Earls of Mercia and Northumberland, were disappointed that their claims to the crown were postponed to those of a boy of fourteen, who merely possessed the advantage of being of royal blood. They retired into their provinces, and left the general cause undefended. Stigand, the archbishop, appeared at the head of a body of Kentish spearmen and fighting priests. He had little to hope for from the intrusive king who was so high in favour with the Pope; and when his followers laid down their arms on William's agreeing to leave them in possession of the liberties they had hitherto enjoyed



the fiery primate turned his horse's head, and betook himself to the troops which were still posted in the neighbourhood of London, and prepared to make a last effort to retrieve the disaster of the battle of Hastings.

When Kent was subdued and occupied, the conquest of the south of England was secure. But William displayed his usual caution. Sending detachments to seize the harbours on the coast, he advanced in person by way of Berks, crossed the Thames by the ford at Wallingford, and leaving London unassailed, encamped with the greater part of his army at Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire. From this point he guarded the north and west. No provisions or reinforcements could reach the beleaguered city from the men of Norfolk or of the midland counties, and the English within the walls, surprised at the result of so distant an operation, felt the effects of it in hunger and discouragement. They sent at last a deputation to ask for terms, and a member of this mission was Stigand himself, who probably saw the hopelessness of farther opposition. William promised protection and peace; and when the envoys were satisfied with this declaration, the Norman removed his camp to St. Albans, devastating everything on his way. From this new position he sent on strong bodies of his men to prepare for his reception in London. They pulled down or burned many houses on the north side of the Thames, and built a strong turreted residence on the site now known as the Tower; and when all was safe, and his counsellors persuaded him—not very unwilling to be persuaded—to take the name of king, he made his entry into the city, and on Christmas Day was crowned in Westminster Abbey by the hands of Eldred, Archbishop of York. Stigand of Canterbury declined, or was not permitted, to perform the duty, and was saved the grief and alarm which fell upon all the attendants on the ceremony. Exclamations of applause by the multitudes within were mistaken—whether wilfully or not—by the guards on the outside as an outcry of defiance. They drew

their swords, and forced their way into the church, slaying the unhappy spectators on every side. Houses in the meantime were set on fire and pillaged; and it was in the midst of the glare of conflagration, and the cries and groans of his wounded people, that William swore to maintain the liberties of the land, and to govern the nation with justice and mercy.

His conduct was more in accordance with the massacre than the oath. Leaving the southern part of England strongly garrisoned, he took over a portion of his army to his hereditary state, and employed them in the support of his continental objects. There were not wanting, however, people who gave a worse reason for his absence from England so soon after the descent. They said he left administrators so harsh and grasping that they were sure to outrage the nation's feelings, and give him an excuse for the oppressions he had so solemnly promised to restrain. Whether this was the intention of his absence or not, it is certain that before many months were over the tyranny of his brother Odo, the Bishop of Bayeux, whom he had left as his representative, and the other nobles who had remained behind, worked the people to a state of frenzy. All the native leaders who might have been dangerous in William's absence were carried with him as hostages, and the popular indignation having no chief to direct it into proper channels, ran wildly into every excess. The men of Kent endeavoured to give Dover into the hands of Eustace of Boulogne, who had made so disgraceful an appearance in the town in the days of Edward; for everything was forgotten save that he was now at war with William. But the Norman garrison repulsed the assault, and Eustace made an ignominious peace at the sacrifice of his allies. They called on their ancient enemies the inhabitants of Wales to come to the rescue; they invoked also the assistance of the still unsubdued parts of the country extending from Boston to the Tweed; but the Cambrians were defeated, and the selfish Northumbrians remained indifferent. Riots broke out in

many quarters, and William, hearing of the general discontent, and determining to reap a fresh harvest of blood and treasure, hoisted his flag with the three lions once more in his galley, and returned with fresh adventurers to the land he had engaged to govern.

§ 9. On arriving in London, he looked to the state of his citadels, the Tower, Castle Baynard, and Montfichet, and erected stone-throwing machines on the flat roofs of them all. He strengthened their garrisons, and prepared to extend his power. But first he showed some of the subtle cunning for which his countrymen were as much renowned as for courage. He feasted his people on Christmas Day without distinction of race or language. Norman lords and English bishops were all received with the same kiss of favour, and while they were delighted with this friendly disposition, they were further thrown off their guard by a promise he made by royal proclamation that they should be ruled by the laws of their ancient kings, that the son should succeed to the father's lands, and that no Norman should do them harm. London was won over by these declarations, and William was at liberty to pursue his ambitious plans in other parts of the country.

§ 10. The widow of Godwin and mother of Harold had thrown herself, with all her gold and jewels, into the town of Exeter. The townsmen had sworn to defend her in her extremity, and now refused admission to the Norman army, even after the magistrates had delivered hostages for its surrender. William ordered one of the hostages to have his eyes torn out in the sight of the citizens, and the siege began. It lasted eighteen days, and then treachery aided the assailants. The mother of Harold escaped with a few of the other women to the seaside, and embarked for Flanders. We hear no more of this widow of the great earl. She must now have been very old, for we are told she was the daughter of the Danish chieftain whom her husband led in safety in the first invasion of King Sweyn. The castle of Rougemont was built to keep

Exeter in awe, and the tide of conquest flowed onward to the west. Cornwall was quickly overrun, and the mixed population of Britons and Saxons was enveloped in the same calamity. William's wife, Matilda, was enriched, at her own request, with the spoils of a noble Saxon; and the chronicler adds the malicious circumstance that the man who was now given into her power, impoverished and enslaved, had had the audacity, at the court of her father, the Earl of Flanders, to refuse her hand in marriage.

§ 11. Resistance was made without combination, and battles were fought without skill. The son of Harold raised his followers in Gloucestershire, but the party of Edgar Atheling, though equally opposing the Norman, refused to aid. They were crushed separately, and retired beyond the limits of the conquest. Those limits now extended to the neighbourhood of York. Northward of that walled and garrisoned town there was a courageous population which had hitherto felt none of the sufferings of the war. But their full proportion was now to come, and they prepared manfully for the assault.

At first, appearances were in their favour. They harassed small bodies of the enemy, cut off their supplies, surprised them by their rapidity, and so disheartened some of the Norman leaders, that they left the savage and inhospitable land, where they could neither terrify the soldier nor win over the peasant, and returned to their hawks and hounds, their pleasant castles and obedient dependents on the banks of the Seine and the Orne. A Danish army landed to the aid of the Northumbrian chiefs, whose connexion with their original settlement had never been entirely broken; a strong detachment of the invaders established in Durham was attacked and killed, York itself fell into the hands of the victorious Saxons, and Edgar Atheling was there to give them the sanction of his legal claims and thoroughly English name. How William stormed and raged on receipt of this intelligence we are not told, but his actions in no long time

showed the effect it produced. His orders were no longer to subdue, and then to protect, but to slay, to burn, and destroy. From the Humber to the Tees—the great rich district which comprises the whole extent of Yorkshire—he spared neither house nor farm, man nor child. The devastation was so complete, that it continued a wilderness for sixty years. Pushing his destructive forces northward to the Tyne, the same spectacle was continued. There was no quarter given, no pity shown for young or old; and when at last the desolated Northumberland and exhausted York were stripped of wealth and occupants, the ferocious Conqueror returned to London to take measures to reward his friends and punish his surviving enemies. There now pressed upon the whole population the severity of martial law. On every commanding position a strong fortress was built, which assumed to be the dwelling-house of a noble, but was in reality a garrison against the people. The hamlets were watched as if on the eve of insurrection, and, to keep the inhabitants under the eye of their inspectors, when the vesper-bell rang at eight o'clock, they were forced to keep in-doors, and extinguish their fires. This is called the curfew-bell, and in many parishes is sounded at the present day. But these are perhaps pardonable precautions, and such as are adopted in all cases of invasion and occupation. But the pretence of legitimate possession was only a thin veil under which the real nature of the government had been concealed. Taxes, among others the Dane-geld, or original bequest to pacify the Danes, were now imposed on the natives, equally of Saxon and Danish descent, to pacify the new aggressors.

The mask of moderation was thrown off. The Englishman knew what he had to expect; the Norman knew how far he might go. There was no protection for the one, no restraint for the other. The adventurer, who had left his own country but three years before in the humble capacity of groom or barber, now sat in state in his strong-walled tower, amply sup-

plied with provisions from the granaries of the vanquished landowners, and revelling in wine purchased with English gold. Not unfrequently a family appeared, starving and destitute at his gate, imploring bread—imploring him to accept them in slavery that they might be fed and clothed; and the petitioner in this case was the franklin of other days, the light-hearted English freeholder who had seen his fields ruined, his house burnt, his wife and daughters driven for safety into the woods, and now he was glad to preserve their miserable remains of life by selling the freedom they could not defend, and sinking them into the servants and victims of the low-bred foreigner who had exchanged the razor or currycomb for the sword. English ladies, beautiful and young, were given, almost in derision, to the menials of the conquest. The three daughters of Simon, the son of Thorn, who had held the manors of Ellerton and Todewich, were bestowed by Renouf Meschines, who had taken possession of Cumberland and Westmoreland, on a man-at-arms, a person called Crookhands, and an attendant of his own.

When famine and pestilence filled all men's hearts with dread, when the survivors were either so few or so terrified that they could not bury the bodies of their friends, the national spirit gave way. Morcar and other chiefs gave in their adhesion to the Norman cause. Even Edgar, who had been crowned at York, did homage for life and land, but fearing some treachery, or at least disliking his position, he fled before long across the border, and was kindly received by the Scottish Malcolm. He was kindly thought of also in the midst of his weaknesses and failures by his forgiving countrymen. He was young and beautiful, they said, and of the true and ancient race—"the beste kind that Englande hadde to be kyng."

The only true spirit of independence was shown by the English Church. Eldred of York, resenting the tyrannies of the stranger, appeared before William, and solemnly withdrew

the blessing he had pronounced at his coronation. Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, continued his opposition to the claims of domination advanced by the Pope, and the lower clergy followed these great examples. Hereward, the last of the English patriots, marshalling his men in the impenetrable marshes of Cambridgeshire, received these potent auxiliaries in his camp of refuge. Bishops, and priests, and expelled peasants, and ruined gentry, all gathered to the only remaining spot on which the Norman commands had no power. Hereward was worthy of his supporters and his cause. Although, as in the case of the Scottish Wallace, the love and gratitude of his countrymen exaggerated his acts and virtues, it is easy to see that he was one of the men who require nothing but opportunity to make themselves truly great. His success and vigour for a long time kept up the hopes of the oppressed; and when at last, after having yielded to William at the solicitation of his wife, and dispersed his followers, he was basely and treacherously slain, the voice of opposition was silent in the land. A few years after this (1074), the intruders began to quarrel among themselves. Hereford and Norfolk disobeyed the king, and trusted to the Danes and discontented English for aid in their resistance to his authority. In this they were joined by the greatest of the English chiefs, the gallant Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, who had been taken into favour by William, and treated with unusual consideration. The native element was too strong in him to be controlled by Norman blandishments when he perceived a chance of shaking off the foreigner's yoke. When the furious king had crushed the rebellion, he reaped a double harvest from the subjugation of both the parties concerned in it. The Normans he attached to his cause by pardon and advancement—there was a spirit of combination among them which it was dangerous to offend. But on the Englishman the pitiless law was let loose. Waltheof perished by the axe, and the hapless population looked on him as their champion,

and felt, when their masters were again united, that they had no further protection from the extremities of oppression.

The vengeance of the conquerors becomes almost ludicrous when we see to what lengths it was carried, for the Normans not only removed the English clergy from their snug little cures, and English monks from their monasteries, but aimed at higher game, and emptied the church niches of Saxon saints, and filled them up with saints of their own persuasion. They even opened the tombs of English martyrs, and scattered their bones, laughing at St. Elfage, who had been murdered by the Danes, and at all the other patriots who had been consecrated by the Church for their resistance to a foreign enemy. It is curious to observe by the first proceeding of Lanfranc, the Norman primate, how constantly the Bible has been considered the charter of liberty as well as the book of comfort. He ordered every copy of it to be seized, and by way of rendering it harmless even among the clergy of the conquest, descended to the meanness of falsifying the text. Without laws and without a Bible there was no hope for the English either in this life or the next.

§ 12. England was still further wasted by incursions from Normandy, of thousands who came over to glean the scattered sheaves of the original harvest. Knights and cavaliers, artisans, labourers, weavers, and spinners, all hurried across to see what they could get. It was more like an emigration to the diggings in Australia than an ordinary change of home. Lists still remain of some of those later interlopers, giving accounts of their accompaniments as well as their proper names.

William of Cognisby
Came out of Brittany
With his wife Tiffany,
And his maid Marefas,
And his dogge Hardigras.

There is no doubt this respectable family found a good

reception, and that even the dogge Hardigras got into better quarters than before. Others came over at the same time, and returned with the nuggets they had extracted from English soil, in the shape of church goblets, and coined money, and titles to large estates. It was William's policy to depress the original holders to the lowest state, and every new arrival from Normandy or his subordinate dukedom of Brittany was kindly entertained. When the soldiers of Hastings were reinforced by these fresh additions, when all the level lands were bristling with fortified towers, and all the arms and horses of the realm were in the hands of the invaders, William devoted his vigorous and unsparing mind to the work of consolidating his conquest by law, and giving the sanction of the national and royal authority to a state of things which the struggle for the possession of the kingdom had naturally produced. Successful invaders in all cases trample for a while on the civil rights of the resisting nation. It was left for William to stamp with legality so unnatural a condition of affairs as the confiscation of a whole kingdom, and the permanent subjection of the unresisting majority.

§ 13. This great work of the Norman conqueror is called the feudal system, and the following were its chief characteristics :—

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

1st. The land belonged to the king, and he had the disposal of it among his followers. But even when he gave the largest estates to the most powerful of his friends, it was not in full and unconditional possession. It was in the nature of a payment for past services, and a retaining fee for future aid. All the conquerors mentioned in history had recourse to some plan of the kind to enable them to retain the support of their companions ; but no one had had the opportunity of trying it on so large a scale, or after the principle of it had been so long recognised. The Greeks and Romans bestowed

certain farms upon their military colonists on condition of their guarding the frontiers from attack. Charlemagne bestowed districts and even kingdoms on his supporters, imposing certain duties and obligations in return; and in the two hundred and fifty years which had elapsed since the death of that great monarch, the practice had become so regular that the mere possession of a tract of land presupposed both rights and duties attached to it. We shall soon see what privileges and obligations were attached to it by the newly-introduced feudal law in England.

2nd. William divided the whole kingdom among his armed retainers in portions of various extent, called manors-in-chief, and conveyed to the holders of these divisions not only the property of the soil, but the government of all the inhabitants of the villages on their domains. They were so far sharers or delegates of the royal power, that they held courts with power of life and limb, administered justice, coined money, and stood in the same relation to their subordinates as they themselves stood in to the king. A strong square castle, guarded with moat and drawbridge, and a hamlet clustered near its walls, inhabited by the serfs and labourers, ornamented, perhaps, with a humble church or chapel, were the external image of the feudal system. You saw the mutual relations of power and dependence in the stately fortress and the mud-built huts. Each lord of the manor, therefore, was a kind of king upon his own estates as regarded his tenants and servants; but he held a different position as regarded the supreme chief.

3rd. On receiving his feud (or *property on conditions*), he bent his knee humbly at the footstool of the king, and swore to be his "man," to aid him in war against his enemies, and assist him with his contributions in peace on certain fixed occasions, such as the knighthood of his son, the marriage of his daughter, and the raising of his ransom if captured in battle. He received the king's declaration in return that he

would defend him from wrong, and keep him in the undisturbed possession of his lands. Hundreds of manors were given by the friendship or policy of the conqueror to one person; and as those overlanded proprietors could not possibly occupy the whole, or get them cultivated without personal superintendence, they divided them among their own immediate followers, exacting the same oaths of aid and allegiance to their own persons which they had made to the monarch. The wondrous chain therefore went down from the crowned potentate, with the services of many thousand mounted warriors at his command, to the holder of a couple of knights' fees, which would enable him to carry on a war against his neighbour at the head of two men. For the military organization of the country, as almost everything else, depended on the extent of land.

4th. A knight's fee, or the amount of soil which was required to maintain a horse and man was about three hundred acres. When a manor, therefore, was of great extent, the armed dependents formed a little army of themselves, and though all were under the immediate direction and authority of their lord, they were all—the lords included—bound to do service to the king. There were sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen manors distributed among the successful freebooters who achieved the conquest; but it is pleasant to see that the very number of these tenures, and the duties required of them, laid the foundation of their own amelioration or decay. If every knight's fee was bound to find a mounted soldier for the benefit of its lord or the king, it is evident that there would not have been Normans enough to supply a third part of the number required. On great occasions, therefore, we may suppose that the proper complement was made up by mixing armed English with the array, and we need not wonder that in a few years the antagonism between men of the same domain, who were subject to the same obligations and served on the same expeditions, died entirely out, and that even the

immediate successors of William could not depend on the aid of their greatest vassals in anything which was manifestly against the interests or feelings of the nation.

5th. Besides their rights over the soil, the chiefs of the Norman nobility had many peculiar privileges, which led to great evil and injustice when civilization had opened men's eyes to the results of the system. They had the wardship of minors among their tenants; that is, the custody of the young heir till he attained twenty-one, and it soon became a settled custom that they pocketed the rents in the meantime. They had also the marriage of any heiress upon their manors, and it soon became an invariable rule that they could sell the hand of their orphan ward to the highest bidder. They could also insist on the re-marriage of any widow on their domains, and either sold her hand to a rich wooer, or accepted a heavy fine for allowing her to choose for herself.

§ 14. We must always bear this system in mind in the course of our English story, for rude and degrading as it appears in the bare enunciation of its laws, it is that which has moulded us to what we are. We shall see the combination of privilege and performance, which lies at the root of the whole scheme of feudalism, gradually refining into the modern expression of the same thing, that property has its duties as well as its rights. We shall see the consciousness of feudal power softened into modern self-respect; and the security of property guaranteed by the whole nation to each member of it, continued in these later days, when the sword of the superiors and the armed array of the king have given place to the fixed principles of law and the peaceable administration of justice. In distributing our national characteristics among the tribes and peoples from whom we are derived, while we trace up our hatred of restraint to the ancient Britons, who carried their liberties into the mountains, and our maritime skill and home feeling to the Danes and Saxons, we are not to forget that it is to the Normans we are indebted for our respect for

authority, and for our knowledge of the great fact that submission to a superior is not degradation, but duty; and that the holder of the smallest manor in that confederacy of equals was on a level, as regards his "gentleness," with the king upon the throne, while in reference to his holding he was the most obedient of his servants.

We have dwelt at greater length upon these earlier annals than their intrinsic importance perhaps deserves. But some knowledge is required of the changes through which we ran in the days of the Britons and of the Heptarchy, because, however we may disguise it from ourselves, a great portion of our English nature is traceable even in those days. We still look upon Alfred as our countryman, and when we perceive before our eyes the general dislike of centralization, and the feeling of local independence, we recognise the same sentiment which pervaded our ancestors when they stood up in defence of their parochial rights and county franchises. We may probably gather a lesson of wisdom not inapplicable to the present time from the contemplation of the self-government in the towns which survived the Saxon incursion and the Norman conquest; and of the territorial divisions in the country, which have given union and strength to their inhabitants in resisting tyranny; from the time when the "men of Kent" bade defiance to the legions of Cæsar, and the "men of York" rallied round the unfortunate Edgar Atheling because he was the last of the sons of Cerdic.

§ 15. When England was divided among the conquerors, and every acre of ground was assigned to some acknowledged and legalized proprietor, it became an object with William to have his acquisitions registered in some imperishable form, and to inquire into the capabilities of his territories to bear a proper amount of assessment. He therefore deputed certain commissioners to go into the different counties, and ascertain, from the evidence of persons acquainted with the facts, the extent and value of every estate in the kingdom in the reign

of Edward the Confessor, and what it might fairly be valued at under the Norman rule. In the year 1085, nineteen years after the battle of Hastings, the commissioners gave in their report. It is still preserved in the Chapter-house at Westminster, and is known as the Domesday Book, the most precious document of those early times; for it remains exactly as it was presented to the king, without omission or interpolation; and gives a minute and clear description not only of the landed gentry, but of all ranks and conditions of the population. From this survey the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham were excepted, either as being so devastated by the conquerors as not to be worth visiting, or as being held by the Scots. But, with regard to all the other English shires, it is as complete and intelligible as the absence of plans and measurements allows it to be. The difference of names between the Normans and Saxons enables us to see the prodigious changes which had followed the conquest. The "Barons" have the foreign appellations derived from their French holdings, and constitute the high nobility, with vast masses of land and numbers of manors. The "thanes," who appear in this melancholy record generally as subtenants of the barons, are easily recognised by their patronymics as unmixed English, and are considered to have been the original nobles and proprietors of the soil, now reduced in rank, and admitted as rent-paying occupiers of the lands which were so lately their own. These two, however, along with the freeholders throughout the land, composed the upper class or freemen of the country; and though they differed among themselves in wealth and dignity, had all, equally, the superiority over the other divisions of the people.

These comprised, first, a class of landowners, who held their properties subject to a superior lord, and the fulfilment of certain conditions. They were called Sockmen—either, as some antiquaries suppose, from a Saxon word meaning free,

or more likely from the old word for a plough, because their tenure was in right of their cultivating the fields. While the conditions of their occupancy were fulfilled, they and their heirs were guaranteed the possession of their estates. Next came the "villeins," inhabitants of the "vill" or farm. These were merely tenants at will, and had no rights of ownership which they could transmit to their descendants. In addition also to the uncertainty of their occupancy, the services on which they held their lands were of the lowest and most humiliating kind. They were, however, all within the protection of the law, and could appeal if the ascertained boundaries of their oppressor's authority were passed. They were attached to the soil, it is true, and were conveyed along with it to any new owner who might acquire it; but the rights of the new proprietor were as well defined as those of the old—the same services were rendered, the same amount of labour performed, and their condition in this respect did not greatly differ from that of the tenants and labourers of a modern estate, who continue to work and reside on it, however often it may change hands. Last of all were the "theowes," or thralls, called in Latin "servi," which gives our English word "serfs."

The serfs were nothing more nor less than slaves. They could hold no property, and they possessed no rights. Who they can have originally been has perplexed the historians, as it seems so unnatural a thing for one part of a nation to have reduced another to so low a condition. It is generally believed that they were the descendants of the ancient Britons, and of other persons taken in war, on whom the curse of slavery continued to press after the course of time had buried the original antagonism between the races, and when the thrall, the villein, the sockman, and the thane all spoke the same language. It may perhaps have been some consolation to the wretched "theowe" to see the descendants of the Saxon conquerors reduced to wait in the antechamber of the new

invaders; and perhaps the dispossessed Franklins, on seeing the numbers whom their pride or ignorance had kept in this degradation so long, may have wished that they had had the wisdom, in the days of their prosperity, to raise so powerful a body to the condition of freemen, that they might have gained their assistance in the protection of their common country. But a slave has only injuries to avenge, and no country to defend.

§ 16. King William therefore looked over the pages of Domesday Book, and saw the position in which he and his followers stood. His military array consisted of sixty thousand horsemen, bound to come forward at his call, and at the expense of the barons, on whom he had bestowed the knights' fees throughout the land. It was a military brotherhood, whose mutual aid was the duty of all. The thane in his reduced position of tenant—the sockman holding his few fields on binding covenants, which it was forfeiture of his land to break—the villein in his scattered hamlet, unable to leave the scene of his daily labour, and the serf sunk out of the sphere of humanity altogether—these could offer no opposition to the steel-clad warrior, even if they had had the inclination. But the capacity of resistance was destroyed in other respects. For stronger than the armed array, more fatal to the aspiration of freedom than the Norman castles which rose in every valley, was the enmity of the Norman clergy. The poor old English priests, who had been inspired by the love of country, and hated the thought of seeing their wives and children at the proud feet of a conqueror, had all either died or been dispossessed. Lanfranc had long been Archbishop of Canterbury, and used his great influence to strengthen the hands of a foreign priesthood, knowing that no national movement can be permanently successful if it does not enlist on its side the feelings of religion. Thus king and archbishop saw with equal satisfaction the subjugation of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and the confiscation of bishopric and monastery

for the benefit of alien ecclesiastics: the archbishop, because it advanced the authority of his spiritual chief at Rome; and the king, because it weakened the power of resistance to his tyranny in England.

That tyranny had become nearly insupportable. He had devastated large tracts of country to turn them into harbourage for his deer—animals, the chronicler tells us, which “he loved as if he had been their father.” He had burned down great numbers of villages and even churches in the district called the New Forest, and cleared out spaces for the convenience of the hunt at such an expense of human suffering, that the pardonable superstition of the peasantry saw an avenging providence in the death which befel his son and other descendants amid those blood-stained alleys. In other parts of the country he had pursued the same policy—whether entirely from the love of sport, or partly to open communication with the different hamlets studding the recesses of the jungle, may be doubted; but from whatever cause the action proceeded, the cruelty was the same. And having placed in this manner the whole nation at his feet—peers, barons, tenants, villeins, serfs, and clergy, he proceeded to show to other nations that a king of England was a greater man than a duke of Normandy had been, and in 1087 he crossed over with a large expedition to make war on his liege lord the King of France.

§ 17. By this time he was sixty years of age, fat and unwieldy, and more furiously passionate than even in his younger days. Fatigue and exposure brought on a fever, which kept him to his bed at Rouen. Philip the First insulted him by a jibe on his size, and compared him to a woman in childbirth. “By the splendour of God,” cried the Conqueror, “I will hold my churching in Notre Dame with so many candles, that France will be on fire.” He mounted his horse in fulfilment of this threat, and advanced towards the city of Mantes. He claimed the whole country of the Vexin, of which it was

the capital, and, with the usual magnanimity of the time, determined, if he could not enjoy the territory himself, he would render it unfit for his rival's enjoyment. Frightful stories are told of the cruelty of his march—his plunder and devastation, and finally his conflagration of the fair city when it threw itself on his compassion. Amid the blazing buildings the fierce old man rode grimly on, when suddenly his horse stepped upon the embers, and in its struggles to maintain its footing, shook the rider so severely, that he was forced to dismount. He was with difficulty carried in a litter to Rouen, and soon it became evident his end was come. He retired to a monastery in the neighbourhood, and felt some compunctious visitings for the evils he had caused. He ordered large sums to be spent in the erection of churches in England and his other States; he pardoned his enemies, among whom it gives us a strange evidence of the rapidity of the changes which had taken place to observe the names of the Saxon earls, Morcar and Beorn, and the surviving brother of Harold. After generously delivering these warriors from their confinement, where they had lingered twenty years, he turned to his family arrangements. Of his three sons, Robert, the eldest, was the best in disposition, William was the highest in his father's favour, and Henry was the most educated and refined. To the hated heir he left the Dukedom of Normandy; to William he recommended an immediate journey to England, without publicly stating the reason of the advice; and to Henry he left five thousand pounds in silver, with an almost prophetic intimation that great things were in store for him. His sons took him at his word, and left him before he died. His attendants waited impatiently to follow the example, and when the Conqueror eventually expired, they hurried from the place, taking with them all the gold and valuables they could find, leaving the inanimate body unhouseled, unanointed, unaneled, and dependent for the decencies of burial on the Christian tenderness of a private man. Yet the decencies of the tomb were strangely interrupted even at

last. When they were about to lay him in the grave at Caen, Asselin, the son of Arthur, stood upon the soil, and said, "This is mine; the dead unjustly despoiled me of it, and I will not let him lie in the land he robbed me of." The abbot in attendance paid a small sum, and promised more; and when the dispute was settled, the opening was found too small to receive the coffin. Force was used to fit it in, and the man at whose name the world grew pale, lay exposed and mangled among the fragments of the broken wood which the attendants had pushed downward with their spears.

† A man of strong will and unbridled ambition was taken away. No little redeeming traits of tenderness in private life are related of this incarnation of cruelty and power. His sword seemed always in his hand, and his crown on his head, as if he were merely a warrior and ruler, with none of the lower and more attractive qualities which we meet with in other men. Can it be possible that in all his sixty years of work and will he never gave way to the free mirth which makes companionship delightful?—did he never laugh, or jest, or dance, or feel happy he knew not why, or forget that he was a king? We are to remember that the accounts we have of him are principally from English sources; that the man of blood, who depopulated the country, and burnt down monasteries, and filled the bishoprics with foreigners, and impoverished the English people, and rode rough-shod over the laws of Alfred and the liberties of Edward the Confessor, was a kind of embodied evil whom it was impossible for his English describers to endow with human feelings. Probably a companion of his relaxation might have told a different story—might have told of his generosity to poor Norman friends, of his kindness to his sons, his affection to his wife, his passion for architecture, and his liberality to the Church. His treasures were poured forth in the erection of abbeys and cathedrals, which continue the purest models of the combination of massiveness of effect with gracefulness of detail which architectural science has produced

If it be true that these noble works, with which he supplied his native dukedom and his acquired dominion, were the results as much of penitence for crimes as of a taste for building, we can form some estimate of the variety and extent of his sins. Wholesale murders were commemorated and atoned for by many a long-drawn aisle and fretted vault, while an unjust sentence on an English Franklin was perhaps succeeded by a humble chantry or the enlargement of a village tower. We find, accordingly, that on his death-bed, near Rouen, one of his last orders was to restore the chapels and convents he had burned in France, and to build monasteries and churches with endowments for the poor in every county in England, "in compensation," says the English chronicler, "of the robberies he had committed." If allowance is made for the prejudices of his historians, and the general barbarism of the time, William will emerge as a man of a deeply-sagacious mind, working out a great object with not more unscrupulousness than any of his contemporaries; who, if gifted with few virtues that attract affection, had none of the littlenesses that excite contempt.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

- 1066. William Duke of Normandy claims the crown of England as the gift of Edward the Confessor. Battle of Hastings, in which Harold is slain. William is crowned at Westminster.
- 1067. William commits the care of England to his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osborne, Earl of Hereford.
- 1068. The tax of Dane-gelt re-established, and numerous castles built. The ringing of the curfew-bell.
- 1069. The lands of England distributed among the Normans. Several insurrections thereby created.
- 1070. William compels all bishoprics and abbeys to hold them by

A.D.

- military tenure. The feudal system first introduced.
- 1072. Surnames first used in England.
- 1077. Rebellion of Prince Robert in Normandy, who defeats his father.
- 1079. Courts of Exchequer and Chancery established; Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace; Norman laws and forms of pleading introduced.
- 1080. The general survey of England begun, called Doomday-book.
- 1085. William dispeoples a great portion of Hampshire to enlarge the New Forest for hunting.
- 1087. Destructive fires in nearly all the cities of England, and the greatest part of London burnt. Death of William. Doomday-book finished.

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM THE SECOND (RUFUS)

A.D. 1087 TO A.D. 1100.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Philip I., the Fair.

SCOTLAND.—Malcolm III., Canmore; Donald VII., the Bane;
Duncan II.; Edgar.

POPEs.—Victor III.; Urban II.; Pascal II.

§ 1. Accession of WILLIAM II. (Rufus).—§ 2. Conspiracies formed against the new sovereign. Quarrels among the Normans.—§ 3. Rebellion of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux.—§ 4. The relative positions of England and the Duchy of Normandy. Quarrels between the king and his brother Robert, Duke of Normandy.—§ 5. Interest of the Norman barons in uniting England and Normandy under the same sovereign. Henry of Normandy. Robert's amiable character.—§ 6. Character of William. A tyrant and a bigot. Death of the learned Lanfranc.—§ 7. William seeks a quarrel with Scotland, and defeats King Malcolm.—§ 8. Excessive taxation and general discontent. Conspiracy of the Norman lords.—§ 9. Commencement of the Crusades. Peter the Hermit. Godfrey de Bouillon.—§ 10. Robert of Normandy pledges the ducal crown to enable him to join the Crusaders. William's continued exactions.—§ 11. Contests between the Church and State. Quarrel with Archbishop Anselm. Struggle between the throne and the Pope.—§ 12. William shot by an arrow. Dies equally detested by England and the Normans.—§ 13. Various conjectures as to his death.

§ 1. WHEN the Conqueror lay at the point of death, and was making a disposition of his States, he had nominated his eldest son Robert to the duchy of Normandy, but declined to appoint any of his sons to the throne of England. It was too great a kingdom, he said, to be disposed of like a hereditary fief. At the same time he had given some private counsel to his favourite William; and we are now to judge from what occurred what that counsel must have been. William, strong-

bodied like his father, red-haired, and hot-tempered, coarse, cruel, and revengeful, knew that he was unpopular with the Norman lords ; he therefore concealed the king's death till he had won over Lanfranc, the archbishop, to his cause by a promise of implicit obedience ; he then hurried to Winchester, and claimed the royal treasures, which were very large ; and when he saw himself in possession of the favour of the Church, and was lord of the castles of Dover, Hastings, and Pevensey, and of sixty thousand pounds weight of silver, besides great store of gold and jewels, he hurriedly summoned a council of the lords spiritual and temporal to give him the semblance of a legitimate election. By fear and favour he gained the object of his ambition, and was crowned at Westminster within three weeks of his father's death (September 26, 1087).

§ 2. A gleam of hope even at this early period broke in upon the English people. They saw disunion and enmity spreading from day to day among the Normans ; they heard of conspiracies among those hated settlers to resist the newly-elected king, and they must have learned how valuable they were still considered by the efforts of both parties to win them over to their cause. William assumed the airs of a kind and just sovereign, who was determined to amend the harsh regulations of his father. He promised the English gentry a relaxation of the game-laws, and the peasantry an amelioration of their lot ; but the necessities of his position soon forced him to greater condescensions than these, for he perceived that the growing hostility of the barons could only be checked by the armed assistance of the natives ; and in less than a year from the removal of the Conqueror there were English vessels guarding the seas against a new Norman invasion, and thirty thousand armed Englishmen to defend their country if the invaders escaped the ships.

The reason of the quarrel among the Normans was this : if Normandy and England were in different hands, the pro-

prietors of estates in both countries would be placed in a very awkward position in case of war between them. If a baron owed allegiance to the Duke of Normandy for lands on the Seine, and also to the King of England for lands on the Trent, it was only a choice of evils which estate he was to lose, for both dukes and kings were exceedingly quick in forfeiting their tenants' acres for a breach of covenant, and if the unfortunate warrior joined the royal array, away went his castles and farms in the dukedom; and if he gave in his adhesion to the duke, away went his manors and towns in England. It was therefore of the greatest importance to those doubly landed gentry that the kingdom and the duchy should be in the same hands. William would have been delighted to meet their wishes by taking possession of his brother's heritage, and Robert would have been equally willing to oblige them by taking the English crown. But Robert was a good-natured, careless, self-indulgent individual, who would make no great personal exertion on any account whatever, and would have been quite contented if his friends and dependents had left him to the easy enjoyment of his hawks and hounds. But the interests of the feudal chiefs were too deep to be altogether dependent on the character of the Norman duke.

§ 3. Odo, the Bishop of Bayeux, the Conqueror's half-brother, was still alive and busy. He seized the great castle of Rochester, which, like Pevensey, had gone through the successive transmutations from a Roman camp to a Saxon "keep," and now to a Norman citadel. But William hated his uncle with more than his usual bitterness, and went down at the head of his English levies to punish the rebellious priest. The siege was long and close. Robert never came from his good city of Rouen, as he had promised, for the English boats swarmed upon the sea. There were five hundred knights within the walls, besides their other defenders, and provisions began to fail; water was scanty, and drainage was a science utterly unknown, so pestilence began,

and surrender became indispensable. The state of national feeling at this time is proved by the fact that the English objected to mercy being shown to any of the garrison, and especially to Odo; whereas the kindlier sentiments of the Norman besiegers granted them their lives, and a safe departure from the realm. Odo insisted on the defenders being allowed to leave the castle with the honours of war, with their flags flying and their own band playing. But this was too much. "Not for a thousand marks!" cried Rufus, in a rage; and the curious information is given us that the garrison marched out with their standards lowered and the "king's music" shrieking tunes of triumph. There were other marks of discomfiture, for as Odo passed the grim lines of the English soldiers, there were shouts of execration, among which were mingled outcries for ropes to hang the tyrannical bishop. So the first thing we hear of William Rufus is that, to resist the hostility of Normandy, he threw himself on the protection of his English subjects. We shall always find that whenever a king is weakened, either by some fault in his title or by the opposition of his lords, he gains the favour of the commons by attention to their wants and improvement of the laws.

§ 4. The relative position of kingdom and duchy gives us the key to all the foreign transactions of this unprincipled king. As the Norman nobility found they could not gain their object by making their duke king of England, many of them made the attempt to make the English monarch duke of Normandy. William was always ready either to fight or buy. When he fought, he took some of his English forces over the sea; and when he only bought, he still gained his object by the help of his English friends. For instance, on one occasion when he required to bribe the French king to be neutral, he raised a body of twenty thousand men; and when they were all assembled and ready to embark, he sent to say that on payment of ten shillings a-head they might all go to

their homes. Seven or eight thousand pounds, it is probable, satisfied the King of France, and William pocketed the difference, and saved his subjects' lives. In the midst of the perpetual quarrels of William and Robert, we get glimpses of the younger brother, to whom his father had left nothing but his blessing, and a younger son's portion of five thousand pounds. He was the wisest and best-informed of all William's children, and displayed such depth of learning in the mere fact of being able to read and write, that he was called the Beauclerc, or excellent scholar. But he showed at the same time so much political skill and personal courage, that people began to think the Conqueror's prophecy would come true, and that he would rise to the level of the duke and king. It was abundantly evident that no feelings of pity or gentleness would stand in the way of this accomplished gentleman. On one occasion he had successfully aided his brother Robert in resisting the adherents of William, and in taking prisoner a citizen of Rouen of the name of Conan, whose influence was so powerful that he was called " The great burgess." While the nobles paid the penalty of their disobedience with the forfeiture of some of their possessions, Conan was condemned to imprisonment for life. Henry was displeased with this leniency to a man without armorial bearings or landed estate, and visited the captive with every appearance of friendship. He took him to the top of the tower to show him the beauty of the surrounding landscape ; and while the great burgess was gazing on winding river and rising hill, Henry seized him by the waist, and threw him headlong over the battlements. The body of the citizen went crashing down, and the elegant scholar and admirer of natural scenery merely explained to the spectators that a traitor deserved no pardon.

§ 5. When we remember the interest of the principal nobles in re-uniting the now separated inheritance of the Conqueror, we shall not be surprised at the next step taken by the barons of Normandy and England. This was to ratify

and guarantee an agreement entered into by William and Robert that the survivor of the two should succeed to the other's possessions. This arrangement, however, was extremely distasteful to Henry, who considered it a barrier to his future hopes. He had shown the greatest financial skill in the management of his fortune. By waiting till Robert was in direful want of ready money, he had obtained a tract of country extending to almost a third of Normandy, in consideration of a loan of three thousand pounds. He had stretched his authority over other districts, and was so wily, so courageous, and so prodigiously unscrupulous, that the King of England and the Duke of Normandy were uneasy at the progress of the young man who had begun life with five thousand pounds of silver. They made war on him; chased him from all his possessions, and drove him to the precipitous rock of Mount St. Michael's, round which the sea flowed at high tide, and was supposed to make it impregnable. Here he was besieged. The want of water on that barren elevation was dreadful; and Robert, the careless spendthrift, showed his kindness of disposition at the expense of his generalship. He allowed the garrison to carry water to the castle, and sent wine for Henry's use. William Rufus was in a furious rage. But Robert said, "How can I let Henry die of thirst? Where shall we find another brother when he is gone?" A pleasing trait of Robert's character—the only one of the Conqueror's family who seems to have been redeemed by a touch of human kindness.

§ 6. Howbeit, Henry was forced to yield, and disappears from history for two years, being busy all that time in preparing for the future; and, as a preliminary step, we find he had persuaded the inhabitants of Damfront to appoint him their governor. But it may perhaps as truly be said, that William and Robert were preparing his future greatness, as that he was doing so himself. For both those potentates were as active as possible in weakening the attachment of their respective

peoples. William was so lost in worldliness and irreligion himself, that he could scarcely credit the force of religion in others. His barons, he saw, were cruel, rapacious, and wicked in every possible way, but they did not disbelieve in the revelation which they neglected. The bloodiest-handed of the nobles, the trampler on the poor, the robber of widows and orphans, was still a submissive servant of the Church—still a believer in the supernatural powers of the priesthood and the divinely constituted government of the bishops. It was with the eyes of superstitious worshippers, more than of grasping freebooters—which was their general character—that they saw the conduct of the king on the death of the learned and high-hearted Lanfranc in 1089.

That wise and philosophical Italian had been the great support of the conquest. His theological fame strengthened his political position, and without his aid the substitution of Norman dignitaries and monks for native English could not have been carried out. But William was forgetful of the help he might derive from a fit successor to his father's friend, and for four years kept Canterbury vacant. He pocketed the episcopal revenues, and spent them in riotous feasts and hunting expeditions. He left the great cathedral uncared for, the machinery of the English patriarchate totally deranged, and the people in expectation of some direful specimen of the wrath of heaven on the perpetrator of such unchristian acts. We gather from the contemporary chronicles that whenever the heart of England was stirred by any iniquity of its Norman rulers, the shrines of the few Saxon saints, whom the policy of Lanfranc had left, began to be glorified by miracles. St. Elfage, the victim of the Danes, and even Earl Waltheof, the son of Siward, the latest martyr in the national cause, became more than usually active in curing the blind and lame. The English pressed round their dead patriots as a protest against their living masters, and accepted any great calamity as a witness on their side. A dreadful earthquake, which extended

over a great part of England, was considered a notice to fill up the vacant primacy when Lanfranc had been but a few months dead; but when year after year passed away, and the direct intercourse between the nation and heaven was interrupted by the vacancy of the highest of English sees, the sentiments of the Saxons began to be shared by the Norman lords. A curse seemed to settle on the crown, and the contempt no less than the hatred of all the realm was poured upon the reckless William when he installed as his guide and counsellor, in place of the departed archbishop, a man of the name of Ralph, whose meanness and scurrility had obtained for him the name of the Firebrand, a priest who had come over with the host in hopes of English preferment, and by his wit and readiness of resource had endeared himself to the needy king since the death of the Conqueror. Under this person's advice William extended the treatment he had bestowed on Canterbury to every bishopric and abbey as they fell vacant. But the result of this policy was soon apparent. The seizure of ecclesiastical incomes offended the pride and interests of the Norman chiefs, on whom the high church offices were generally bestowed, and the stoppage of ecclesiastical functions offended the feelings of the people who looked on abbots and prelates, even when of Norman birth, as their natural defenders from the oppression of kings and nobles.

It is always useful to remark the occasions in our history on which the different classes are united by circumstances which equally concern them all; for it is to this community of feeling and interest between the highest and the lowest that we are indebted for all the great advances in our position, and finally for the possession of the fullest amount of liberty which any nation has ever enjoyed. Within the first ten years of William's reign we find two instances of the influence of the people being advanced by a junction with one of the other orders in the State—with the king when he required

their aid in the siege of Rochester to resist the aggression of the lords upon the crown; the second, with the nobles, at the death of Lanfranc, to resist the aggression of the king upon the Church.

§ 7. To turn public attention from the proceedings of the crown, William got up a quarrel with Scotland, and as, in spite of his bad qualities, he had all the fire and military genius of his father, the Scottish king found it necessary to appear at Gloucester and do homage for his English lands. But on the insulting proposition to acknowledge the inferiority of his free kingdom, Malcolm Caenmore took horse for the north, and after summoning his vassals, crossed the border to avenge the indignity by war. What might have been the result of the expedition it is impossible to say if the gallant Malcolm had survived, but his career was cut short in a nameless skirmish, in which his eldest son also perished, and when news of the calamity reached the widowed queen, she followed her husband and son to the grave. This incident recalls certain actors to the scene who have long disappeared from our notice; for the Scottish Queen was Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, whom the fond nationality of the English still looked on as their legitimate king. Edgar himself was contented to barter the glories, if not the advantages, of his birthright for a mess of pottage, and filled a small office in the Court where he ought to have held the foremost place. Scotland was pacified by the death of king and prince, and an expedition became necessary against the Welsh. The old animosity between the ancient Britons and the inhabitants of the Lowlands, whether they were Saxons or Normans, was still uneffaced. Availing themselves of the disturbed state of England, they crossed the Marches, and proved themselves exceedingly expert in the abstraction of cattle and the spoiling of villages. William, at the head of his chivalry, attempted to pursue them into their fastnesses, but the heavy horses of the Normans stuck in bogs or were starved on mountains.

The cavalcade returned after great loss, and William patched up a peace on the best terms he could.

§ 8. It was high time he should do so, for the patience of his subjects was nearly exhausted. Ralph the Firebrand had transgressed the utmost limits of taxation, and men could stand no more. Such impositions were laid upon the crops that nobody thought it worth while to plough or sow. Famine came from neglect of agriculture, and pestilence arose over all the land. But though estates were allowed to run to waste, the king's treasury could not stand empty, so the portion which it was impossible to extract from barren acres was exacted with relentless severity from the neighbouring towns. Vast tracts of country lay uncultivated and covered with marsh and weed; and to show how terribly the extravagance of the king pressed upon the land, there is extant a vote of thanks from the municipality of Colchester to their governor, Hugh Fitz-Herbert, for taking possession in his own name of an immense estate belonging to the town, and so relieving them from the obligation of paying the tax at which it was assessed. There was another reason for the discontent of the nobles in which the public saw the hand of an avenging Providence in the course of the following year. The forest laws, into which the conquerors had compressed all the pride and cruelty of the Norman character, began to be oppressive to the loftiest of the lords, as they had long been hurtful, and even fatal, to the lower classes. William the First loved the "high game," we saw, as if he had been their father. He depopulated villages with fire and sword to make way for them. He valued their lives higher than that of an English freeman, and William Rufus inherited all his tastes. He stretched the royal forests beyond their bounds, and interfered with the hunting privileges of the barons. Under the oppression of the people, and even the wrong-doing to the Church, the leaders of the conquest had remained in sulky but actionless discontent. But to touch a Norman in his character of a sportsman was

to injure him in the tenderest point. His honour and his amusement were equally attacked; and if we take notice of the manners of the period, its distinction of dignities, and feelings of personal independence, where the strong arm and sharp sword were the true patents of nobility, and remember at the same time the utter absence of intellectual pursuit, the dearth of books, the incapacity to read, and the general ignorance which lay upon the acutest minds, we shall see that the prohibitions against stalking the deer and chasing the boar, which William injudiciously issued, were a personal insult and an intolerable wrong. The Normans stood up for their free hunting as we do for a free press. If they had it not, they died.

Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, therefore, and William, Count of Eu, and William of Alderic, and Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury—their very names are guarantees of their Norman origin—joined in a conspiracy. They would displace the tyrannical enemy of the Church and peerage, and give the throne to Stephen of Aumale, the nephew of the Conqueror. They would punish the man who pillaged the treasures of the clergy, and arrogated to himself the sporting privileges of the lords. But William had profited by the wisdom of Ralph the Firebrand, and was informed by his spies of the uneasiness in the north. He went down to Northumberland, and beguiled Mowbray to a meeting, seized him, carried him to the front of his own castle of Bamborough, and threatened to put out his eyes in presence of his wife Matilda, who stood upon the walls. There have been ladies in later history who stood firm against a similar threat, but Matilda was of softer stuff. She opened the gates, and vengeance was let loose on the disaffected. Mowbray was imprisoned for life. The Count of Eu, being vanquished in a judicial combat, was blinded with hot irons. Of the others, some were impoverished by confiscation, and some were hanged. Thus ended the first attempt in English history to mitigate the severity of the game laws.

§ 9. William now went on his way rejoicing, and a magnificent opportunity soon presented itself of increasing his continental possessions by treasures wrung from his English people. The wondrous movement of the Crusades began at this time. Pilgrimages to the scenes described in Holy Writ had been of constant occurrence among the proselytes of the West from the earliest times. At first the sacred soil around Jerusalem had been in Christian hands, and the Eastern emperors had protected the weary voyagers when they touched the Syrian coast. But a great change had occurred in 1065. The Mahommedans had seized on Palestine, and treated with indignity, and sometimes with cruelty, the worshippers at the Christian shrines. Complaints of these outrages had been made ; stories of wrong and violence had been spread through Christendom by the survivors of that distant travel ; and at last, on the preaching of Peter the Hermit, and with the encouragement of the Pope, all Europe rose up with a bitter cry of humiliation at the loss of the birthplace, the home, and the grave of the Saviour of mankind, and the pollution daily inflicted on the sacred territory by the presence of turbaned and malignant Turks. The turreted castles were emptied of their lords, the villages depopulated by the rush made to join the liberating and avenging bands. No country remained deaf to the animating voice ; and in the August of 1096, a mixed multitude of warriors, priests, and pilgrims, amounting to upwards of six hundred thousands souls, began their march towards the Holy Land. Sovereign princes, powerful earls, and moderately endowed knights mortgaged their crowns and estates to fit them out for this holy war. They had to buy gorgeous arms for themselves, and horses and accoutrements for their followers, silken tents to pitch in the plains of Asia Minor, and standards emblazoned with their arms to unfurl on the walls of Zion. Weavers, armourers, painters, horse-dealers, silversmiths, soldiers had all to be paid, and the dignity of a Christian noble kept up

in the eyes of hostile pagans. Trade and manufacture took a rise such as it had not felt for a thousand years. The human mind expanded with new thoughts and strange experiences; and the grandeur of the idea of converting the land where our Lord had suffered, and was now despised, into a territory in which he was served and worshipped, gave an elevation to the humblest personage engaged in so great a work.

§ 10. But not to William Rufus. That unromantic king sat on the watch, like a greedy pawnbroker, for the necessities of his neighbours. When a noble of his own determined to join the array, the loan of a trifling sum from the royal coffers procured him the possession of the needy adventurer's fief, and delivered him at the same time from the presence of a haughty and probably disobedient subject. In the same manner, when the vanity or ambition of Robert of Normandy led him to prepare for the pilgrimage, the ducal coronet was pledged for ten thousand pounds to the ready-money king. There was no thought of restoring the country which had thus fallen into his hands by the legal process of a mortgage, and he proceeded at once to treat it as his own. Unmindful he of the great struggle going on between the faiths of Mahomet and of Christ, of the toils and sufferings of the soldiers of the cross, or even of the glory that fell upon the Christian name, when under the leadership of Godfrey of Bouillon, and Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, and Hugh of Vermandois, the shouts of "It is God's will," which was the battle-cry of the Crusaders, sounded in the streets of Jerusalem, and Christian prayers and songs of rejoicing ascended from the restored and reconsecrated Temple. His object was to take advantage of the absence of his brother and his lords, and indemnify himself by the spoil and confiscation of those who had stayed at home for the money he had advanced. The barons were rapidly impoverished by his exactions; the burgess and farmer were

stripped of almost all; even the Church complained that its treasures were exhausted, and that his rapacity had already stripped it of its silver chalices and jewelled ornaments. William pointed with derision to the chests where the relics of holy saints were kept, and said, "Have not you still these coffins of silver and gold filled with dead men's bones?" The measure of his iniquity was nearly full, and there were portents over all the land that so wicked a despiser of sacred things could not live very long.

§ 11. We must be on our guard against viewing the dissensions between Church and State in those times with the feelings of the present day. It will be sufficient to remember that the Church was still the leader and protector of the people—their leader in refinement and cultivation, their protector against the tyranny of the great. William, on nominating Anselm to the See of Canterbury, had demanded a thousand pounds; but Anselm, who ought to have resisted the demand altogether, could only raise five hundred. This sum was rejected with disdain by the disappointed patron, and distributed among the poor by the conscientious prelate. They had differed also about the Pope; for at this time there were two pretenders to St. Peter's chair; and while William kept both the pontiffs in awe by refusing to acknowledge either, Anselm was firm in his allegiance to Urban, and claimed the pall, or robe of investiture, at his hands. The king considered this treason to his authority, and declined the interference of a foreign priest. The quarrel, however, was compromised at last, and Urban sent Anselm his pall, to be given him by William. William laid it on the high altar in the cathedral; and Anselm, more popish than the pope, lifted it from its sacred position, and accepted it as a direct gift from St. Peter.

As this question frequently occurs in our history, and convulsed the whole of Europe for several hundred years, we shall do well to remember that the struggle between the

throne and the pope turned on what is called investiture with the ring and crozier. These were considered the signs of the secular authority and territorial wealth conveyed to the bishop of a diocese, and therefore to proceed rightfully from the civil power. The pall, or consecrated mantle in which religious services were performed, was the sign, on the other hand, of the spiritual dignity bestowed on the new-made prelate, and therefore proceeded rightfully from the ecclesiastical chief. But a succession of grasping and ambitious popes had endeavoured to alter the law on this subject, and maintained that the ring and crozier, conveying the property of lands, and all the obligations of feudal tenure, no less than the sacred pall, depended on the gift of the Holy Father. With an allusion to the mysterious effects of the consecration of the elements at the Lord's Supper, or the doctrine of transubstantiation, which had very recently been introduced as an article of faith, the Church said it was unbecoming that men who had powers communicated to them greater than the angels possessed, by which they could create their Creator, should be subject in any way to the authority of sinful rulers. The State, on the other hand, appealed to the common sense of its subjects to pronounce on the effect which this divided allegiance would have on the strength and safety of a kingdom.

But in our country the claims of the Church were made by the champions of the lowest and most helpless of the population; the claims of the State were urged by a man who outraged every principle of justice and religion, and the myriads of the oppressed and destitute looked to the mitre as their only friend. They rejoiced, therefore, to see it vindicate its superiority over the sword of knight and crown of sovereign, from which they seldom experienced anything but cruelty and wrong. We shall see as we go on the turning point of this controversy, and watch how the pretensions of the Church were continued after its supporters had withdrawn their confidence, and how, fatally for itself, it deserted

the cause of the suffering peoples to gain fresh influence and multiplied wealth from the guilty patronage of kings. But at the period we have now reached, the sole refuge from oppression was behind the shelter of the Church. In answer to the despairing question, uttered by the millions who were trampled on by the sanguinary and ferocious William, "Is there any hope?" a voice replied to their hearts and consciences, Yes, there is comfort within that other kingdom, which though it is declared to be not of this world, is still co-extensive with it, and is founded on meekness, holiness, and truth.

And on the glimmering limit, far withdrawn,
God made himself an awful rose of dawn.

§ 12. Hated equally by English and Normans, feared equally by priest and baron, William pursued his self-willed course. So brave that he could not be despised, so sagacious that he could not be outwitted, so unrelenting that he could not be appeased, he hurried from England to Normandy, or from Normandy to England, reducing refractory nobles or exterminating exasperated townsmen, till the heart of both countries grew sick beneath the intolerable woe. In 1099 he carried fire and sword into the dukedom which had been disturbed by the gallant Sir Helvic, the Lord de la Marche. Stained with the blood of the peasantry, and loaded with the curses of the priests, he returned to England in 1100. Even his imitations of the more peaceful labours of his father were sources of misery to his people. When he enlarged the Tower or reared the stupendous walls and stately roof of Westminster Hall, the work was done by forced levies of the English, who received no remuneration for their toil. If he made a royal progress through the land, his attendants considered they were in a hostile country, and plundered every farm and house. What they could not consume, they either forced the owner to carry to the next market to be sold for their benefit, or burned for their amusement on the spot. Tho

king must have had sad recollections and gloomy forebodings in the midst of these tyrannous and unjust proceedings. He went to distract his cares by hunting the deer, and buried himself with his brother Henry and a few attendants in the glades of the New Forest; that tract in which his father had darkened the hearths of sixty villages, and overthrown great numbers of churches and shrines. He had taken with him, among others, one of his favourite sportsmen, Sir Walter Tyrrel, of whose character or previous history no information has come down to us, so we cannot tell whether he was a discontented courtier or a willing follower of the king—whether he was under the guidance of the Church, or as irreligious as his master. However this may be, a hart passed up the glade, William discharged his arrow and missed. “Shoot, Walter, shoot, in the fiend’s name!” he cried. And Walter raised his bow—the shaft, we are told, glanced off a tree, and struck the king in the chest, which was left uncovered by his hand being raised to his eyes to keep off the glare of the slanting sun. William fell from his horse a dead man. Sir Walter spurred away from the fatal spot, and took refuge in France. Surprise or a supernatural sort of terror fell upon the attendants, and the master of England and Normandy—the fiery of temper and strong of hand—lay stiff and cold upon the bloody grass. A charcoal-burner passing with his cart conveyed the corpse to Winchester, and conjectures were rife about the fatal deed. Did Tyrrel miss on purpose? Did some desperate Saxon speed the shaft? Was it the Church that set him on? or was there a person in the background, reckless as the dead monarch, and blinded with ambition, who encouraged and procured the act? Men thought of the Church, and saw almost enough to justify its revenge; but they thought of Henry also, the disinherited son of the Conqueror, and found sufficient ground for their suspicion in the opening this made for him, and the course he pursued on the sudden demise of his brother.

§ 13. There are one or two circumstances recorded at the time which help to guide us to a judgment on the death of Rufus. "A certain town in Berkshire," we see in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "observed the strange sight of blood gushing out of the ground; and after this," it adds, "on the morning after Lammas-day, King William was shot with an arrow by his own men." We are told also by Eadmer, abbot of St. Alban's, who was a pupil of Anselm, and lived at this time, that "Anselm, the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, being with Hugo, the Abbot of Cluny, the conversation turned on King William, when the abbot observed, "Last night that king was brought before God, and by a deliberate judgment received the sorrowful sentence of damnation." How he came to know this he neither explained at the time, nor did any of his hearers ask. Nevertheless, out of respect to his piety, not a doubt of the truth of his words remained on the minds of any present. Hugo led such a life and had such a character, that all regarded his discourse and venerated his advice as though an oracle from heaven had spoken. It is, perhaps, not a great departure from the rule of charity, considering the relations between the Church and William, to suppose that among those who regarded the discourse, and venerated the advice of this holy personage, was the famous marksman, Sir Walter Tyrrel, or the person, whoever it might be, whose arrow had so opportunely glanced aside.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1087. Accession of William II. (Rufus). Rebellion of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and several of the English nobility in favour of William's eldest brother Robert.	1092. Makes war upon, and defeats Malcolm, King of Scotland.
1089. The king makes war upon his brother Robert. A new survey of England, and heavy taxes levied.	1095. Conspiracy of the Norman lords against William.
	1096. Duke Robert transfers the Duchy of Normandy to his brother William.
	1098. Westminster Hall built.
	1100. William shot in the New Forest by an arrow.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY I. (BEAUCLERC).

A.D. 1100 TO A.D. 1135.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Philip I., the Fair; Louis VI., the Fat.

SCOTLAND.—Edgar; Alexander I.; David I.

POPES.—Pascal II.; Gelasius II.; Calixtus VI.;
Honorius II.; Innocent II.

§ 1. Accession of Henry I. His advantages over his disinherited brother Robert. His various measures.—§ 2. Reflections on the past, and comparisons with the present.—§ 3. Duke Robert invades England. Reconciliation of the brothers. Charges against Robert de Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury. His banishment.—§ 4. The king makes war upon his brother Robert, takes him prisoner, and subdues Normandy. Robert's long imprisonment. The Earl of Shrewsbury restored to his honours and estates.—§ 5. The son of Robert committed to the guardianship of Sir Helie de St. Saen.—§ 6. Prince William acknowledged as future king. War with France. Battle of Brenneville. Prince William betrothed to the Princess of Anjou.—§ 7. The prince with his sister and a large suite shipwrecked and drowned.—§ 8. The king's only surviving child, the Empress Matilda, married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, from whom descended the dynasty of the Plantagenets.—§ 9. William Clito of Normandy. The king makes war upon him.—§ 10. His cares to secure the succession of his daughter Matilda to the throne. Death of Henry from over-eating stewed lampreys. His character.—§ 11. Retrospect of his reign. Eustace de Breteuil, and Juliana his wife.

§ 1. WHILE the dead king was lying in that solitary glade of the New Forest, his brother Henry set spurs to his horse, and galloped into the city of Winchester. He never pulled bridle till he came to the gate of the great castle where the royal treasure was kept. With sword drawn, and words of furious threatening, he forced his way in, and in spite of the

opposition of the Lord Treasurer, De Breteuil, who reminded him of the oaths of fealty and allegiance they had both sworn to Robert, laid violent hands on the caskets of gold and valuable jewels. In this he was assisted by certain powerful nobles and influential churchmen, whose favour he had secured beforehand; and on the following day, summoning as many of his adherents as were in the neighbourhood to a council, which, in imitation of the old Saxon assembly, he called a Witan, he was elected king, and verified his father's prophecy, that his rank would be equal to his brothers' if he patiently waited his time.

Henry had many advantages in the contest which would inevitably arise on behalf of the twice disinherited Robert. That easy and luxurious crusader had wasted the whole of the previous year in feasts and pageants among the Norman nobles who had recently established a dominion in Apulia and Naples, and received him in their splendid Italian castles, and owned their natural allegiance to his ducal crown. In this gay and chivalrous existence the soldier of the Cross consoled himself for his toils and perils in the Holy Land, regardless equally of the unruly vassals in his hereditary State, and of the events which were evidently at hand in England. He took home with him to Rouen one of the fairest and richest brides in Europe—Sibylla, the daughter of a great Apulian baron; and even after the news of the startling incident in the New Forest reached him, he continued in the congenial employment of spending his wife's fortune, and attending tournaments in honour of her beauty. But Ralph the Firebrand had a great longing for the riches and power from which he had been driven by the hatred of the English nation, and urged him to vindicate his claims by force of arms. Robert was always delighted to fight, as perhaps he was conscious that he made a better figure on his war-horse than at a council table, and accepted gladly the services of many of the great barons of his duchy, receiving at the

same time promises of assistance from several of the most powerful of the English lords. The feeling was still very strong in favour of keeping the countries united under the same ruler ; and the Earls of Shrewsbury, Surrey, Montgomery, Pontefract, and others of the highest station, who were proprietors of estates in the dukedom, repudiated the election of Winchester, and waited the approach of the legitimate heir. They armed their followers, and provisioned their castles. Normandy marshalled its forces as in the year of the conquest, and Henry turned all his attention to the defence of his newly-gained throne.

First, he recalled Anselm, the wise and learned Archbishop of Canterbury. In his consecrated hands he swore to observe all the laws which the English nation had approved of in the time of any of his predecessors, and to defend the liberties it had at any time enjoyed. Second, he relaxed the burdens under which the land was groaning from the cupidity and injustice of the late king, and restored the church benefices to their dispossessed incumbents, filling up all the vacant offices with the best men he could select ; and thirdly, he looked round for a bride through whom to strengthen his position, either by her wealth or family connexion. He fixed on a maiden who was probably very poor, and whose father could be of little use in the approaching contest in the south of England ; and yet she brought more support to his cause than if she had been loaded with treasures, and had been the heiress of the greatest potentate. When it was known that Henry was going to marry Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm, the Scottish king, the popular enthusiasm knew no bounds. Her mother was Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, the lineal representative of Alfred, and nearest in blood to Edward the Confessor. It was a going back to the royal stock which connected the English with the period of their independence, before the Normans had set foot upon the soil ; and loyalty to the throne on which the descendant of their "right kingly

line of England" was seated, was the duty of every Englishman. The Anglo-Saxon was no longer a degraded race, since it gave a queen to the ancient realm, and a mother to future princes; and all the love which had been accumulating through four-and-thirty years towards the line under which the realm had flourished so long, was poured forth on the Anglo-Saxon princess, whom the people would know by no other name than familiar "Maud."

§ 2. The earnest clinging to old associations which we find in this instance would be unaccountable to us if we did not perceive the mellowing and elevating effects of time. A period may be marked with griefs and misfortunes of the severest kinds. There may be Danish invasions and civil broils; there may be tyranny among the powerful, and hunger and wretchedness among the poor; but when a few years have passed, when the personal sufferers have died, and the traditionary recollections have become faint, men compare their present position with something they imagine to have existed in the past, and long for a recurrence of the good old times. The reign of Edward the Confessor seems to have been fixed on by the unavailing regret of the whole English nation as the golden age of English wealth and liberty. If we look back upon the period thus fondly dwelt on, we find it a time when life was little regarded, and when property was insecure. And yet, in all his woes, the down-trodden Anglo-Saxon appealed from the cruelty of his Norman lord to the laws of Edward; and the worst and most ambitious of our Norman kings had nothing to do, in order to secure the affection and confidence of the people, but to promise a return to the manners and legislation of the last of the sons of Odin.

§ 3. With Anselm binding the Church to his cause, with the native English gathering round him, in honour of the holy Confessor and the beautiful Maud, and with many of the

Norman barons, whose estates in England probably were more valuable than their continental possessions, commanding his armed array, Henry waited without apprehension the Second Invasion, which started from the harbours of Normandy. But Robert was a very different man from William. Getting safe to land at Portsmouth, by the unaccountable desertion of the English fleet, he entered into parleys with the opposing host. The English adhered to the husband of their native queen, and Anselm, advancing between the armies, threatened the invaders with the curses of the Church. Terms were entered into; the brothers were apparently reconciled, and Robert's preparations, which had excited the attention of Europe so long, ended in a bargain, by which he peaceably went back to his wife and tournaments, in consideration of an annual payment of three thousand marks, and the surrender of the castles which Henry held within the Duchy. There was a talk also of the mutual pardon of the adherents on both sides, and of the succession by the survivor of the two brothers to the crown and dignity of the other, and Robert set sail for Harfleur with the first year's pension in hand, considering that his expedition had on the whole been as successful as could be expected.

But the English lords who had welcomed the Norman duke were marked men. Before Robert had spent a third of his yearly stipend, there were emissaries on behalf of Henry established in the halls of Shrewsbury, Surrey, and Montgomery, to take notice of words and actions, and report them to the king. Robert de Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, is a good example of a Norman baron, and of the relation which could exist between a feudatory and the crown. Henry summoned him to stand a trial on forty-five accusations brought against him by his spies. Belesme prepared for his defence by summoning his subordinate tenants together for his protection; and with all the men he could collect he

took his stand against the royal warrant in the strong castle of Bridgenorth. Never were English archers so happy as when, under the legitimate authority of a Norman king, they could have the opportunity of carrying destruction to a Norman lord. The Anglo-Saxon blood was heated by remembrance of the wrongs the nation had endured, and when a body of Norman nobles called a council to bring about a reconciliation between the king and the earl, the English bowmen, who were on a hill in the neighbourhood of the meeting, cried, "Don't trust them, King Henry; they wish to betray you: but we are here. Make no peace with the traitor Shrewsbury, but get him into your hands alive or dead."

This advice was too congenial to Henry's disposition to be rejected. The siege of the castle was pressed. Belesme, the haughty earl, was forced to save his life on condition of perpetual banishment from England. His brothers, the Earls of Montgomery and Lancaster, were stripped of all their honours; and the grand result of Robert's attempt to assert his rights was, that every one of his supporters was slowly but surely punished with utter ruin and confiscation, and their lands bestowed on a lower and more grateful class of men, who had had no personal share in the conquest of England. It is a curious illustration of the different tempers of the royal brothers, that Robert's first impulse, on hearing that Henry had accused Belesme of high crimes and misdemeanours against the English crown, was to punish so undutiful a subject by ravaging his estates in Normandy. He was engaged in this operation when the truth was told him; but the moment he learned that the sole crime of all those lofty-crested nobles was attachment to himself, and the aid they had given him in England, he stepped into a vessel, and, hurrying to London, besought his brother to have pity on the unfortunate barons, whom he had promised to pardon for his sake. He believed, from the smiles and tenderness with

which he was received, that his suit was gained. But smiles and tenderness cost the amiable Henry nothing; and he expended these commodities on his Norman visitor so long, that even Robert perceived what a very slender chance he had of ever getting away from the kindness and hospitality of his too affectionate host. He managed at last, by a magnanimous surrender of his annuity of three thousand marks, to get Henry's consent to his departure; but as he summoned the banished earls to his court the moment he got back to Rouen, Henry held him guilty of a breach of their articles of peace, and declared war on Normandy, to the great delectation of his English troops.

§ 4. Robert had lost the beautiful Sibylla, who died two years after her marriage, and his house was a scene of perpetual riot. His lords shared in his festivities, and availed themselves of his idleness to oppress their tenants and make war upon each other. There were ballad-singers, and conjurers, and musicians, and all the wit and wickedness of the land to be seen in high places at the banquets in Caen and Rouen. But in the country districts there was nothing but misery and wrong. The functions of Government were so completely abdicated, that nobody was surprised when Henry, before proceeding to actual hostilities, proposed to his brother to resign a realm he could not rule, and accept a pension in payment of his ducal crown. When this was rejected by the gallant-spirited voluptuary, Henry proclaimed himself Protector of Normandy, and laid siege to the castle of Tinchebray. Robert, with all his remaining adherents, came to the rescue, and fought with the personal prowess which had distinguished him in the Crusade. But Belesme, for a reason soon to be told, deserted him in the middle of the battle. Henry pressed on; and Robert, shouting his war-cry and pushing forward his horse, was surrounded and taken prisoner. Four hundred of his barons shared his fate; and the question which had

disturbed the two countries for so many years was solved. England and Normandy were again under the same crown.

In the distribution of rewards and punishments we see a fearful picture of the time. Robert was imprisoned, and when he tried to escape he was blinded, as some authorities state, by his brother's orders, and groped his way round his prison walls for eight-and-twenty years. Banishment, impoverishment, and degradation were the sentences on others. But to Belesme, the double traitor, and Ralph the Firebrand, the treasonable bishop, were assigned the disgraceful honours of re-instatement in wealth and grandeur. Belesme was again the powerful Earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel; and Ralph oppressed his priests, and neglected his people, as the restored Lord Bishop of Durham.

§ 5. At the time of Henry's virtual conquest of Normandy, the only son of Robert and Sibylla was five years old. In a fit of temporary generosity the triumphant uncle committed the child to the guardianship of the noble-minded Sir Helie de St. Saen, a knight so brave, and guardian so honourable, that when the king repented of his compassion, and demanded the surrender of the young prince into his hands, he refused the application, and fled from court to court, exciting the commiseration of princes and peoples by the helplessness and beauty of his youthful charge. Louis VI. of France, and Fulk, Earl of Anjou, professed themselves the protectors of the Conqueror's eldest grandson; the first, as a means of keeping his dangerous vassal in order by threats of supporting the pretensions of a rival; the other, to use the rights of William Clito (or illustrious, the usual title of the Norman heir) as a defence against the claims of the ambitious Henry. Alas! for the romance and truthfulness of the feudal mind! Henry silenced the reclamations of France by promises of submission, and bought over the friendship of Fulk of Anjou, by confiscating in his favour the estates of the

gallant Sir Helie of St. Saen. But this was not enough. A marriage had been agreed upon between the unlucky Fitz-Robert, as William Clito was called, and the earl's fair daughter, Sibylla of Anjou; and Henry, as he had torn from his nephew every acre of land, did not hesitate to wrest his bride from him also. The generous Fulk, on the other hand, was overwhelmed with gratitude and pride, when Henry offered his son William, the heir of England and Normandy, to take the place of the poorest and now most deserted prince in Christendom.

§ 6. Preparations were apparently made for the honourable fulfilment of all these agreements. Prince William was acknowledged as future king by a formal homage rendered to him by the nobles of Normandy and England. Everything promised a long course of prosperity. The arts of peace were encouraged, and colonies of industrious workmen from foreign countries were granted lands on the borders of Wales. It seemed even an additional reason for maintaining tranquillity, when, in 1118, the good Queen Maud died, to the great sorrow of the English people, though with little sorrow on the part of the king; but at this very time it became known that the ever-active Henry had been engaged in secret plots and preparations against his paramount lord the King of France, and his unsuspecting nephew, Duke Robert's son. War was declared on both sides, and Normandy was again laid waste by contending armies. Henry was unfortunate at first. His barons deserted him, his finances ran short, other potentates, such as the Earl of Flanders, rose up against him, and William Clito was always at hand to maintain the cause of legitimate descent against usurpation. But Henry was one of those natures—

"Strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

With dogged perseverance he waited the turning of the tide. First the Earl of Flanders was slain; next he discovered that a good sum of money would be a wonderful peacemaker

with the heroic Earl of Anjou, and that he was impatient for the marriage of his daughter. He sent him a large amount of gold, and a promise of immediate nuptials; whereupon Earl Fulk turned upon his allies without a moment's hesitation, and Henry found himself at the head of more numerous forces than his enemy the French king. The battle of Breneville followed, where there was a great appearance of military ardour, but none of the real dangers of war. It was a tournament on a great scale, and the champions were the knights of highest rank in Europe. Kings of England and France, princes, dukes, and earls, all poured down in plumes and cuirasses from opposite sides, clashed for a minute or two against each other, and returned to their former stations in the midst of much shouting and no bloodshed. Some of the grandees, indeed, on both sides fell from their steeds, and not being able to rise again, from the heaviness of their armour, yielded themselves prisoners, and agreed for a ransom; but at the end of this exciting turmoil the French found it necessary to retreat. William Clito, in imitation of his father, was a bold knight, and carried his ducal crest into the front of battle. His horse was killed; the King of France also lost his horse; several other horses must have suffered on this great occasion, but only three men were slain. The manner of their death is not recorded, so it is just as likely they were smothered in their ill-ventilated head-pieces as that they perished by sword or spear. This chivalrous display put an end to the war, and in the following year, when Henry had pacified his Norman States, and France had deserted the cause of William Clito, and the Pope had failed to procure kinder treatment for the imprisoned Robert of Normandy, and Prince William of England had been betrothed to the young Princess of Anjou with a dowry of satisfactory amount, king and prince, and earls and barons, with princesses, countesses, and all the beauty and fashion of

the time, proceeded to Barfleur to take ship for England, and make a triumphal entry into the port of Dover.

§ 7. On the twenty-fifth of November, in the calmest possible weather, the king and his immediate suite put out to sea. He was to be followed by Prince William and the younger and gayer portion of the expedition as soon as possible, and must have looked anxiously back, as hour after hour the famous "White Ship," which had been left for their conveyance, did not make its appearance. He landed the next day, and waited a long time, and still no news of the dilatory vessel. The courtiers had learned the fatal truth, but kept it from the king. At length, on the third day, they sent a little boy into his room, who fell at his feet, and told him that the White Ship had struck upon a rock, and that Prince William, and Marie de la Perche (a daughter of Henry), and all the nobles had been drowned. The king fainted at the great calamity, and never recovered his usual spirits. It is even recorded that he never smiled again. There were but two survivors of the wreck, one of them a butcher of Rouen, and from him it was learnt that the crew and passengers had equally exceeded in wine and wassail, and that the blinded helmsman steered straight upon a rock. Fifty stout oars had given such impulse to the vessel that she split into fragments in a moment. There had only been time for William, who had leapt into a boat and got off a few yards from the wreck, to put back to save his distracted sister the Countess de la Perche, who screamed to him to take her on board. The gallant effort was ineffectual, and all miserably perished. In spite of this act of apparent heroism at the end, and the sympathy which was naturally felt for the bereavement of the king, the English nation had no cause to regret the death of William. Brutal and dissolute as his uncle Rufus, he had determined to signalize his accession to the throne by fresh insults and exactions on the Anglo-Saxon race. He had

boasted he would make them draw the plough and treat them like beasts of burden. "But God said it shall not be thus, thou impious," says a chronicler of the time; "and so it fell out that his brow, instead of being girded with the crown of gold, was beaten against the rocks of the ocean."

§ 8. And now the sonless king was thrown back upon the only surviving child of his marriage with Maud, the Empress Matilda, who played a great part afterwards in English history. She had married Henry the Fifth of Germany in 1114, when she was but thirteen years of age, and when he died in 1124 the ambitious father determined to make her the heiress of both his crowns, and doubtless possessed, in the person of a princess of twenty-three, the widow of the highest potentate in the world, and the inheritor of the noblest patrimony in the west, an instrument for the furtherance of his designs such as he had never possessed before. We might suppose that nothing under a royal bridegroom would satisfy his demand. We find, on the contrary, that all his skill was directed to procure an alliance with the family of Anjou. We saw what competition there was for the hand of a princess of that house between William Clito and William of England. The death of the latter, who had been her affianced husband, left her disposal once more in her father's power; and in order effectually to prevent the success of that hated nephew in obtaining the assistance of so potent a neighbour, Henry bribed our old friend Fulk, who was always open to the highest bidder, with the hand, the rank, and great expectations of his daughter Matilda, whom he offered to bestow on Geoffrey his son and heir. Fulk, satisfied with this elevation of his family, resigned his coronet of Anjou, and set forth to the Holy Land, where his virtues and well-filled treasury had procured him the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The young Geoffrey, called Plantagenet from the bunch of broom (*planta genista*) he wore as the ornament of his helmet, was nothing loth to accept the relict of an emperor, and heiress

of a kingdom, to whom already the feudal barons of both her future States had sworn truth and fealty; and the wedding which turned the whole course of English history into other channels, and so diverged from the direct line of the Conquest that in a short time little of the Norman sentiment was left in the gentry of England, was celebrated with great rejoicings in the city of Rouen. A beauty of twenty-six years old, with the hereditary pride of her Norman family aggravated by her past empire and approaching reign, was not a very submissive or devoted bride to the third-rate potentate of Anjou. Intimations are conveyed to us that their domestic arrangements were not of the most amicable kind; and Geoffrey perhaps sometimes envied his father the precarious and stormy grandeurs of the Jerusalem crown, since it would remove him far away from the exactions of his selfish and unprincipled father-in-law, and the outbursts of temper and caprice of his imperious wife.

§ 9. Having secured the assistance of Anjou against the claims of William Clito on Normandy, it was now Henry's policy to reduce that unfortunate rival to a condition of utter dependence, and for this purpose he stirred up enmity against him among the inhabitants of Pontoise, Chaumont, and other places in which he had been installed by Louis of France, who had further granted him the hand of his queen's sister. We may observe the moves of these two sovereigns, which follow each other with the skill and regularity of a game at chess. Henry makes an attack on William Clito by encouraging the animosity of his subjects. Louis marries him to his sister-in-law. Henry attacks him with the detachment of Fulk and Geoffrey from his cause. Louis makes him Earl of Flanders on the murder of Charles the Good. After a little pause to consider the board, Henry advances a certain half savage, Theodorich of Alsace, to assault the new-made earl; and, finally, William Clito, placing himself at the head of his French allies, and caring little for a life which had been so

filled with struggle and disappointment, threw himself headlong among the crowded ranks of his enemies at Alost, and received a wound of which he died. This was a settlement of the match in favour of the English king ; for William left no son ; Robert, the weary prisoner, died ; and there seemed no probability of a competitor for the crown against his daughter, the Empress Maud.

§ 10. The cares of the English king, however, were devoted to securing her the succession. If he was still more engaged in the inglorious employment of patching up quarrels between man and wife, occasionally persuading his heiress to return to her husband, and sometimes inviting Geoffrey to visit her when she had taken up her residence in England, his labours were crowned, in the year 1133, by the birth of an heir to the ill-assorted pair, with whom we shall soon make acquaintance under the name of Henry II. ; and now the proud grandfather, seeing before him a glorious vision of lineal descendants—for Matilda gave birth to two other sons—determined to enjoy the happiness he thought he had deserved. He therefore punished his rebellious vassals, and over-taxed his tenants, and hunted the deer to raise his spirits. One day when he had acquired a fresh appetite, by chasing in the woods of Lions-la-forêt, he partook largely of his favourite food, consisting of stewed lampreys ; and the wisdom of his physicians, who had warned him against this dangerous dish, was proved by the event ; for the ruler of England and Normandy, the supplanter of his brother, the destroyer of his nephew, the father-in-law of an emperor, and ancestor of many kings, died by over-eating himself at supper.

It is curious, considering the nature of his illness and the hatred that surrounded him, that we find no insinuation of poison in this case. Yet who was to profit by his demise ? We shall see how rapidly all his natural anticipations were disappointed, and what wonderful changes had taken place within a month of his death, when his body was brought over in state, and

deposited with regal ceremonies in the great abbey at Reading, which he had lately built. Superstition or hatred saw strange evidences of the Divine wrath in the circumstances of his death; and the common people, when they heard that the embalmer had been suffocated by the poisonous exhalations of the body, only added him to the long list of the victims of the royal cruelty. "He was the last man," says the chronicler, "whom King Henry put to death."

Here was the end of a reign of thirty-five years; and if we consider some of the changes that occurred in it, we shall see the beneficial tendency of a lengthened tenure of power, in the firmness and permanency which it impresses on the acts of one mind. Steady and persevering in his great object of lowering the dangerous independence of the nobility, his policy had the effect of protecting the people. His declaration, or first charter, was a renewal of the laws which had been broken through or abrogated by his Norman predecessors. His second, or the charter of London, relieved commerce from many of its chains, gave self-government to the citizens, and placed them beyond the exactions or tyranny to which they had been exposed. Not that the worthy son of William and brother of Rufus cared much for the happiness of his subjects, but he would allow no man to trample on them but himself. Another gain was the perceptible separation which occurred in this reign between the interests of Normandy and England. Even though united under the same sceptre, it was soon very evident that Henry played one set of great feudatories against the other, and that properties on the Seine were held out as tempting baits to the English barons, while in the same way the rich possessions of Shrewsbury or Montgomery assured to the lord paramount the support of as many greedy warriors from Rouen as he required. Each revolting lord felt the frightful strictness of the feudal law while he raised the sword against his superior; whereas his position would have been more independent

the crowns had been held by different persons. Opposition to the foreign ruler would not have been treason as well as war. But no one dared to whisper a doubt of the perfect justice and truth of the firm-willed and pitiless master who held Normandy in subjection with the aid of England, and trampled on the English peers with the aid of Normandy. The dominions, however, instead of being welded together by the weight that oppressed them, were ready to take separate and independent forms the moment the pressure was removed.

§ 11. And yet we cannot doubt that when the evil times which succeeded the Beauclerc's reign were upon them, nobles, and priests, and peasantry regretted the restraining rod from which they had all suffered so long. As this was the last of the legitimate Normans, he combined in his own person the good and bad qualities of his race. Cunning and revengeful as the Conqueror, he also possessed a certain magnificence of mind, which displayed itself in noble buildings and rich religious foundations. England copied from Normandy the majestic style of architecture, of which so many specimens still remain, reminding us of a time when cathedrals and abbeys and churches were a kind of devout conscience-money paid in acknowledgment of guilt and lowliness in the sight of heaven, at the very time that the sumptuous edifice spread over all the land the name and generosity of the founder. If these sacred monuments were indeed memorials of crime and violence, we need not wonder that the Normans were ecclesiastical architects on the largest scale. Henry, for instance, whose career we have sketched, had outraged every feeling of kindness or compassion in his treatment of friend and foe. He had two grandchildren, the offspring of his illegitimate daughter Juliana, whom he had married to a certain barbarous feudatory called Eustace of Breteuil. Eustace and Juliana displeased him, and he exacted their little girls as pledges of their fidelity; but as a pledge also of his own he commanded a courtier of the name of Harenc to confide his son to the

care of the offended parents. Eustace with brutal fury plucked out the eyes of the youthful hostage, and Harenc appealed to the king. Was there no court before which so great a crime could be tried?—was there no bishop or priest to inform the crowned scholar that the law of retaliation had been done away? Henry gave his hostages, the daughters of Juliana, into the hands of Harenc, and Harenc, with a thrill of gratified hate, mutilated their faces, and burnt out their eyes. Juliana heard of the deed, and when her father besieged the castle of Breteuil, demanded parley with him from the walls. When he appeared, she aimed an arrow from her crossbow at his breast, but missed. The siege, therefore, went on, and when hunger, fever, and the usual concomitants of war in those ages compelled the guilty pair to surrender, Henry, with a grim humour, would not pardon his daughter till he had humiliated her in the sight of all the camp, and Juliana was forced to lower herself in a basket from the battlements, to wade up to her neck across the dirty moat, and, dripping and disgraced, was received in the royal tent, and admitted into her father's favour. Not all the churches and hospitals that give such holy beauty to the landscape of England could wash away the stain of such unforgivingness and crime, and Henry must be remembered as a successful wielder of authority, but unredeemed by a single social or christian virtue.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

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| <p>A.D.
 1100. Henry I. is recognised as king, and crowned at Westminster.
 1106. The king makes war upon his brother Robert, takes him prisoner, and reduces Normandy to subjection.
 1120. Prince William and his bride, with two others of the king's children, and all their attendants, shipwrecked and lost on their return from Normandy.</p> | <p>A.D.
 1127. The nobility swear fealty to Matilda, the king's only daughter.
 1130. Matilda married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, from whom the dynasty of the Plantagenets was descended.
 1134. Death of Robert Duke of Normandy (elder brother of the king), after an imprisonment of twenty-eight years.
 1135. Death of Henry I. and accession of Stephen.</p> |
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BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

STEPHEN OF BLOIS.

A.D. 1135 TO A.D. 1154.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis VI., the Fat; Louis VII., the Young.

SCOTLAND.—David I.; Malcolm IV.

POPES.—Celestine II.; Lucius II.; Eugenius III.; Anastasius IV.

§ 1. Accession of STEPHEN. Claims of Matilda to the throne. Constitution of feudalism opposed to a female succession.—§ 2. Measures pursued by Stephen to secure the crown. His coronation.—§ 3. Despotism and anarchy of Stephen's reign.—§ 4. The great coalitions formed against him.—§ 5. David of Scotland enters into hostilities against Stephen. Hatred of the Scotch towards the Norman race. Robert Bruce. Battle of the Standard, and great slaughter of the Scotch.—§ 6. Influence of the clergy. Punishment inflicted by Stephen.—§ 7. Matilda arrives in England. State of public feeling. General anarchy and oppression.—§ 8. Stephen's forces defeated, and himself taken prisoner. Matilda obtains the crown. Flight of Matilda, and her departure from the kingdom.—§ 9. Prince Henry Plantagenet, son of Matilda. Treaty entered into, by which Henry was acknowledged as Stephen's successor.—§ 10. Death of Stephen.

§ 1. WHEN the reader remembers all the oaths of allegiance to the Empress Maud, all the care bestowed by the politic Henry to secure her accession, and the farther advantage she possessed in being the mother of three hopeful sons, he is surprised at seeing the name Stephen as the heading to the succeeding reign. Who was Stephen, and by what means did he manage to disappoint the wisdom of Henry and the ambition of Matilda? A little inquiry will moderate our

surprise, and show how naturally the interruption to the direct succession occurred. Stephen was the son of Adela, the daughter of the Conqueror. He was therefore nephew of the late king. His father was Count of Blois, one of the petty feudatories of France, and his life would probably have been passed in the obscure contentions of a small principality if the greater theatre of England and Normandy had not been opened to his ambition by the favour of the kinsman whose daughter he was about to supplant. Henry, indeed, spared no pains to elevate him and his brothers to the highest point. Stephen was handsome, courageous, and gay; so winning in manner that he was a favourite with the mob, so gallant in action that he was a pattern to the knights, his partial uncle procured for him the hand of the daughter and heiress of the Count of Boulogne, and enriched him with manors and territories sufficient to do honour to the lofty station of his bride. But she was richer in the eyes of the English with the hereditary blood of their ancient kings than with all the estates of which her husband was lord. For she was the niece of David of Scotland and of Henry's first wife, Matilda, the niece of Edgar Atheling; and as if further to endear her to the regretful heart of the oppressed, she herself was known by the name of Maud. Henry had been equally lavish in his bestowal of ecclesiastical wealth on the brother of Stephen, who was at this time Bishop of Winchester, and the most powerful churchman in the realm.

The case of a female succession had not occurred in all our Saxon or Norman annals. The constitution of feudalism was directly contrary to it, as it was founded on the idea of the indissoluble union between property and the sword; and when the more vigorous spirits among the nobility compared the competitors for the crown, the choice could not be long and difficult between the grandson of the Conqueror by a daughter, and the granddaughter of the Conqueror by a son.

§ 2. The throne was empty, and the strong man was near to take it. For Stephen crossed over from Boulogne when he heard of his uncle's death, and though rejected by the castellans of Dover and Canterbury, was received with acclamations of triumph as he rode into London, and took up his residence in the Tower. Henry of Winchester was busy in his brother's cause. He seized the royal treasures, as the Beaclerc had done, and scattered his official curses on all the supporters of the empress. With money in hand, and the most active of prelates by his side, Stephen found little difficulty in procuring an appearance of election to the throne by the voice of Church and people. On the 26th of December he was solemnly crowned by William Corboil, Archbishop of Canterbury, and in a short time afterwards had the gratification of receiving the ratification of the pope, who accepted his accession as "a near relation of the deceased king," and adopted him as "a son of the blessed apostle Peter and of the holy Roman Church."

§ 3. And now for nineteen years were poured out upon England all the woes and miseries of despotism and anarchy combined. It is impossible to get a clear view of that most melancholy and tempestuous time, for its deepest characteristic is darkness and confusion. The main struggle seemed to be for the crown of England between Stephen and his cousin Maud; but every mile of all the land was alive with war and rivalry. Baron assaulted baron, and peasant life was considered of no value on either side. In the first glow of his success Stephen had promised a golden age to all portions of his subjects; privileges, wealth, and independence to the nobles; protection, peace, and prosperity to the people; and crowned all his agreeable obligations to the future by the usual undertaking to restore the laws and customs as they existed in the good old times. The feudal chiefs availed themselves of his permission to build castles and fortresses on their estates, and thousands of square-towered, narrow-windowed,

cruel-looking residences were studded over all the kingdom. Agriculture could not prosper in the midst of the lawless incursions of freebooters of noble blood; and trade was at a standstill from the insecurity of the roads. It is likely that the great assemblages of armed cavaliers and trained bowmen around the standards of the recognised leaders of the war were less hurtful than the miscellaneous violences which were perpetually going on in the intervals falsely called peace; and therefore we hail the appearance upon the scene of Robert, Earl of Gloucester—the illegitimate brother of Matilda, and endowed with many of the sterner qualities of the race he sprang from—as giving the struggle a definite aim and object, and imposing some restraint on the wilfulness of knights and earls by the necessity of military organization and martial law.

§ 4. Stephen considered the greater part of his difficulties removed when Gloucester came over in 1137, and swore fealty to him as his liege lord. If the oath was clogged with the condition that the obligation was only binding so long as the liberties of the kingdom were preserved, the king was too much gratified to perceive the qualification. He restored him to his estates, and relied on his protestations of gratitude for his future submission and support. But Gloucester had other views. He roused the enmity of the disappointed nobles against the gay and trustful king, promising them great things if the rightful heiress had her own. Hugh Bigod seized Norwich castle, Baldwin de Rivers raised all his vassals, and held possession of Exeter, and David, the Scottish king, was persuaded to promise assistance to the disinherited Matilda. Relying on all these alliances, Gloucester retired from England, and sent a formal withdrawal of his homage; and Matilda, panting for revenge and power, held herself ready to cross the Channel, and lead her adherents in the field. But Stephen, who was equally at home in the feast and the battle, paralyzed his enemies by the rapidity of his move-

ments. He drove de Rivers from Exeter, and other malcontents from the castles they had seized or built. He passed over to Normandy, and tried, by lavishing King Henry's treasure on the barons of that land, to attach them to his cause. But the money was quickly spent, the object ungained, and he came back to England, and excited his partisans to resistance of the great coalition which by this time was ready to declare against him.

§ 5. David of Scotland, at the head of all the unruly dwellers in the north—the men of the Isles and the lately subdued Highlanders of the west—crossed from his territories of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and fixed his tents in Yorkshire. His lowland arrays were as Anglo-Saxon as the inhabitants of Durham, with whom they were going to fight. His body-guard of mounted gentlemen was as Norman as the leaders of the opposing host. But the enmity between the nations was bitter and irreconcilable. The Highlanders and men of the Isles were barbarians who nourished a hereditary rage against the southerners as usurpers of the valleys and plains where their ancestors had lived; the Lowlanders hated the English for the sufferings their incursions had caused; the Scottish gentry were principally the chiefs of Norman families who had been expelled from their estates by William or his sons, and had been presented with their present holdings by the generosity of the Scottish kings. Frightful cruelties marked the approach of the invading army. Norman, Saxon, or Dane felt equally the edge of the Caledonian sword. Priests and peasants were mingled in the same ruin; and before the undisciplined masses had crossed the Tees, all the north of England forgot its party differences, caring neither for Matilda nor Stephen, and offered one great and solid bulwark against the advancing tide. Thurstan—who from his name must have been Saxon in descent—the Archbishop of York, stimulated the patriotism of his flock by fiery declamations against the unbelieving Gael. He brought out the statues and

banners of the great old English saints—of Cuthbert of Durham, and John of Beverley, and Wilfred of Ripon—from the dusty receptacles in which they had lain neglected since the Norman priesthood came in. Ralph, Bishop of Durham, was not satisfied with the ecclesiastical arms used by his metropolitan, but mounted his horse and drew his sword. “Nobles of Norman lineage,” he said, when the battle was about to begin, “ye who have made France tremble, and taken England in possession, these are the Scotch who did you homage, and now try to drive you from your lands. If our fathers, few in number, conquered so great a part of France, shall we not trample on those half-naked savages who oppose our lances and blades with bucklers of calf’s-skin or their unprotected hides. Those boastful barbarians from Galloway have been heard to say that no drink is so sweet as the blood of a Norman. Let us not allow one of them to return to triumph that he has slain a gentleman.”

Very few did return. David the King and Henry the Prince of Scotland commanded the Lowlanders. A brave old Norman of the name of Robert Bruce, who held lands upon the Esk, rode up to the royal pair. “Think,” he said, “oh king, against whom you are about to fight. These are the Normans and the English, who have always loved you well, and have aided you to reduce the Gaels under your power. You hope, indeed, to retain them in subjection by the aid of your Scottish warriors, but remember it was we who first enabled you to attach them to your crown.” While the princes listened to this speech, young William, the King’s nephew, insulted the lord of Annandale by crying, “Treason! treason!” and the Bruce, deigning no reply, waved his sword in farewell, and galloped to the English camp. The Gael made a furious onslaught, but were repelled by the wall of steel presented by the Norman line. The English archer had already found his strength, and shafts flew with unerring aim. Henry, the prince, pushed on with his knightly guard,

and nearly reached the Standard. Here there was a hand-to-hand fight, while the infuriated mountaineers, in another part of the field, shouting "Albin! Albin!" and wielding the flashing broadsword, fell before they could come into contact with their foes. Confusion seized the array. Prince and warrior, Lowlander and Gael, in mingled masses, hurried from the plain, while David, gathering his knights, guarded their rear, and kept off the English pursuit. Twelve thousand of his subjects died on that great day, and the slaughter spread dismay among the wild clans of Morayshire and the Isles. Stephen so far profited by the success of his arms that he made an immediate peace with the uncle of his wife; and Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland were held by the heir of Scotland as fiefs of the English crown.

§ 6. Stephen's brother Henry, the Bishop of Winchester, was the most orthodox of churchmen and most zealous of partisans. Roger also, of Salisbury, was strongly attached to his cause, and the unsuspecting king saw with approbation the influence of these prelates extended over other dioceses. The Bishop of Sarum had owed his rise to the rapidity with which he could hurry through the mass; for the late monarch being impatient of delay, and yet obliged to go through the forms of his devotion, was delighted with the performances of a man who compressed the ordinary business of an hour into a few minutes, and rewarded him with the highest offices in Church and State. This quick reader, treasurer, justiciary, and bishop, was forgetful of his patron's wishes the moment he was dead, and sided with the usurper of Blois. Nothing, therefore, could be refused by the grateful king to so useful a confederate. He provided himself accordingly with more estates, and built more houses than any of the other lords. But it was seen that his houses were all in very strong situations, surrounded by wide ditches, and possessing walls of amazing thickness. The country seats, in short, of this peaceful dignitary were castles of impregnable strength. In

this zeal for the castellated style of architecture, he was followed by his nephews, whom he had placed on the episcopal chairs of Ely and Lincoln. What Roger himself did for the valleys and undulations of Wiltshire and the west, Alexander did for the flats of Lincoln, and Nigel for the marshes of Ely. Contemporaneously with the cathedrals of their sees, rose the fortresses of their demesnes; and while Roger could visit in a day his strongly-garrisoned towers of Sherbourne, Salisbury, Malmesbury, and Devizes, Alexander could take his repose safe from assault or trouble in his castles of Sleaford and Newark. Nigel, who was a mighty sportsman, strengthened his hunting-seats with moat and drawbridge, and devoted himself to his hawks and hounds. These three redoubtable kinsmen were summoned to meet the king along with the other nobles at Oxford. Suddenly, without any suspicion on their part, they were attacked in their lodgings, on the plea that their followers had created a disturbance in which a life was lost. Roger and Alexander were arrested by order of the king. Nigel escaped over the wall, and took refuge in his uncle's castle of Devizes, and the real cause of this incident was soon discovered. Stephen suspected their fidelity, and accused them of supporting the claims of his rival, Matilda. He imprisoned the prelates in the dungeons of Oxford, and vowed that till Nigel yielded Devizes, which he had ordered to be besieged, they should taste neither meat nor drink. This was not the style of life to which they had been accustomed, and when Roger was taken to the gate of the beleaguered place, and showed his wasted features, and groaned aloud with the agonies of hunger, the nephew, who was, moreover, suspected to be a still nearer connexion, was subdued by the sight, and Stephen gained the strongest position in Wiltshire by forcing two bishops to fast for three whole days. Whether he could have outraged the ecclesiastical feeling of the time more if he had put them to death may be questioned, for the clergy instantly turned

against him for this insult to the dignity and immunities of the Church. His brother Winchester, who was now the Legate from Rome, felt a closer tie to the Pope than to his own flesh and blood, and summoned him to appear before his apostolic chair to answer for his crime. Stephen declined the invitation, but sent Aubrey de Vere to plead in his defence. One voice only was raised in the assemblage in favour of the king, and that was by the Archbishop of Rouen, who said he thought bishops had nothing to do with fortresses and battles, and that it was right to keep them to their religious duties by force. The others were of a very different opinion, and called on the feudal barons to aid them in avenging their professional wrongs. Roger indeed was released from prison, but died of wrath and disappointment in a short time, depositing, as his last act, a large sum of money on the altar at Salisbury, for the purpose of adding to the cathedral. Stephen laid violent hands on the consecrated coin; and not all his joyousness of manner or generosity of character could save him from the national and clerical indignation.

§ 7. Gloucester and Matilda hurried over to take advantage of this state of affairs. They landed at Portsmouth, and Matilda threw herself into Arundel Castle, which was the property of her stepmother, Adelais of Louvaine. Stephen, however, had still a few supporters who joined his standard, and besieged her in this retreat; but when her brother appeared with a numerous array, Matilda proceeded in royal state to Gloucester, and the discomfited sovereign retired to the Tower of London. There is something in this civil war different from any other intestine struggle with which we meet in history. There are long pauses in the operations on both sides; there are negotiations for a settlement of the dispute; and the reason of the lukewarmness of the hostile parties seems to be, that neither candidate was popular with any order in the State; and the whole land lay in such a state of exhaustion, that any effort of magnitude was above its

power. Never, perhaps, did any country in the world suffer so long or so hopelessly as England at this time. There appeared no prospect of a termination to the woes that pressed equally in every quarter. Law was at an end; even the semblance of it which the rules of feudalism ensured to the tenants and unarmed labourers. Barons everywhere pillaged and fought; and there was no central power to keep them in the slightest degree of control. Matilda could not offend her supporters by appeals against their harshness, and Stephen had lost all the influence of his position by the relaxation he had long introduced into the affairs of government.

The people were crushed under their burdens, and "said openly that Christ slept and all his saints," for there was no rescue possible for them either from heaven or earth. Churches and monasteries at the same time rose over all the land. The compensation for wrong in the shape of ecclesiastical foundations eased the consciences of the ferocious lords, but added fresh toil to the worn-out workmen. For the edifice itself, which was to act as an atonement for the slaughter and spoliation of so many peasants, was exacted from the sinews and skill of the same peasantry under threat of the rack and halter. Where the chantries were thickest the crimes had been darkest. When quieter times came, England accordingly was found to have greatly increased its number of sacred buildings, and reduced its population by nearly a half.

The confusion of these melancholy nineteen years—from 1135 to 1154—extends to the records of public transactions and private manners. There is little continuity of narrative in them or clearness of explanation, and yet the whole period is characterized by the author of the contemporary Anglo Saxon chronicle with an effective simplicity which the greatest historian could not surpass. "They (the powerful) greatly oppressed the wretched people. They took those whom they suspected to have any goods by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and put them in prison for their gold

and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable. They hung some up by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke, some by their thumbs or by their heads, and they hung burning things on their feet; they put a knotted string about their heads, and twisted it till it went into the brain. Many thousands they exhausted with hunger. I cannot, and I may not tell of all the wounds and all the tortures that they inflicted upon the wretched men of this land. They were continually levying an exaction from the towns, and when the miserable inhabitants had no more to give, then plundered they, and burnt all the towns, so that well mightst thou walk a whole day's journey nor ever shouldst thou find a man seated in a town, or its lands tilled. They robbed the monks and the clergy, and every man plundered his neighbour as much as he could. If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them, and thought they were robbers. The bishops and clergy were ever cursing them; but this to them was nothing, for they were all accursed and reprobate. The earth bore no corn; you might as well have tilled the sea, for the land was all ruined by such deeds."

§ 8. Over these blood-stained and fire-devastated plains we perceive the marchings of the rival hosts; yet we follow their proceedings with little interest, knowing that no improvement will result for a long time from the success of either party. Matilda having repulsed her rival from the walls of Bristol, pursued her advantage by sending her forces against him while he was besieging the castle of Lincoln. This episcopal residence was held by the still furious Alexander, whom he had imprisoned and starved at Oxford. Gloucester was a better general than Stephen, though not so dashing and chivalrous a warrior. He took his enemies by surprise; and in spite of a gallant resistance, having broken his sword and battle-axe, Stephen was forced to yield himself a prisoner, and was loaded with chains and carried to Bristol Castle. There

must have been a hope at this time that the war would end. Henry of Winchester gave in his adhesion to the Empress. The Church, in public synod, ratified her accession; the Legate himself formally declared, "that in order that the kingdom might not be without a ruler, the clergy—to whom it chiefly belongs to elect kings and ordain them—elected the daughter of the late pacific royal, glorious, and incomparable King Henry to be Sovereign Lady of England and Normandy." But Stephen had qualities which attracted the attachment of the towns. He was open-handed and brave-hearted. What he thought he said, and was always inclined, by a grant of franchise and exemption, to protect them from the power of the nobility. London stood true to him in his distress, and so did Lincoln, and the other seats of commerce and nurseries of freedom. When Matilda, therefore, relying on her hereditary rights, refused the petitions of the burghs for a ratification of their ancient liberties, as secured by the Laws of Edward the Confessor and the Declaration of Henry I., they burst forth in open support of the imprisoned king, whose name now became a symbol of English independence. At the very moment, accordingly, when the haughty Matilda was preparing for her coronation, a body of cavalry appeared on the Surrey side of the Thames, commanded by that other Maud, the wife of Stephen, and equally near in descent from the line of the ancient kings. Bells of alarm were rung; forces were called out, but the townsfolk sided with the invading horsemen, and arming themselves in all haste, hurried to seize the vain-glorious queen. Matilda, who was just sitting down to dinner, fled from the table with the utmost expedition, and never rested till she got to the comparative security of Oxford. Those who were wise in prognostics drew favourable omens to Stephen's cause from this fidelity of the men of the cities. Among others, Henry of Winchester scented the returning prosperity of his unfortunate brother, and absolving all the adherents of Matilda from their oaths, excom-

municated her as a disturber of the national peace. Matilda gathered her friends to revenge this treachery and insult, and besieged the false prelate in his palace. But the Londoners came to the rescue—a thousand bold citizens in coats of mail, commanded by Stephen's wife, Queen Maud—and in a short time the state of affairs was so completely changed that Matilda found herself besieged in the royal castle by the bishop whom she had come down to besiege.

The capture of the garrison would have settled the dispute at once. For, besides Matilda herself, there were knights and earls of great importance, David king of Scotland, and Gloucester, the general of the army. The furious bishop pushed on his approaches, and the defenders began to despair. Matilda mounted a horse at daybreak of a holiday of the Church, and fled towards the castle of Devizes. The moment her absence was perceived, knights and nobles leaped on horseback to pursue. Gloucester and the warriors of his party threw themselves between the fugitive and her foes, and kept off their assault till they reached Stourbridge. There a fierce combat took place for the purpose of delay, that Matilda might get out of danger. The gallantry of Gloucester was successful in saving the queen, but disastrous to himself. Many fell—many were taken prisoners; Gloucester was seized, and the rest dispersed, and hid themselves in woods and valleys. Their perils, however, were not over, for the peasantry, maddened with sufferings, and starving from the general impoverishment, watched for the foreign accent of the Norman nobles, who had assumed various disguises, and mercilessly slew them. It was safer, in those dreadful times, to trust to the generosity of their feudal enemies than to the compassion of the lower class. A knight might pity a knight, but a peasant had no feeling towards his superiors but implacable bitterness and revenge. Stephen, in his dungeon at Bristol, heard of the captivity of Gloucester in the castle of Rochester.

A treaty was entered into for an exchange of these distinguished captives, and the struggle went on as before.

Matilda was besieged in Oxford Castle, and expected aid from her brother, the Earl of Gloucester, who was reported to be advancing with her young son, Henry. Nearly the whole of Normandy had submitted to Geoffrey of Anjou, the husband of Matilda, when he summoned it to acknowledge the title of his son. The youth was sent over to try the effect of his name in England, and the unconquerable mother anticipated a movement in her favour. A few partisans presented themselves to Gloucester and the prince, but finding their purses nearly empty and their following very small, they retired more rapidly than they came, and it was soon known in the garrison of Oxford that there was no prospect of relief. Hunger was busy among the defenders—the assailants were gaining strength and hope—the snow was on the ground, and the bravest might have thought of a surrender without shame. But Matilda would rather die than be taken. She let herself down from the wall dressed in white, to be less distinguishable in the snow, and walked to Abingdon. Three gentlemen, her attendants, who had also dressed in white, had provided horses in that town, and pushed on to Wallingford, where they found the forces of Gloucester, and the queen was happy in the possession of her son. She took him to Bristol, while the war languished for want of power on both sides, and had him instructed in the learning and accomplishments of the day by Gloucester himself. When the boy was fourteen years of age, she sent him back to his father, Geoffrey, who acted as her representative in Normandy.

If this move was taken in anticipation of a renewal of the active struggle, the queen was disappointed by the death of her wise and gallant brother. When Gloucester was gone, she had no name on her side, either as knight or statesman, to compare with Stephen himself. But success disturbed the

serenity of his mind, and in a short time he offended the nobles by his openly declared resolution to bring them into subjection, and the Church by his quarrel with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The lords combined against him; the archbishop excommunicated his adherents; the populace were taught to consider him a tyrant by the barons, and a heathen by the priests; and in two years he was obliged to reconcile himself to the Church and make terms with the nobility.

§ 9. Henry Plantagenet, now sixteen years of age, and accomplished beyond the requirements of his time, was at the court of Scotland, in the town of merry Carlisle, where he was solemnly knighted by the princely David. Here he received the adhesion of numberless English gentlemen who had travelled northward to see the rejoicings on so momentous an occasion. Handsome, and winning in demeanour, a good seat on horseback, and a stout holder of the lance, he formed a very favourable contrast to young Eustace, the son of Stephen, who was less prodigally endowed either in body or mind. When time passed on, and it was known in England that Henry was, by the death of his father in 1150, undisputed lord of Anjou and Normandy; and two years afterwards that, by his marriage with the divorced wife of the French king, he was possessor of Poitou, Guienne, and Aquitaine, his appearance in the jousts at Carlisle and his gracious manners were not forgotten by the wearied out partisans both of Stephen and Matilda. When Henry, in addition to all these advantages, appeared on English soil with a reinforcement of a hundred and forty knights, and three thousand foot, the chances turned so greatly in his favour that hopes of a compromise were generally entertained. No compromise, however, could be agreeable to Eustace, who accordingly left his father's camp, and attempted to raise an insurrection in Suffolk. While the armies of Henry and Stephen lay opposite each other at Wallingford, news was brought to the king that his unhappy son had perished either by a sudden fever, or, as some say, by

drowning, whereupon the brave Earl of Arundel said it was intolerable that all England should be oppressed and ruined by the ambition of two men.

The competitors had a private interview from the opposite sides of the Thames, at a very narrow part of the river, and a treaty was soon arranged. Stephen was to retain the crown of England during his life, adopting Henry as his son, and leaving him the kingdom as his heir. On these terms, Henry did homage to Stephen ; and, as a foretaste of his royal condition, received at the same time the homage of William, the surviving son of Stephen. Nobles, and bishops, and knights all swore to these articles, which were further ratified by the solemn adhesion of the burghs ; and the most miserable years of our history came to a close.

§ 10. Henry and Stephen, side by side, and with every appearance of friendship, visited the great towns, and were received with shows and festivals. But when the young Plantagenet took his departure for the continent, the half-discrowned king had little enjoyment in his unlineal throne. He was perhaps meditating some means of recovering the advantages he had lost, but the country was spared the further suffering, if such was his design. He died at Dover, in the fiftieth year of his age, after a reign—if such a troubled existence can be called so—of nineteen years. (25th October, 1154).

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

- 1135. Stephen, Earl of Blois, usurps the crown, in the absence of Matilda, daughter of Henry I.
- 1136. Danegelt abolished for ever.
- 1137. Stephen reduces Normandy.
- 1138. A conspiracy formed against the king in behalf of the Empress Matilda. Battle of the Standard.
- 1140. War carried on between Stephen and Matilda.
- 1141. Stephen's forces defeated at Lincoln, and himself taken prisoner. Matilda declared queen.

A.D.

- 1147. Matilda leaves the kingdom.
- 1148. Stephen crowned at Lincoln.
- 1149. Henry, son of the Empress, arrives in England with the view of recovering his rights.
- 1153. A peace concluded between King Stephen and Prince Henry, when it was agreed that Stephen should enjoy the crown during his life, and Henry should succeed him.
- 1154. Death of Stephen, and accession of Henry II.

BOOK VII.

THE PLANTAGENET LINE.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY THE SECOND.

FROM A.D. 1154 TO A.D. 1189.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE — Louis VII. (the Young); Philip II. (Augustus.)

SCOTLAND.—Malcolm IV.; William I.

POPES.—Adrian IV.; Alexander III.; Lucius III.; Urban III.;
Gregory VIII.; Clement III.

§ 1. Accession of Henry II., the first of the Plantagenets. His measures for acquiring popularity.—§ 2. He makes war upon the Welsh. His accessions in the north. Receives a solemn donation of all Ireland from the Pope.—§ 3. State of the Church, and of the Norman and Saxon races.—§ 4. Thomas à Becket, and his rebellious opposition. Increasing demands of the Church, and its exorbitant powers.—§ 5. Insolent demands of à Becket.—§ 6. The constitutions of Clarendon for retrenching the powers of the Church.—§ 7. Becket's opposition receives the sanction of the Pope. Bitter contests between Henry and the Archbishop.—§ 8. These dissensions prejudicial to Henry's interests both at home and abroad. His contests with the Welsh.—§ 9. Evils of the contests with à Becket and the priesthood. Charters first granted to cities and towns.—§ 10. Reconciliation between the king and the archbishop.—§ 11. Murder of Thomas à Becket in Canterbury Cathedral. Consternation at the deed.—§ 12. Grief and submission of the king. à Becket declared a saint and a martyr.—§ 13. Conquest of Ireland, and submission of the Irish princes.—§ 14. Revolt of Prince Henry and his brothers against the king's authority. Sanguinary contests.—§ 15. Henry does penance at the tomb of à Becket. Capture of the King of Scotland. Conciliation of the king's enemies.—§ 16. The kingdom of Jerusalem.—§ 17. His measures to weaken the power of the nobility.—§ 18. Prepares for a crusade, which is prevented by the rebellion of his sons.—§ 19. Death of Prince Henry.—§ 20. Rebellion of Richard against his father. Henry dies of a broken heart, and is buried at Fontevraud. His character.

§ 1. THE English hailed the arrival of the new king as a

triumph of their race over the more alien descendants of the Conqueror. Stephen, indeed, was soon looked on as a usurper even by the townsmen who had maintained his cause; and it almost seemed, from the silence of the nation on the subject of the Norman sovereigns, that it would fain have described them by the same name. The monks of Anglo-Saxon lineage traced this first of the Plantagenets to the greatest of the early kings. "Thou art the son," they said, "of the glorious Empress Matilda, whose mother was Maud, the daughter of Margaret, Queen of Scotland, whose father was Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, the great-grandson of the noble King Alfred."

Henry received these gratulations with great satisfaction, as evidences of his popularity with the people. He next made a movement which brought him the favour of the nobles. In the course of the late civil wars adventurers from all lands had come over in search of fortune. Of these the most numerous and most successful were the men of Brabant, who had already become the mercenaries of Europe. Many of them had taken service with Stephen, and rewarded themselves for their efforts with the spoils of the champions of the opposite side. They had seized large properties, and built and fortified strong castles, oppressing both parties with pitiless impartiality. The king raised his banner against the interlopers, and gave them a very short delay within which to leave the island. Their usurped lands were restored to their original holders, and the trampled thrall of a Norman baron looked on at this banishment of one swarm of his foreign oppressors as an emblem and prefiguration of what might yet happen to his master himself. With the great masses of his subjects reconciled to his authority by his Anglo-Saxon descent, and the nobles attached to him by his vindication of their rights and restoration of their lands, there was nothing too high or ambitious for the hopes of Henry II.

§ 2. Henry was one-and-twenty years of age, healthy and

strong ; celebrated ever since his knighthood at Carlisle as an accomplished cavalier and able man-at-arms, and holding in right of his wife Eleanor—whom Louis VII. had divorced for her misbehaviour, and the English prince had married for her possessions—all the west coast of France from the Pyrenees to the Somme. It was his first object to settle his domestic affairs, that he might interfere with more authority in the affairs of other States. The Welsh hung still on his western flank, a people whom it seemed impossible either to subdue or pacify. After a vain attempt to penetrate their defiles, in which he suffered a great loss of men, he retired from the inhospitable land, and contented himself with the old chain of fortresses from the Severn to the Solway. Whether by fear or favour, he was more successful with the Scottish king, who not only surrendered the northern counties, as belonging to the English crown, but did homage for Lothian itself, as having formed at one time a portion of Northumberland. In addition to these present accessions to his territories, he held a solemn donation of the whole island of Ireland from the Pope, of which he only waited a fitting time to avail himself, by adding it to his realm.

§ 3. But there were counterbalancing circumstances which weakened him in the great struggle which was at hand between the crown and the spiritual power, and a few words will be sufficient to point them out before we enter on the interesting and dramatic contest between à Becket and the king. The Normans had been settled in England nearly a hundred years when the great quarrel began. They had come over with all the aid the Papal benediction could bestow. Their first efforts accordingly were directed to the subjugation of the national church, which yielded little more than a nominal submission to the central power at Rome. The higher offices in abbey and cathedral were soon filled with an alien and unintelligible priesthood, but the lower ranks continued to consist of the poorer parochial clergy and the

Anglo-Saxon monks who had occupied their cells through the reign of Edward. Between the dignitaries of the Church and the magnates of the land there was unity and friendship. The Norman bishop was the equal and companion of the Norman lord; but the line was so distinctly drawn between the two peoples inhabiting the soil, by birth and language, that association between the conquerors and the few surviving gentlemen of the Anglo-Saxon line was impossible. The Franklin lived by himself, despised and insulted by his neighbours from over the sea, who envied him the wretched fragments of his old estate which the rapacity of the Williams had left. The high-born priest, in the same way, looked with discontented eyes on the few offices of trust and emolument still in English hands; and in this manner little combination had taken place between the gentry of the two races by the period we have now reached.

But with the humbler classes it was very different. It was impossible for all the followers of William to be gentlemen, and in the course of a few years many of them were scattered all over England, and not much wealthier than the original inhabitants by whom they were surrounded. And all through those years of misery and subjugation the Anglo-Saxon priest had continued true to his Anglo-Saxon countrymen. In their calamities, public and private, when the cruelty of their conquerors had devastated their fields—when the barons' exactions were too hard to be borne, they had sympathizers, if not protectors, in the poor monks and friars, who spoke their language and understood their sufferings. Marriages between the adherents of a baron and the maidens of the neighbouring village had begun at an early period. While the vassal was engaged in his lord's work, the children were playing on the mud floor of the hut in the little clearing of the wood, under the guardianship of their English mother, and speaking as unmistakeable Anglo-Saxon as if they had been born in the days of Alfred. A further departure from the

Norman nationality took place in the next generation ; and we are expressly told by a contemporary author, in the latter part of this reign, that it was "impossible to distinguish between the children whether they were Norman or English, so many marriages had taken place between the nations ; except," he adds, "in the case of those bondsmen called villeins, who have no power to change their condition against the will of their lords."

But the villeins were the fellow-countrymen of the free labourers, and had many things in common with them ; and the humble priest or mendicant friar, who was born one of themselves, was always at hand to keep up their hereditary detestation of the usurping foreigners. The parish clergy also were displeased with the disregard of their interest and inclinations shown by Henry I., in the celibacy he enforced on the English Church as a propitiation to the Pope ; and as many of that body as were the sons of the married clergy must have felt a personal resentment at the blot now affixed to their birth by the new regulation. If these circumstances were enough to account for the dissatisfaction of the humbler ranks of Englishmen, the powers gradually assumed by the crown, to the exclusion of the highest of the nobility, were causes of complaint to the greatest of the feudatories, who found themselves in England the mere vassals and dependents of the suzerain, whereas their brethren in France and other countries held a position almost of equality with the king. Many of the nobles, therefore ; the greater part of the priesthood ; all the unmixed Anglo-Saxons ; and a considerable proportion of the Anglo-Normans, were prepared to applaud any invasion of the prerogatives of the crown, and in their blind enmity to present evils to commit themselves to the chances of worse evils to come.

§ 4. The most powerful man at this time in England was Thomas à Becket, who was only a deacon in the Church, but was Archdeacon of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor of the

kingdom. People who merely saw the ostentatious grandeur of his mode of living, and compared it with his clerical profession—who saw his familiarity with the Norman nobles, and compared it with his undistinguished lineage, and who saw his military exploits in the campaigns in France, and compared them with his judicial offices at home, must have looked on him as a strange combination of contradictions, and must have wondered that so wise a man as Theobald the Archbishop, and so sagacious a politician as Henry, reposed such confidence in his policy and wisdom. The common people were proud at first to see one of their equals, the son of a humble trader, identified with them by language and position (and sharing all the disadvantages of the indigenous stock), advanced to such rank and dignity, but they must have begun to have misgivings about the patriotism of a man who spoke such perfect French, and adopted the habits of the Norman nobility with such complete success.

It was at this time, perhaps, they began to give ear to the curious history of his parentage, which in following ages was received with implicit faith, that his father having followed the First Crusade to the Holy Land, fell into the hands of a Mahomedan emir; that his captivity was soothed by the kindness of the emir's daughter, and that when he was delivered from his prison she grew restless and unhappy, and with but two words of English, namely, "London" and "Gilbert," found her way to the city, and by walking from street to street, uttering nothing but the loved one's name, at last became so much spoken of among the citizens, that she attracted his notice, and was rewarded for her courage and constancy by becoming his wife, and the mother of Thomas, the Archdeacon of Canterbury and Chancellor of England.

His intimacy and influence with the king increased from day to day. The familiarity of their friendship is shown in the story told of the struggle between them for the cloak with which to present the beggar. The king being deter-

mined to be liberal at the Chancellor's expense, endeavoured to pull the great scarlet mantle off à Becket's shoulders and give it to the poor man. The Chancellor declined such involuntary charity, and as they were both on horseback, the mutual tugging and pulling might have brought them from their saddles if the courtier had not yielded in time. Henry gave the cloak to the astonished beggar, and the attendants were lost in admiration at the generosity of the king and the good-nature of the archdeacon.

+ But Henry, who was not of very jocular habits, knew he was quite safe in the hands of his favourite minister. In all his discussions à Becket was ready with his advice; in all his battles, no less ready with his aid. He had taken over 600 horsemen at his own expense in his war with the French king. He had made a treaty with that monarch which took away from him some of his possessions as completely as Henry had already taken away from him his wife; and whatever wit could do to brighten his social hours, and sagacity could do to forward his foreign interest, and zeal could do to increase his domestic authority, was at the command of the admiring companion and grateful king.

In fact there was but one body in the kingdom which made the slightest appearance of opposition to anything he proposed. The nobility had been so humbled by the destruction of their castles, of which Henry levelled eleven hundred to the ground in one year, and by the resumption of all lands which either Stephen or Matilda had bestowed upon their respective adherents, that they were fain to keep their discontent from the observation of so very hard-hearted a ruler. But the Church advanced claims which seemed to increase in proportion as the power of the lay nobility decayed. The only Englishman who ever held St. Peter's chair was Pope at this time, under the name of Adrian the Fourth, but his Anglo-Saxon name of Breakspear was not more changed by his elevation than his Anglo-Saxon heart, and he pushed

the pretensions of the Church authorities to their utmost verge. He extended the exemption of the clergy from the civil courts, and tried to stretch the range of the ecclesiastical tribunals over all classes of the king's subjects. A Becket had used his powers as Chancellor to curtail some of these claims, enforced the payment of scutage, or pecuniary compensation, in place of warlike services on the episcopal estates, a crime for which he was threatened with excommunication, and had thus proved himself as ready to defend the prerogative against the assumption of the prelates as against the opposition of the lords.

The danger of ecclesiastical ambition seemed to increase when Adrian the Fourth died, and was succeeded, in 1160, by Alexander III. Clerical violence dreaded no further check; and at this time there were a hundred priests in England who had been proved guilty of murder, and who had not paid the penalty of their crime. The Church courts were too lenient, even where they took cognizance of the greatest atrocities, and condemned the tonsured offender to no higher punishment than bread and water for a few days, and an infinite number of Paternosters. A great thought came into Henry's head on the death of old Theobald of Canterbury in 1161. If the same hand that kept the laity in order with the Chancellor's mace could rule the clergy with the Metropolitan's crozier, there would be uniformity of law and identity of obedience in Church and State. A Becket was only a deacon. He was absorbed in the pursuits and grandeurs of this wicked world; he was the companion of the king's most mundane amusements, and of the darker pleasures to which he was devoted—but he had a firm will, a clear eye, an unswerving attachment to his friend; and these qualifications were enough. The king appointed him to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and the Anglo-Saxons looked on amazed. As he was the first of their countrymen of unmixed descent who had held any prominent office in the State, he was now the

first, also, who had risen to the higher dignities of the Church. They were proud of his elevation, as a compliment to their race, but they watched in fear to see what steps he would take to enable the king to trample on the priests.

First, he resigned the secular office of chancellor, as inconsistent with his spiritual duties ; and we may imagine Henry well pleased to observe how entirely he was about to devote himself to the humiliation of the Church. Next he betook himself to obscure cells and sacred shrines, and clothed himself in sackcloth, and plied the scourge on his own back ; then, on meeting monks and friars, he fell down on his knees before them, while he declined to receive the visits of the lay nobility. Then he sold off his furniture, and dogs, and horses for the benefit of the poor, and lived on bread and water, and was constantly in prayer.

§ 5. We may fancy Henry watching these proceedings with astonishment, but convinced all the time that it was some clever device of the ingenious prelate to blind the eyes of the public to his real design. Some suspicion, however, must have occurred to him that all was not right when the next move of the archbishop was taken. He demanded the strong castle of Tunbridge from the Baron of Clare, in whose hands it had been since the Conquest, on the plea that it had once belonged to the See of Canterbury, and that no lapse of time barred the rights of the Church. In a short time he made similar demands for the restoration of secularized baronies and towers in all parts of the land, and finally settled all the king's doubts and misgivings by a haughty request to be immediately put in possession of the royal castle of Rochester, as an inalienable appendage of the primacy of England. The King of England and the Primate of England were therefore committed in the struggle ; and to the surprise and indignation of the fiery Plantagenet, he found that in the selection he had made of an archbishop, he had placed a more powerful leader than ever at the head of his enemies.

A priest at this time was convicted of murder with baser aggravations, and was condemned, as usual, by his own courts, to a little fasting, deprivation of his office, and gentle flagellation. The crime and its punishment were reported to the king. He had resolved for some time to extend the jurisdiction of his tribunals, at all events over offences of so dark a dye, and he now came forward, flaming with wrath, and asked the archbishop and the other prelates if they would consent to the proposed change. They were unanimous in declining any alteration. He then asked them if they would promise to abide by the ancient Laws and Customs. The bishops answered that they would; but inserted the nullifying clause, "saving the honour of God and of the Holy Church." "There is venom in that answer," cried Henry, leaving the hall. And the strife grew fiercer than ever.

The proceedings of the archbishop had insulted and alarmed the Norman lords. His demand of so many castles that had been held since the Conquest, on the ground that there is no prescription for injustice and spoliation, made a direct attack on the tenure of every estate in the realm. They began to consider this first Anglo-Saxon prelate a resuscitation of the last Anglo-Saxon king, and looked on the name "À Becket" as synonymous with "Harold." A great delight to the English peasant to think that the broken sword of Hastings was to be supplied by the stronger crozier of Canterbury—and both in English hands! The peasantry therefore took their place in support of the wildest claims of their champion. They were more kindly used by their compatriot priests than by their foreign masters; the cultivators of Church lands were less harassed than those of the neighbouring barons; and the poorest serf in the dungeon of his owner knew that if there was no other way of protecting him from further vengeance, there was the refuge of the Church itself. The Church would receive him into its bosom, and once in holy

orders, he was beyond the reach of the greatest of the lords.

➤ § 6. But luckily for Henry some of the prelates were as much attached to their territorial rights, and as proud of their Norman lineage as their brethren of the sword. It was easy for the wily king to set before them the dangers of the position occupied by the low-born and Anglo-Saxon à Becket; and, accordingly, we find that all the bishops, priors, and abbots were soon ready to accept his propositions; and the archbishop himself, induced by the general consent of his order, and by an exhortation to obedience which Henry had obtained from the Pope, journeyed to the king's house at Woodstock, and made promise to observe whatever laws might be introduced, without any restriction or reservation. To give greater solemnity to this act of adhesion, the king summoned a general council of the nation at Clarendon, near Winchester, and laid before them sixteen laws, or constitutions, to which he required their assent. To take off the appearance of novelty, he called them all ancient "customs of the land," whereas several of them were in direct opposition to the practice of former times; but the barons and bishops not being good chronologists, and very indifferent historians, thought they were merely corroborating certain regulations which had existed in the reign of Henry the First. À Becket, whether from a deeper knowledge of the past or a keener insight into the future, remained firm and alone in his refusal to bind himself to obey the ecclesiastical orders of a lay authority. He was reminded of the engagement he had entered into at Woodstock, of the risk he ran of irritating a haughty and impetuous sovereign; he was prayed to by his friends, and threatened by the daggers of his antagonists, and at last the sense of his peril overcame his resolution. He bound himself to observe the Constitutions, with the sole proviso that he should have time to inquire into the customs on which they professed to be founded. "It is my master's pleasure," he

said to the other bishops, "that I should forswear myself, and at present I submit to it, and do resolve to incur a perjury and repent afterwards as I may."

The triumph of Henry and the Normans was complete. The Constitutions of Clarendon were published not only in England, but in the continental dominions of the king, and the first step was taken to put some limit to the pretensions of the priesthood. Of the articles of this famous edict the principal are:—That ecclesiastics accused of any matter shall answer in the king's court concerning that which it shall appear to the king's court is cognisable there; that churches on the king's demesne shall be in the king's gift; that the higher clergy shall not leave the kingdom nor appeal to the Pope without the license of the king; that vacant bishoprics, priories, and other dignities shall not be filled up except by the recommendation of the king, formally given to the persons in whom the election lies; that no tenant of the crown shall be excommunicated without notice to the king or his justiciary: and after some other provisions of the same kind, the last is this, that no serf or villein shall be ordained against his lord's will.

§ 7. In a very short time à Beckett proved the truth of the repentance of which he had given notice. He ceased to celebrate mass till he had received absolution for so great a sin, and Pope Alexander sent him a pardon under his own hand. But the contest was unequal, for Henry was more politic and sagacious than the archbishop, with as iron a will and unprincipled a conscience, and with the advantage that violence, perjury, and injustice were not so diametrically in opposition to the public notion of a king as to the theoretical idea of a prelate. À Becket, accordingly, finding himself beat at his own weapons, stormed and lied and bullied no more. He even tried to leave the realm, but the boat he twice embarked in was driven back by stress of weather, and he reached Canterbury just in time to prevent the agents of the king from

placing their seals on all his goods as guilty of a breach of the third constitution of Clarendon, which prevented the departure of a dignitary of the Church without the royal consent. He was summoned to a new council at Northampton, and found the house he had intended to occupy seized by the king's servants, and used as a stable. He was kept waiting a whole day before he was admitted to an audience by the king, and only saw him on the following morning as he was coming out from mass. He was accused of injustice to one of the king's officers in his court of Canterbury, and, though protesting his innocence, was fined five hundred pounds of silver, which is nearly eight thousand pounds of our present money. . A further sum of forty-four thousand marcs was demanded as the amount of peculations he had committed in his office of Chancellor;—a most unjust demand and disgracefully enforced. But à Becket was equal to the occasion. On the day of the trial he celebrated the mass of St. Stephen, and then mounted his horse, and carrying the cross in his right hand rode through the streets, drest in his pontifical robes. What were the thoughts of the Anglo-Saxon citizens as they saw their countryman proceeding in such loneliness and desertion we can easily conceive; but no record is kept of his reception on the way; we only know that when he entered the hall the king was greatly troubled. He sent Gilbert Folliot, Bishop of London, and the Archbishop of York, to demand the reason of this theatrical display. Folliot tried to take the cross from his hands, but the primate held it fast. The other bishops begged him to throw himself on the mercy of the king; but the companion of other days knew the king better than they did, and refused.

The Bishop of Chichester next advanced, and in a formal manner pronounced à Becket a perjurer and traitor, and withdrew the canonical obedience of the clergy, giving notice of an appeal to the Pope. The king himself made a speech demanding judgment upon a rebel who refused to plead; and

Robert of Leicester, when about to read the sentence of imprisonment which they had passed on the accused, was stopped by à Becket with a counter appeal. "Earl," he said, "I forbid you, in the name of God, to give judgment against me who am your spiritual father. I place my cause in the hands of St. Peter, and cite you into his court." Saying this, he turned, and was leaving the hall. Norman pride was hurt. Norman interests were at stake. There were hootings and outcries as he passed, but he took no notice. Some words, however, reached his ear when he got to the door, and the spirit of the old campaigner, the soldier who had done such good service in France and Normandy, rose in him once more. "If my sacred office," he said, "did not prevent me, I should know how to reply, sword in hand, to those who call me perjurer and traitor." That evening he gathered at his table all the halt, the maimed, and the poor of Northampton; and while Henry and his nobles were celebrating their triumph far into the night, he left the city, and was lost sight of for fifteen days. He passed through Canterbury in disguise, under the Saxon name of Dearman, and sailing in a stormy night of November from Sandwich, landed at a little distance from the port of Gravelines. Wasted and weary after his voyage, he had still to lurk for three nights in a wretched hermitage, to avoid the search of his enemies, who had heard of his escape; and at last he presented himself at the abbey of St. Bertin, in the town of St. Omers. Here he was received by the monks as the hero of their order, and treated with the utmost respect.

But St. Omers was in the territory of the Earl of Flanders, and à Becket, knowing how deeply that potentate was obliged to Henry, left his domains as soon as possible, and threw himself on the protection of the French king. It was always sufficient recommendation to the King of France that a man was an enemy to the King of England. Louis, therefore, shut his eyes to the fact that Henry was the champion of kings in

general in his opposition to the papal claims, and promised his support and favour to the prelate who had done so much to weaken all royal authority in the person of his dangerous neighbour. He wrote strong letters to Pope Alexander in his favour; but this universal father of the Christian Church had the misfortune to be acknowledged by only one-half of the Christian world. The other professed its allegiance to a certain Victor the Fourth, whom the Emperor of Germany had installed in Rome, and who used his infallible authority to pronounce Alexander a swindler and impostor. Alexander, who lived at Sens, in the county of Champagne, had hitherto displayed great skill in the management of his patrons, the kings of France and England. He had restrained the arrogance of à Becket, and soothed the rage of Henry. He had sent orders to à Becket to accept the king's Constitutions, and then absolved him for breaking his oath to observe them. Victor, he knew, would have been ready at any time to outbid him in complaisance to the Western monarchs, and at this period a new difficulty occurred to the perplexed pontiff by the death of his Roman rival—for it was impossible to say what might be Henry's view with regard to the appointment of a successor. But Henry was too politic to leave the entire management of the Pope he had acknowledged in the hands of France alone; and, as soon as the Emperor had appointed Paschal the successor of Victor, he wrote a formal renewal of his adhesion to the cause of Alexander. Secure, by this document, of the recognition of England, he now determined to gain over the goodwill of France; and decided, in full conference, against the demands of an embassy of English lords and bishops, who required à Becket to be sent back to his own country to be judged by the courts of the king.

In a short time, the archbishop found his way to Sens, after having been received in the most respectful manner by Louis at Soissons. The Pope summoned a general assembly of his cardinals to hear his complaint, and placing à Becket

in the seat of honour at his right hand, commanded him to open his cause. The archbishop did little more than draw from his breast a written copy of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and the whole council rose in virtuous indignation at the conduct of a Christian king in trying to take away the liberties of the Church. Ten articles out of the sixteen were at once disallowed; but their eminences were pleased to ratify those which referred to the lay portion of the English people, and to the support which the civil courts were bound to give to the ecclesiastical power. A Becket also took this opportunity of placing the Pope above the king, by confessing that he had received the archbishopric in an uncanonical manner by the nomination of Henry, and resigning the ring of his investiture into the hands of Alexander. Alexander and the cardinals were delighted with such a meritorious resignation, and rewarded him for it by the immediate restoration of his rank and dignity, and assigning him a residence in the monastery of Pontigny "till he should return to the delights and affluence of his see."

It was a source of great danger to go near any of our early kings when they happened to be out of temper. William the Conqueror howled in his passion like a wild beast, and rolled upon the floor. Rufus and the first Henry were also ungovernable in their rage, and we are told that when Henry the Second was fairly roused he was more like a tiger than a man. His eyes glared with fire, his hands were clenched convulsively, his motions were rapid and perpetual, and as his strength was dreadful, and his regard for human life very small, the servitors of his court looked on him with fear and trembling when they perceived that anything had occurred to vex him. When he heard of the insolence of Pope and cardinals in interfering with the public enactments of his realm, and of their respectful reception of his rebellious subject, after the harsh and contemptuous dismissal of his ambassadors, his indignation transcended the bounds of reason.

He confiscated the estates and revenues of à Becket himself, and of those of the clergy who had followed him to France. It was declared illegal to correspond with him, or pray publicly for him in the churches—an article which is explained by the fact that the infuriated monks, if allowed to pray for their champion, would have turned their supplications to heaven into accusations of the king. To show Alexander also that he was not beyond the reach of an insulted monarch, he interdicted the payment of Peter's Pence, which diminished the receipts of the pontiff's exchequer as much as it offended his pride. These were harsh proceedings, but all within the limits of the law. The next was of a less excusable character, for it was a sweeping sentence of banishment against all the friends, relations, and supporters of à Becket, and a general seizure of their goods. There was the farther proviso, that before they left the country they should bind themselves by oath to go to where à Becket was residing, and thus offer him the spectacle of the misery and ruin to which they had been reduced by attachment to his cause. There was perhaps a hidden and sharper sting in this unjustifiable act, for it probably recalled to the archbishop the threat addressed by Henry, with his full knowledge and consent, to all the bishops of the province of Canterbury, that they and all their relations would be exiled without further trial if they failed to elect the Chancellor to the vacant see.

§ 8. These dissensions had a bad effect on Henry's fortunes both abroad and at home. It might be thought that the appointment to a subordinate office in the household of the French king would be no great object of ambition to the master of England, Normandy, and nearly a fourth of France. But the dignity of servitude is one of the strongest feelings of the feudal mind. The French was acknowledged to be highest in rank of all terrestrial crowns. A greater religious sanctity hung over it from its descent through Clovis and Charlemagne and Capet, who had all been pro-

claimed the eldest sons of the Church and holiest of Christian kings. To obtain an office which brought the holder in contact with the august inheritor of so much grandeur was an object of ambition to princes of far more power than the bearer of the royal title himself, and we accordingly find Henry, the proudest of rulers, as deeply irritated by the withdrawal of the hereditary office of Seneschal of France, and its bestowal on the Earl of Blois, as by the countenance given to à Becket. Louis, indeed, would not have ventured on the step, if he had not known that England was divided against itself, and that the unpardoning archbishop would be ready to stir up the passions of clergy and people against the persecutor of the Church, if he ventured on a war with France.

South Wales, on the same consideration, rushed to arms; and North Wales, under Owen Gwynneth, gathered against its hereditary foes. The injuries of the Saxon invasion, seven hundred years before, were to be revenged by the slaughter of all the English the expatriated Britons could find; and Henry, knowing the courage and animosity of those mountain tribes, brought over from Normandy and his other possessions great reinforcements to the troops he was able to raise at home. The skilled manœuvres, however, of his mounted and disciplined warriors were of no avail against the active and infuriated mountaineers. Retreating before him till a fitting place was found to make a momentary stand, they wearied him with their perpetual moves. And when the climate proved as hostile as the people, and floods of rain inundated his positions, and carried away his provisions, he was forced to retire, and, according to the cruel rights of that barbarous code which gave hostages up to the mercy of the holders, he put out the eyes of the two sons of Rees ap Griffith, of South Wales, and the two sons of Owen Gwynneth, who had been sent to Woodstock as sureties of their fathers' faith. The ambitious fathers knew the price they should have to pay for their chance of liberating their country; and the four

blind little boys were merely looked on as martyrs to the national cause, not as monuments of the king's injustice. He would, in fact, have been equally justified in putting them to death. Even in the letters of triumph, which are still extant, written by à Becket on this unsuccessful expedition of the king, there is no allusion to the tragedy of the young Welshmen.

§ 9. Although the treaties and disagreements between England and other nations, negotiations with the Emperor for the acknowledgment of the newly-appointed anti-pope, and quarrels with Louis on the boundaries between their realms, fill a large space in the records of this time, we go back to the dispute between the king and à Becket. On its result was to depend the future government of the land; for if the Church had succeeded in establishing its claims, there would soon have been no other power in the State to defend the liberties of either lords or people. A fierce democracy of priests and friars was ready to sweep triumphantly over the ruins of royalty and aristocracy; and the lower classes, hitherto oppressed and insulted, and henceforth without a chance of rising in the scale, would have rejoiced in the overthrow of their foreign tyrants by an institution at once low-born, elective, and indigenous to the soil. But Henry, in order to raise up friends for himself in the upper portion of the population, had early directed his attention to the condition of the towns. Whether he already perceived that the only hopes of national progress reposed on the public spirit of an assemblage of citizens, and the individual energy imparted by a growing commerce with distant lands, he resolved at all events to attach the cities to the crown by grants of franchises, which freed them from the exactions of the great feudal proprietors on whose lands their houses stood. A charter of the king constituted them into associations, governed by their own officers, and endowed with other privileges which tended equally to the maintenance of good order and the increase of trade. They could hold their own courts, and administer their

own justice; they could hold fairs and markets, and raise reasonable tolls for the repair of roads. They were justified in defending their immunities against aggression or domination by force of arms; and when they had possession of a common seal, and a name in which they could hold property; when the wall was built round their domain, and the bell was hung up in the town-hall, their municipal existence was complete. The guilds of trade became as sure a refuge from the despotism of the nobles as the tonsure of the priesthood; and those little citadels of wealth and independence were soon perceived by king and Church and noble to be the depositories, not only of progressive and elevating ideas but of political power. From the king they were protected by his own formal conveyance to them of a portion of his prerogative; from the noble they were defended by the official capacity in which their acts were performed, and for which as individuals they could not be held responsible; and we are told by Blackstone, in his *Commentary on the Laws*, that they were protected from the enmity of the Church, and the penalties of excommunication, by the fact that a corporation has no soul.

There were symptoms at this time that the upper ranks of citizens were not so blind to the designs of their spiritual guides as the serfs and villeins who were sunk in ignorance and discontent. There were ballads of more severity than wit against the luxuriousness and vices of the priests; stories were circulated (which were perfectly true), of the gluttony and drunkenness which reigned in the abodes of mortification and solitude, called monasteries; how that a burly friar had complained to the king himself, in the name of the community, that their abbot had taken away three dishes from their daily refectory. "And how many has he left?" inquired Henry. "Only thirteen, sir!" replied the monk, and expected the royal commiseration with his destitute condition. "I can't pity you," said Henry, "for I never have more on my table than three." It was at this period, also, that Walter de

Mapes, an archdeacon of Oxford, employed his facetious muse—whether in the description of his real mode of life, or as a satire upon his brethren—by singing an excellent new song, beginning, “I desire to end my days in a tavern drinking.” And as the witty archdeacon was also chaplain to the king, we may see that the clergy had lost its hold on the frequenters of the Court as well as of the inhabitants of the towns. A still more favourable circumstance for the king, was the return at this time to Rome of the pope, whose cause he had maintained when he was a fugitive at Sens. Alexander announced his arrival at the apostolic seat in consequence of the death of his rival, Victor, and promised that à Becket should be suspended from all authority as archbishop till he was received into favour with the king. Henry, who boasted openly that he held the pope and cardinals in his purse, availed himself of the papal support by sending an order to the Abbot of Citeaux to withdraw the asylum his convent had furnished to his enemy, and the archbishop applied to Louis for another residence under protection of the crown of France.

But French and English were equally tired of a war on the subject of an arrogant prelate, who embarrassed the proposed peace between the nations by hurling his excommunications against the greatest personages when he considered them hostile to his private interests. A treaty was patched up at Montmirail, and the French barons insisted on his presenting himself before his liege lord, and throwing himself on his mercy. À Becket put one knee on the ground when he reached the king’s presence, and said, “Sir, I refer all the differences between us to your sovereign decision in every respect—saving the honour of God.” It was a repetition of the proud proviso that vitiated all his previous oaths, and Henry burst into a rage. “Know you,” he exclaimed to the King of France, who stood beside him, “what use this man will make of that reservation? He will pretend

that whatever displeases him is against the honour of God, and by these two words he will rob me of all my rights." He declined the proviso, but made an offer that "whatever the greatest of archbishops had done to the weakest of the kings, his predecessors, would content him at the hands of à Becket." À Becket was immovable, and insisted on retaining the objectionable clause. Earl and baron broke forth in wrath at the insolence of the priest; the king left the place without taking any further notice, and the archbishop retired, disappointed with the result of his behaviour.

It was too early, however, for him to despair, for wherever there was an enemy of Henry he was sure to find a friend. The Welsh looked upon him as a martyr to the cause of national freedom, and argued from his elevation to the primacy, that their own bishoprics should be restricted to natives of the land. Louis of France found it necessary to enter into a war with his powerful vassal, and, as a preliminary measure reconciled himself to his disobedient subject. Scarcely had he received assurances of French protection before he flooded the whole realm of England with manifestoes of his wrongs, and denunciations of his enemies. High and low, anybody who retained any of the goods, or lands, or houses of the See of Canterbury was excommunicated by name. The Bishop of Winchester, the ambitious brother of King Stephen, was ordered to publish an interdict of all religious services, except baptism and confession of the dying, over all the kingdom. But not one of all the English prelates accepted the interdict, and it remained unexecuted. The pope himself wrote, refusing his ratification, and ordering him to recal it; but he insisted on receiving a promise of perpetual adhesion to the Roman See, from the lords and gentlemen whom à Becket had excommunicated, before he would absolve them from the sentence. Henry would not permit them to swear unlimited submission to the spiritual power, which it was his object to check in the person of

à Becket, and declared to the legates who were going over to England, that he did not value the pope's absolution an eggshell. "If I can take a strong castle every day, I can surely deal with a priest, if he pretends to lay an interdict on my kingdom."

The firmness of à Becket seemed to relax at last. Alexander wrote petitions, more than commands, to him to be reconciled to his lord; absolved Folliot, Bishop of London, whom à Becket had excommunicated; and recommended submission and humility to him in his affairs with the king. He wrote at the same time empowering Henry to have his eldest son crowned at Westminster by the Archbishop of York, to the manifest infraction of the rights of the See of Canterbury; and congratulated himself on having gained the favour of the king, and inclined the archbishop to obedience. But the archbishop had emissaries who corresponded with their friends in England under Saxon names; and it soon reached his ears that the pope had deserted him in his hour of need. Alexander was alarmed, and sent letters to the angry exile, denying that he had agreed to the coronation by the hands of York, or that he had willingly lifted the excommunication from London. À Becket could bear no more, and wrote reproaches of the venality and mendacity of Rome, which could not be denied. "I am resolved to trouble the pontifical court no more. Let those appeal to it who chose to gain their cause by iniquity, and return triumphant at having overthrown justice and imprisoned innocence." But Louis of France was a more powerful pleader than the exile of Sens. "I insist," he wrote, "on your giving up at last your deceitful and dilatory ways, and doing justice to the cause of God." And Alexander, who compared himself to an anvil between two hammers, yielded to the nearest stroke, and issued a bull of suspension against the Archbishop of York and the prelates who had been present at the coronation of young Henry. He threatened the king also with spiritual

censure if he did not restore the primate's goods, and defend him from the usurpations of the bishops.

§ 10. Henry was wearied with the length of the struggle. He thought, perhaps, his enemy would be less hurtful at home than abroad, and agreed to a reconciliation. A meeting between the two kings and à Becket took place in a great plain near Freteval, in Touraine, and in a conference apart the old companions came to a conclusion. À Becket was to be restored to Canterbury, and receive justice in all other points. But there was no restoration of their kindly feelings, and Henry even refused the official kiss of peace. "We shall meet soon in England," he said, "and we will embrace each other there." Other formalities, however, were gone through. À Becket knelt to his sovereign when he took his leave, and Henry held the stirrup of the ecclesiastical prince as he mounted his horse. "I would not advise you to trust to appearances," said Louis to the archbishop; "and if I were in your place I would not go to England for my weight in gold till I had received the kiss of peace." Another interview, which the primate obtained at Chaumont, had no better result. His reception was cold and neglectful. A lesson was fixed on in the chapel, at which the salute was not given; and, on taking his departure, the king rode a little way beside him. À Becket fixed his eyes on the king's face: "I believe," he said, "I shall never see you again." "What!" exclaimed Henry, "do you suspect me of treason?"

The archbishop replied with a silent bow, and Henry spurred off without rejoinder. After a delay at Rouen, where the king had promised to meet him, and furnish him with funds for the journey, the archbishop continued his way to Calais. There, in spite of warnings of a hostile preparation given him by his adherents, he embarked, and landed near Sandwich.

The population near Dover and Sandwich armed in his

support the moment they heard of his arrival. The barons of the neighbourhood gathered, sword in hand, to resist his progress. But keeping each other in check, they allowed the exile to continue his course, after his luggage had been searched for any briefs of the pope or other treasonable correspondence. If they had succeeded in detecting a papal document which à Becket had obtained from Alexander, it might have prevented the catastrophe which was now close at hand. The archbishop was received in Canterbury as a national martyr. Rousing the rage of both parties—the English, by the remembrance of his wrongs; the Normans, by the sight of his triumph—he advanced, surrounded by the lower priesthood and the masses of the people, to London. Here he was met by a messenger from the junior king, commanding him to retire to his primacy, and dismiss his rabble. But à Becket chose his own time for returning to his diocese, and when the ceremonies of Christmas required his presence, he proceeded from London to Canterbury with the same tumultuous following as he had come up. Once arrived, he kept no farther measures. He produced certain documents which had escaped the search of the barons at his landing, in which Alexander empowered him to renew the excommunication of the Archbishop of York, and the other prelates who had attended at the coronation of the young king, and published the sentence with all the forms. Deceived by the pope, and insulted by the archbishop, Henry fell into one of the fearful excesses of wrath which took the appearance of madness. He threw off his cloak and sword, and rolled upon his bed, gnawing the straw and hair, and howling with impotent rage. That day at dinner he was so far recovered as to speak distinctly, but still under the influence almost of frenzy; “Will no one of all the knights I feed free me from this turbulent priest?” When the fit was over, he summoned a solemn council to give orders for the arrest and trial of the recalcitrant prelate, and determined to prosecute him according to the most rigorous forms of the law.

§ 11. But there were four knights who had heard his exclamation, and were already far on their way to the seashore. Galloping at full speed, and crossing with the utmost haste, they arrived in five days at Canterbury, before the absence of such unimportant personages was perceived in the Christmas festivities at Rouen. Richard Brito (or the Breton), Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, and Reginald Fitzurse, were their names, and little did they expect the obloquy that was about to rest on them for obeying what they chose to understand as the king's command. Canterbury was one of the towns to which some franchises had been secured. The mayor was probably a Saxon, and the lower guilds were unmistakeably Saxon also. They gathered in great numbers, tumultuous and armed; and the mayor refused the order, given in the king's name, to lead the suspicious-looking strangers to the archbishop's house. In their hasty gallop from the coast the knights had collected some trustworthy attendants from the castles on the way. With these they now advanced to where the prelate lived. He had just finished dinner, and received them courteously when they came in. Reginald Fitzurse began the conversation. "We come to have the excommunication removed and the bishops reinstated." "'Twas not I who excommunicated them," said à Becket; "it was the pope." "And who made you Archbishop of Canterbury?" inquired the knight. "The king gave me the temporal goods," replied the archbishop, "the pope the spiritual authority."

The distinction was too nice for Reginald Fitzurse. He had been fidgeting in his chair, and taking his gloves off and putting them on again, and at this declaration of the archbishop lost patience altogether. The knights rose, and went to the door, as if to call in their men. "You think to threaten me," said the courageous prelate; "but I tell you, if all the swords in England were held at my breast, it would not move me an inch." "We will do more than threaten," cried Reginald, and left the room.

In a few minutes the door was furiously struck on the outside with a carpenter's hatchet, which the knight had seized in the court. The attendants of à Becket were dismayed, and expected the panel every moment to give way. But the indomitable spirit of the warrior-churchman rose with the occasion. He ordered the cross to be carried before him through the cloisters, and at a slow pace pursued his way to the cathedral. "Since my hour is come," he said, "I will betake me to the church." While he was ascending the steps of the altar of St. Bennet, Reginald appeared at the other end of the nave, with his great sword in his hand, and armed in coat of mail. The assistants, on seeing the furious band who brandished their weapons at the side of Fitzurse, tried to shut the chancel grating, but were prevented by the archbishop. They then begged him to fly for safety either to the subterranean vaults, or by a secret staircase to the roof. He would not move from the position he had taken. A blow even with the flat of a sword on his back, and a friendly advice from the striker, "Fly, or you are a dead man," failed to change his purpose. Here, on the steps of the altar, he thought, I will force these men to consummate their crime. When they tried to remove him forcibly, he resisted. "You must die," said Reginald, in the struggle. "I resign myself to the blow," replied the prelate; "you shall not see me shrink before your blade; but I command you, in the name of God, to do no injury to these my companions, whether priests or laymen, great or small." The priests, however, all fled in great terror, except one only, the cross-bearer, Edward Grim; and William de Tracy, striking the first blow at the deserted prelate, had his sword turned aside by the uplifted arm of the devoted Saxon. The arm was nearly severed, and the archbishop but slightly touched. "Strike! strike!" cried William; and a blow on the head overthrew the archbishop, with his face on the floor; a third split the skull, and was directed with such force, that the blade was shivered on the

pavement. One of the assassins kicked the insensate corpse, and the band then left the church.

When the news spread there was commotion in the town. The male inhabitants flew to arms, and gathered in the streets. Shops were shut, and the upper classes retired to their private apartments. But the women poured into the sacred building, and looked on in speechless grief at the lacerated form which still lay bleeding and motionless at the foot of the altar steps. They kissed his feet, and bathed their handkerchiefs in his blood, and called on his name, as if he were already in the number of saints. The real effect of this massacre must have been soon perceived by the Norman authorities of the city, for they sent round heralds to proclaim by sound of trumpet that no one on pain of treason was to declare Thomas of Canterbury a martyr. Sermons were preached against the memory of the deceased; threats were held out of throwing his body on a dunghill, or hanging it on a gibbet. But the countrymen of à Becket were little moved by these Norman denunciations. They buried him with noiseless sorrow in the vaults of the cathedral, and waited in momentary expectation of some interposition to mark the wrath of heaven on so unholy a deed.

§ 12. They did not wait long; for before two years were past Henry had knelt at the feet of the papal legates, and made the most humble oaths and protestations of innocence and regret. He had ingratiated himself by bribery of cardinals and popes, and now, on his bended knees, received pardon and absolution for a crime he did not commit, and sacrificed the liberties of his Church and people by abrogating the Constitutions of Clarendon, and binding himself to abolish all laws, ancient or modern, which might be condemned by the spiritual power. It was a small part of his degradation after this, that his royal messengers were commanded to go and proclaim throughout the length and breadth of England that Thomas à Becket was a saint and martyr. But it was not

alone in his official disgrace that the Saxon perceived the avenging rod. From this time forth misery and disappointment never left his side. His wife inculcated undying hatred of their father as the most sacred duty of her sons. Injured in his kingly pride and his domestic affections, hopeless of the future, and surrounded with false friends and un pitying enemies, the superstition of the time may be forgiven if it saw the interposition of the now canonized archbishop in the infliction of this desolate and dishonoured old age on the persecutor from whom he had suffered so much. The worshippers of à Becket, when any gleam of success in war or negotiation shone upon the tyrant, could always comfort themselves with the reflection that, though Henry was fortunate as a politician, he was doomed to reprobation as a Christian; and though great as a conqueror and king, he was miserable as a man. The forgiveness of injuries was not included among the virtues either of holy saints or noble martyrs, and Thomas of Canterbury was never thought of as anything but the retainer, in an aggravated form in heaven, of his old enmity to the man he had hated on earth.

§ 13. The remaining incidents of Henry's reign do not require so lengthened a notice as his struggle against the ecclesiastical power. Foiled in his design of weakening the papal influence in his dominions, he was now ostentatious in his reverence for St. Peter's chair; and drawing from an old chest the deed of gift which conveyed the island of Ireland to him from Adrian IV., he resolved to propitiate Alexander III. by reducing it to complete subjection to the Roman See. Ages before this period the Green Isle had been famous for its Christian faith and literary enlightenment. But the spirit of independence which actuated the Welsh in the retention of their national Church was equally strong among the Irish. They would own no subjection to Rome or any central power. Legates of the popes had occasionally been received by the native kings, and some of the bishops had conformed to the

principles of Rome; but the Irish people paid little respect to these unpatriotic dignitaries, and declined, in the most positive manner, to receive their innovations, either in faith or worship, and, above all, to pay any of the taxes and contributions which they attempted to impose on them for the benefit of the foreign Church.

Henry undertook to be the champion of the Holy Chair, and not only, in the words of Adrian's Bull, "to extirpate vice and immorality, but to enforce the payment of a penny on each house." Circumstances had put off this laudable resolution from 1165, the date of the donation; but now, in the very year of à Becket's death, when activity was required in order to wipe off the suspicion of complicity in that portentous crime, the penitent and ambitious Plantagenet resolved to make a perfect conquest of Ireland, and lay it as a propitiatory gift at the feet of the Pope. The conquest of a portion of the land had already been achieved. A strong body of Normans, Flemings, and other adventurers, who had for some time been settled on the coast of Wales, had been invited by one of the petty Irish kings to take part in the disputes which were raging between him and the neighbouring tribes. Four hundred knights and men-at-arms, on great Flanders horses covered with armour, and displaying manœuvres hitherto unknown, made their appearance at Wexford, and rendered resistance impossible to the claims of their employer, Dermot M'Murrough. All Leinster soon yielded to his irresistible allies, and he distributed towns and territories among the leaders, Fitz Stephen, Fitzgerald, and Fitzmaurice, with no sparing hand. But the success of M'Murrough raised the jealousy of the other kings. They formed leagues against the importer of the strangers, and the steel-clad men of Leinster formed alliances on the other side, and summoned Normans, French, and English to their aid. They finally gave the supreme command to the gallant Richard Strongbow—known in peerages as De Clare, Earl of Pembroke—a famous

warrior, and much in want of money, who hoped to have an opportunity of distinguishing his courage, and replenishing his purse, at the expense of the Irish chieftains.

His success in these operations was fatal to his eventual hope of obtaining the island for himself; for Henry heard with no little discontent of the rapid progress to independent power of one of his own subjects. He deprived Richard of reinforcements, and seized his English estates, and otherwise displayed his sovereign authority, till the adventurers yielded with a good grace, and did homage as faithful liegemen for the towns and castles they had seized with the strong hand. Henry went over to visit his easily-acquired domain. All the south submitted at once; and only when he took up his royal quarters in Dublin, and summoned all the potentates to his presence, did he receive the refusal and defiance of the kings of the northern part of the island, and of the chief prince of Connaught. The marshes of the west, and the hills of Ulster were impracticable for the Norman chivalry, and Henry had to content himself with the more accessible districts which lay south of a line drawn from the mouth of the Boyne to that of the Shannon. Within those limits the Court of Rome was constituted the supreme authority in all ecclesiastical affairs. The intricacies of the canon law were introduced; and, as if to add political bitterness to the antagonism which always reigned between the priesthoods of the two islands, it was formally declared that as Ireland was now attached to the English crown, she must receive articles of faith and forms of government from the English Church.

§ 14. If the curse resting on Henry's head seemed lightened for a short time while employed in fixing the papal yoke on the hitherto free Church of Ireland, it fell with redoubled bitterness upon him when he re-entered his home. The desolate conqueror had no home in the proper sense of that most beautiful and English of words. In order to give greater sanctity to the rights of his heir, and obliterate from

the memory of the Church and nobility that, theoretically, England was an elective monarchy, he had had a coronation of his eldest son Henry by the Archbishop of York. This, which was one of the grievances urged by à Becket, was now the bitterest draught in the cup of the disappointed king. Eleanor, false to one husband and hostile to another, showed herself as detestable a mother as she had been a wife. She easily persuaded the vain young prince that the ceremony of his coronation had not only secured him the succession, but was a formal act of resignation on his father's part. His mother was aided in these counsels by his bride, the daughter of Louis, the French king; and if we remember the complication of matrimonial connexions existing between France and England, we shall wonder the more at the brazen audacity with which treaties and interviews were conducted between people who held such strange relations to each other. The father of the young Henry's wife had sent away his mother with every mark of disgrace. As son of Eleanor and son-in-law of Louis, it might have appeared that he held a divided duty, and should have abstained from the quarrels between the crowns. But Eleanor and Louis, though they had been unable to love each other, found a strong bond of unity in being able to hate Henry; and the King of England, shortly after his return from Ireland, was summoned by the King of France to give up the throne to his injured son, Prince Henry, who had already been crowned in Westminster Hall, and was prepared to vindicate his rights by force of arms.

→ Richard (afterwards Cœur de Lion) and Geoffrey, his two next sons, betook themselves to the French court to aid their brother's cause. Eleanor herself was only prevented from effecting her arrival at the same place by being discovered, disguised in boy's clothes, and brought home by the messengers of the king. To prevent such theatrical exploits in future, he imprisoned the adventurous lady during all the rest of his life, and turned his attention to the state of his affairs,

with no great prospect of escaping from so many foes and such unnatural combinations. Half his courtiers deserted him in this day of his distress. They slipped noiselessly from the court, and neglected the offices they held in his house and about his person. Great lords retired in sullen indecision to their castles, and the two most powerful of the nobility, the Earls of Leicester and Chester, openly made terms with the youthful king.

It would have been wiser to wait till the old king was dead ; for Henry, after a succession, we may be sure, of terrible paroxysms of rage, as each new infidelity was revealed to him, left off rolling on the floor and gnawing the rushes, and made up his mind to what was to be done. He joined the people ; he increased the influence of the native clergy, who rejoiced to see the descendant of their Anglo-Saxon monarchs at daggers drawn with the descendants of the Norman spoilers. He placed his crown under the protection of the pope, and even condescended to call his realm of England a patrimony of St. Peter. He put himself also under the still surer defence of twenty thousand of the free lances of Brabant, whom he attracted to his standard by very liberal pay ; and seeing the population in his favour—the Church on his side—the natural feelings of all the husbands and fathers in Europe offended by the sight of the disobedience of his children, he hurried over to Normandy, and in a campaign of two months scattered the alliance against him by victories over Louis and the youthful Henry: After a conference for peace, at which the Earl of Leicester drew his sword upon his sovereign, and embittered the quarrel by his insolent violence, the skill and firmness of the Plantagenet were found irresistible, and Louis thenceforth gave only a nominal adhesion to the cause of his son-in-law.

§ 15. But other enemies arose in many quarters at once. Of these the most pressing and dangerous were the Scots, who had burst across the Border, and were spreading over the northern counties. Roger de Mowbray was in arms against

him in Yorkshire; Hugh de Bigod had seized Norwich Castle, and a fleet was gathered under the Earl of Flanders, ready to make a descent upon the realm. Henry crossed from Havre without delay, and catching an intimation that the murder of à Becket was the ostensible reason assigned for all these mutinies and threats, he mounted a horse when he reached Southampton, and rode day and night, hungry and tired, towards Canterbury. On getting within sight of the towers of the cathedral, he dismounted and walked, bleeding and barefoot, into the town, through the rough-paved streets, and never paused till he reached the burial-place of his ancient friend. There he lay, weeping and groaning, a whole day and night, submitted to flagellation from the hands of eighty of the clergy of the town, and begged the prayers of all Christians that he might be delivered from the consequences of his involuntary crime. This was on the 12th of July, 1174.

At that same hour, on the same day, the great Ranulph de Glanville, justiciary of the kingdom, and still famous as the author of the earliest treatise on the English laws, surprised and captured the King of Scots, as he carried on the siege of Alnwick. It was on the sixth day after the completion of his reconciliation with St. Thomas, while Henry, who had ridden straight from Canterbury to London, was recovering from a fever into which his suffering and agitation had thrown him, that a servant of Glanville was admitted to his room. "My lord is well," he said, in answer to Henry's inquiries, "and your enemy, the King of Scots, is his prisoner, in Richmond Castle, in Yorkshire." Henry started up: "Repeat those words!" he said; and when he had assured himself of the fact, and of the time, and remembered that it was at that very hour he was completing his penance at the shrine in Canterbury, he could entertain no doubt that the enmity of his early favourite was at an end, and that his peace was made with heaven. But whether he thought so or not, the English people were thoroughly persuaded that

he had regained the friendship of the latest and best of English saints.

It was therefore without surprise that they heard of the king's amazing progress against the French king and his rebellious children within a few months of his humiliation. Louis withdrew from the confederacy against his vassal, Richard and Geoffrey yielded to the necessity of their position when their elder brother implored the forgiveness of his father, and Henry justified the triumph he had obtained by the admirable use he made of it. In the restoration of conquests and delivery of prisoners after the peace, the king gave absolute freedom to upwards of six hundred treasonable knights and barons who had forfeited their lives and estates by drawing sword against their liege lord. He had taken them prisoners in open fight, but winked at the disloyalty to himself which pretended to be attachment to his son; and raised the wonder of his contemporaries, as well as of succeeding times, by the lenity he for the first time introduced into feudal war. Successes came in rapid succession to the favourite of Becket, and the ruler who knew how to forgive. The Welsh chieftains made submission to him at Gloucester; and the Scottish king, with his heir and successor, as well as all the lords, bishops, and freeholders of his realm did homage to him at York. The unity of the island showed itself for a short time in the year 1175, and Henry was acknowledged supreme lord and governor throughout the extent of the present Great Britain.

§ 16. The Christian kingdom established in Jerusalem was reported at this time to be in great danger from the ambition and power of a usurper of the caliph's authority who is known to us as the hero of so many fictions by the name of Saladin. An appeal was made to Europe, and from all quarters the cry was raised that the scenes of sacred history must be kept unprofaned by the presence of the followers of Mahomet. Kings were too much under the domination of the priests in

their respective dominions to continue deaf to the holy call, and Henry, though now advanced in years, appeared to make preparations to assume the cross. He was not unobservant of the good effect these apparently wild expeditions had on the peace and security of his dominions. The most unruly of his barons, the most irregular of his mercenaries, the most ambitious of his clergy, were safer toiling and quarrelling among the deserts of the East than in the castles and monasteries of England. The necessity, also, of supplying themselves with horses and arms, and other requisites for the campaign, produced an amazing amount of trade among the towns; and the seaports rose rapidly into importance, by the encouragement the Crusades gave to shipping. Great lords mortgaged their estates, and took the amount of the loan in goods or money. And although the citizens had been afraid to expose their store of coin to the rapacity of their feudal neighbour by laying it out on land, they were emboldened to display their riches in the purchase of security from future wrong. They bought exemption from the arbitrary exactions of their superior, and franchises by which they could trade without the interference of his officers. A charter of this nature was as effectual within the limits of the grantor's demesne as if it had come direct from the crown.

§ 17. To aid the weakening of the nobility which this process began, Henry was never at a loss to discover some breach of the game law of which they had been guilty, and punished them by seizing and demolishing the castles they had built to secure themselves from justice. This diminution of their personal security was accompanied with the infliction of a fine upon the remainder of their estates, and by this ingenious device the Norman passion for hunting the deer became a very valuable source of taxation for the maintenance of the armed retainers, English and foreign, whom it was Henry's policy to attach to himself by generous pay. To show his confidence in the people, and gain additional aid against the

possible combination of the nobles, he published regulations in 1181 for the universal armament of all persons in the realm who had any property to defend. The man who had a knight's fee, or three hundred acres of land, was bound to have a helmet, a coat of mail, a shield, and a lance; and the same arms were required to be possessed by every freeman who had chattels or rent to the value of sixteen marks. As the property decreased, the completeness of the armour diminished, till burgesses and the whole "community of freemen" were bound to have no more than a jacket lined with wool, an iron skull-cap, and a lance. At this time, the value of the mark was about equal to 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* of our present money, and the owner, therefore, of ten marks—the humblest of the armed freemen—was not higher in the scale of wealth than a man of our own day who is possessor of eighteen or twenty pounds. One of our historians argues, from the absence of bows and arrows from this enumeration, that archery was universal, and did not require mention; but he adds, with greater assurance, that the serfs had at all events good stout cudgels, and therefore, that there was no class of the population so spiritless or so poor as to be utterly without defence.

§ 18. Having thus set his house in order, it might have been expected that the king would immediately fulfil the promise he had made to accompany his brother potentate, the King of France, to the Holy Land. But all his children again broke out in unnatural war, and he paid a large sum in forfeit of his pledge to draw the crusader's sword, being fearful of the scenes of anarchy and confusion which his absence might produce.

§ 19. Henry, the crowned heir, died in the midst of a rebellion against his father's authority. Some strange compunctious visitings distinguished his last days from the selfish and ungrateful current of the rest of his life. When the attendants round his sick-bed told him he could not recover, he opened his heart to a paroxysm of regret. He repented of

his evil acts against his father, and felt with double bitterness the infamy of dying actually in arms against him. As the pains of death came on, the agonies of his remorse increased. He sent messages of supplication for pardon to Henry, who had so often accepted his excuses; but before he could receive an answer he had ordered his servants to clothe him in sackcloth, to put a halter round his neck, and ere the old king could send him assurances of his love and forgiveness, the misguided youth lay dead, in the dress above described, on a heap of ashes which had been spread upon the floor of his apartment.

§ 20. Louis VII. of France had left the throne to his son, Philip Augustus, in 1180, and it was soon found that a firmer hand than that of the fastidious husband of Eleanor held the reins of power. As ambitious and as unscrupulous as Henry, he would not have divorced Guienne and the other provinces from the throne of France, whatever might have been the vices of the wife through whom he held them. His object henceforth was to undo the effects of that impolitic separation, and regain the rich countries of which his rival continued in possession, in spite of the hostility of Eleanor and the open enmity of her sons. Surest ally at all times against the English crown was the bold and unprincipled homicide whom we catalogue among our kings as Richard I. At the slightest intimation from Philip, he was ready to rise in arms against his father, and carry destruction into his country; and now that Henry was growing feeble from years and labours, the last drop was added to the bitter cup presented by filial ingratitude in a combination by Richard and John, not only against him individually, but against the honour and independence of his realm. Richard did homage to the French king, in a conference at which his father was present; and when Henry retired in wrath, Richard drew the consecrated sword he had vowed to the Christian defence, against his father's rights and safety. Henry looked

round and found no comfort anywhere—apathy among his courtiers, hatred among his children, remorseless bitterness in his wife, and a strong will and obstinate perseverance in his French opponent—and gave up the contest with fortune in despair. Disappointed in diplomacy and defeated in war, he might have nerved himself for a renewal of the struggle, but the charm of his existence was at an end. John, on whom he had lavished all his tenderness, behaved with such duplicity, that the doting father was unaware of his opposition. But the list of his confederated enemies was placed in his hands, and foremost on the roll he saw the name of the traitor and coward on whose truth and courage he had relied. He sighed for sufficient breathing-time from the discomforts of his life in which to prepare to die, and retiring to the Castle of Chinon, after yielding nearly all that was demanded by his son and his enemy, he gave way to a broken heart. With no friendly hand to close his eyes, except that of his natural son Geoffrey, the proudest and most powerful of the Plantagenets was carried in neglect and silence to the burial ground of Fontevraud, and wrought out the curse brought on him by his ambition and his crimes—the curse which made his great qualities bring him no affection, and his beneficence, patriotism, and wisdom no domestic peace.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

- 1154. Accession of Henry II., the first of the Plantagenets
- 1157. Henry subdues the Welsh.
- 1159. War between England and France.
- 1162. Thomas à Becket made Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1164. The Constitutions of Clarendon for retrenching the powers of the Church. The pope's refusal to confirm them, and Thomas à Becket's rebellious opposition.
- 1167. Birth of Prince John, afterwards King of England.
- 1172. Murder of à Becket in Canterbury Cathedral.

A D.

- 1172. The king conquers Ireland, and receives the submission and oaths of the Irish princes.
- 1176. The kingdom first divided into six circuits, and three judges appointed for each.
- 1181. The laws of England collected and digested by Glanville.
- 1185-7. The king's sons, Richard and John, encouraged by the King of France, rebel against him.
- 1189. Henry, being everywhere defeated, is obliged to submit to hard conditions.
- He dies of grief in Normandy, uttering imprecations against his sons.

CHAPTER II.

RICHARD THE FIRST (CŒUR DE LION).

A.D. 1189 TO A.D. 1199.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Philip II. (Augustus).

SCOTLAND.—William I.

POPES.—Clement III.; Celestine III.; Innocent III.

§ 1. Accession of RICHARD I. His warlike character. His arbitrary measures and extortions—§ 2. His preparations for the Crusade to the Holy Land.—§ 3. Character of the two sovereigns, Richard of England and Philip of France. Their antagonism and unexpected difficulties. Return of the French sovereign.—§ 4. William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, regent of England. His tyranny and oppression; his quarrels with the king's brother John.—§ 5. William Longchamp tried by his peers, and deposed. His flight. Treachery of the French king. "The Old Man of the Mountain," and his tribe of assassins.—§ 6. Richard concludes a treaty with the Saracens, and departs for England. The difficulties of his journey.—§ 7. His arrival at Vienna. Is discovered and taken prisoner. A heavy ransom demanded for his release —§ 8. The story of Blondel, the wandering minstrel.—§ 9. Mean submission of the king's brother John after Richard's return to England.—§ 10. William Longbeard.—§ 11. Contests with the French king. The Bishop of Beauvais taken prisoner.—§ 12. War with France, and Richard's valorous deeds. He is wounded by an arrow, which causes his death.—§ 13. Distracted state of the country at the period of Richard's death.

§ 1. THERE is no instance in English history where poetry and romance have so entirely succeeded in concealing the real character, as in the case of Richard. Personal courage amounting to insanity; a desire for fame, which allowed no obstacle to stand in its way; bodily strength, which overthrew every enemy in the shock of battle,—these are the real distinctions of this prince and warrior; and all have equally developed themselves in very inferior men. But his

kingly rank, his perilous achievements in the Holy Land, and heroic adventures on his return, have raised him from the list of mere strong-handed, firm-purposed wielders of the sword, and invested him with an interest to which his qualities, either of heart or head, did not entitle him. A bad son, a bad brother, we are not to be surprised if the sober pen of history describes him as a bad king. Cruel and revengeful like all his race, the sufferings of his subjects or of the rank and file of his army, were matters of no consideration compared to the gratification of his lightest wish; and yet by this time the refining influence of the two previous crusades, and the growth of mercantile wealth and civil privileges resulting from them, had imparted a poetical colouring to the imagination of the noble classes throughout the West; and Richard, reckless, in sober reality, of man's life and woman's honour, took his place among the gay troubadours who sang the praises of their ladies' charms, and has left some sonnets to the present time which breathe the most luxurious accents of the South. The ten years' reign of this fighting and singing potentate were passed almost entirely in absence from his kingdom, and in total ignorance of the English tongue.

He was in Anjou when his father died, and gave a startling proof of what was to be expected by his first proceeding; this was to seize the treasurer of the late king, and imprison him till he had yielded the royal wealth, and also all that he himself possessed. He then hurried over to England, and made himself master of all the coin contained in the different treasuries of the realm; and in order still further to increase his ready money, he sold all the royal manors for which he could find a purchaser, and is reported in the hurry of the sale to have received the price of some other manors which did not belong to him, but which their owners were too sensible to re-claim.

This partial evil, however, turned out to be a universal good; for many of the citizens availed themselves of the

opportunity to exchange their tenure of house and land, at the will of the king, for a perpetual rent. Towns also acquired fresh privileges on payment of an immediate sum, and the great masses of property, which had accumulated in the hands of the kings from the time of the Conquest, were broken up into smaller and more manageable portions, and sold to new proprietors. Richard saw the success of his scheme in the avidity with which the citizens secured their corporate freedom and local government, and only regretted he had not more franchises to sell. "I would sell London," he said, "if I could find a man rich enough to buy it."

§ 2. All these means of collecting money were resorted to on the plea of his approaching departure to the Holy Land; and as the Christian champion of England could not be left behindhand by the Christian champion of France, it only required a threat from Philip Augustus that he would commence his crusade without him, to make Richard hurry across the Channel and embark at Marseilles, which at that time nominally belonged to the King of Aragon. Philip Augustus, who, though King of France, had no port on the Mediterranean, took ship at Genoa; and when the English transports came round by Gibraltar, and the Genoese vessels were filled with French troops, the united sovereigns directed their course to Sicily, and rested for the winter from the fatigues of the voyage.

§ 3. Never were two sworn allies and brothers-in-arms more hostile than the leaders of the Third Crusade. Both bold and impetuous, both ambitious and unprincipled, the monarchs set a most dangerous example to the forces under their command. Richard was more dashing and self-willed, and Philip Augustus more politic and overbearing. The laws of feudalism furnished excellent ground for embittering the relations between them. Richard, lord of England and of all the west coast of France, was more powerful than his rival; but the supreme dignity of suzerain gave Philip

Augustus an immeasurable superiority in rank and influence. When the English king, as was often the case, got into a scrape, from his bad temper and overweening pride, Philip Augustus rebuked him like a master. When Richard hoisted the Norman flag on the walls of a peaceful Sicilian town (which town he took by storm in revenge of some fancied insult from the townspeople), Philip ordered it to be pulled down, as he would allow no vassal flag to be seen when the great standard of France was present, and Richard sank into a subordinate feudatory. The hatred between the chieftains extended to their followers. Philip Augustus wrote to Tancred of Sicily, that if he chose to fall on the English unprepared, and put them to the sword, the French were ready to aid. Richard got possession of the letter, and upbraided his companion. Philip retorted with accusations of delay in marrying his sister Alice, to whom Richard was betrothed. All good feeling and consideration were now at an end. Richard replied by proving the unworthiness of the French princess to be his wife, and Philip compromised the dispute by releasing Richard from his promise on payment of an annuity of ten thousand pounds.

Not much unanimity was to be expected between men who had gone such lengths against each other in the first year of their alliance, and things became worse when they reached the Syrian coast. St. Jean d'Acre underwent its first siege, and yielded after an obstinate defence. Dissensions immediately broke out among the conquerors. The Duke of Austria planted his standard on a portion of the wall; Richard ordered it to be taken down and thrown into a ditch. The Marquis of Montferrat was murdered by Arabs, and it was immediately reported that Richard had hired the assassins. Two months after this, Philip Augustus became unwell, and the report was industriously spread that Richard had poisoned him. On this pretext the French king deserted the expedition, and returned to his own States.

§ 4. It would have been wise in Richard to have done the same, for England had fallen upon evil days. William Longchamp, a Frenchman by birth and Bishop of Ely, had been left chancellor and justiciary of the kingdom. He tyrannized over great and small—over Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman; he seized the castles of the lords and the cattle of the peasants, but bestowed governments and church benefices on his relations, and made the proudest of the nobility drink of the cup of humiliation and impoverishment which they had held so long to the lips of the English population. To show the extent of their rage and sufferings, we need only say they turned for safety and improvement to the king's brother John, the meanest and most untrustworthy of princes or of men. Richard had left him in no authority; his father had left him no domain; he was still John Lackland, and was equally offended by the power and the wealth of the Bishop of Ely. A quarrel broke out about the patronage of a great command in Lincoln. The bishop took it from an adherent of John, and John seized the royal castles of Nottingham and Tickhill in revenge. There was an easy way of coming to an agreement at other people's expense; the bishop was allowed to nominate his friend to the county of Lincoln, and the king's castles were left in the hands of John.

§ 5. Hearing probably of these disturbances, a natural son of Henry II., who had distinguished himself in his father's wars as the bravest cavalier and truest partisan on the royal side, made his way to England. He was no longer in glittering mail; he was Archbishop of Rouen, but quite as ready to fight as ever. He joined the faction of his brother; and John, strengthened by the adhesion of so military a prelate, called a meeting of barons and bishops at Loddon Bridge, near Reading, to which he also summoned the citizens of the capital, and producing a forged letter from Richard purporting to convey a power of displacing the chancellor and justiciary in case of misbehaviour, he put it to the vote whether

William Longchamp should be dismissed from his offices or not; and when the unanimous voice of lords, prelates, and burgesses declared him unfit to rule, he went a step farther at another assemblage in the cathedral of the capital, and procured the nomination of Geoffrey, Archbishop of Rouen, as successor to the vacant place. It always was a fortunate circumstance for the people when the kings or nobles were in difficulty. At this meeting in St. Paul's the townsmen had been received with the utmost kindness; but it was necessary to strengthen the cause of the discontented barons by more valuable gifts than a few smiles and courtesies. The prince and the new justiciary, with all the lords assembled, formally granted and swore to maintain "the communal rights which the City required." They would guard its liberties at all times during the good pleasure of the king, and in return for this the grateful burgesses promised their aid against William Longchamp, and acknowledged John as heir to the crown if his brother should die without children.

William Longchamp had taken refuge in the Tower. He now came to terms, and retired to Canterbury, leaving his two brothers as hostages that he would not leave the kingdom till he had surrendered the keys of the royal castles of which he had taken possession. William reflected when he had got into a place of safety, and preferred the castles to his brothers. He kept the keys, and left the hostages to the mercy of their keepers. He himself made his way from Canterbury to the sea-coast in a disguise beneath which it would not have been easy to discover the Bishop of Ely and Chancellor of England. He was dressed in a woman's green cloth petticoat, a body, also of green, with very wide sleeves, a thick veil on his head, a bundle of linen on his left arm, and an ell-wand in his right hand. The dress was so completely that of a female merchant of the time, that he might have escaped if he could have spoken English. But when some women of the fishing village where he expected a boat, gathered round him, and asked

him the price of his goods, he could not answer a word. They were surprised, and then angry. The men came up and handled the linen-hawker so roughly, that in the scuffle the veil fell off. The bishop's beard had not been shaved for some time. He was hauled about the street, and so maltreated, that he applied for protection to the Norman authorities. He delivered the keys of all his citadels, and was contemptuously allowed to depart. We are not told what became of his ell-wand, or his green cloth petticoat, and jacket with hanging sleeves.

Meantime evil news of another kind reached Richard in his battle-camp in Palestine. Philip Augustus had made the most sacred vows of inviolable peace and friendliness towards him and all his possessions while he waged the holy war. On passing through Rome, he had prevailed on the pope to release him from this oath, and took his road to Paris, pretending to be haunted by fears of assassination by the agents of his brother-crusader. He carried this so far, that he surrounded himself, for the first time in French history, with a body-guard, and even within the protection of their swords assumed a restless air, as if the emissaries of "The Old Man of the Mountain" were at hand. This mysterious potentate was supposed to rule a whole tribe of murderers in one of the valleys of the Lebanon, who were ready at his lightest word to put to death any person whatever, high or low, near or far. There were indeed, then, as there are now, some fanatical enthusiasts who work themselves into insanity with an intoxicating drug called *hashish*, and then run a muck at all they meet. But the Old Man of the Mountain is not a very credible personage, and it is better to believe that the word *assassin* comes from the insane root than from the name of a people with whom slaughter was a duty.

§ 6. Richard concluded a treaty for three years with the Saracens, and set out on his homeward way. But the ferocity of his temper had planted enemies in every portion of his

7 road. He sailed, however, in safety as far as Sicily, but dreaded the rest of the voyage either to the friendly harbour of Marseilles, or round by the Straits of Gibraltar. The relations and friends of the Marquis of Montferrat were princes in Provence, and might inquire too curiously into their kinsman's fate. The Earl of Toulouse held all the maritime towns westward of the Rhone, and might intercept his course in revenge of personal wrongs. He preferred, therefore, the perils of a longer journey by land, and sailed up the Adriatic. Attacked by pirates, he had the pleasure of a hand-to-hand fight, and persuaded those crusaders of the sea to land him at Zara, on the coast of Dalmatia. There, in company with one Norman, Baldwin de Bethune, two priests, and a few Templars, he found himself in a foreign land, with the half of Europe lying between him and any of his States. He took the name of Hugh the Merchant, and sent for a passport to the governor of the town. Again his bad fortune pursued him; for the governor was a relation of the Marquis of Montferrat, and already it was known that the noble pilgrim was returning from the East. Richard had sent a ring of extraordinary beauty to back his request for a passport. "This ruby is too rich for Hugh the Merchant; it is Richard of England," said the chief; "but I will not avail myself either of my power or his liberality; let him go in peace."

§ 7. Richard took the advice, and advanced to the next town. The governor was brother of the chieftain of Zara, and had been informed by that functionary of the prey within his reach. A Norman was employed to discover where the king was. He visited all the hostelries where pilgrims rested, and soon saw the grand form of which he was in search. His Norman heart beat quick at sight of his native chief. "O king," he said, "fly, for enemies are on your track. Here is my fleetest horse, and let me take Baldwin de Bethune in your stead." Day and night the king pursued his way

with but one companion, and a servant who could speak the German tongue. Wearied with travel and anxiety, they arrived at last at Vienna, and must have redoubled their precautions when they found themselves in the capital of the very Leopold of Austria whose flag Richard had treated with such disdain, and whose sacred person he had actually the audacity to kick. The remembrance of this indignity, and the hope of a ransom, inflamed the noble soul of Leopold to the highest pitch. News had come from Zara of the course the royal fugitive had taken; all the houses in Vienna were searched; and, at last, the folly of the servant in carrying his master's knightly gloves at his girdle attracted suspicion. He was tortured, and confessed; and the King of England, champion of the Christian cause, and ally of the Duke of Austria, was cast into a prison. A wandering king was like a stranded vessel on the coast of Cornwall a hundred years ago, and was only disputed between the ordinary wreckers and the lord of the manor. In this instance, the lord of the manor was the Emperor of Germany, who claimed the valuable waif as suzerain of the land; and Leopold, on condition of receiving a share of the spoil, transferred his captive from Vienna to Worms. Besides the soldiers who guarded the dungeon, half the kings in Christendom kept watch at the door. Philip Augustus offered a greater sum than the Emperor could claim as ransom for the custody of the prisoner. John of England intrigued for his retention with all his power, and in the belief of his perpetual imprisonment exacted an oath of fidelity to himself from all the states.

To gain a public sanction for his conduct, the emperor determined to bring Richard to trial before the lords and bishops of Germany for high crimes and misdemeanours committed in the Holy Land. Among these, the chief were the insult to the flag of Austria, the murder of Montferrat, and the truce concluded with Saladin. A useful friend had come to Richard's aid in the time of need. This was William

Longchamp, whom we saw leaving England in so undignified a manner, with a linen parcel in his hand. He became the king's agent in his present distress, with the more alacrity that his release would give him his revenge on John and the English lords. Perhaps it was by his advice that Richard silenced his enemies at the council, by declaring himself the vassal of the emperor, and promising a ransom of a hundred thousand pounds. This sum, which does not appear very exorbitant at the present day, takes its true proportion when we find it was at that time equivalent to nearly two millions and a half.

A splendid speech, in which he indignantly denied the crimes imputed to him, and offered to do battle in defence of his innocence, concluded the arrangement. He was unanimously acquitted, and sent back to his prison till the ransom should be paid. England was overrun with tax-gatherers, who pretended to collect the required amount for the king's deliverance, and enriched themselves with the most terrible exactions. In spite of all, it was found that the result was insufficient. New oppressions and defalcations impoverished the whole country; and if it had not been for the vices and meannesses of John, into whose hands they would have fallen, it is possible the English people might have thought the Lion-heart a little too dearly bought. For two years he lay in his prison, grumbling against the falsehood of his enemies and cruelty of his friends. He wrote poems on this subject, which still survive, and show an excellent ear for music, and a great longing for freedom. Meantime the old and disgraced Eleanor, the repudiated of one kingdom, and hated of the other, vexed the potentates with her shrill exclamations in behalf of her son; and at last the poems and the queen and the collectors attained their end. The money was paid to the emperor, who sent a third of the treasure-trove to Austria, and Richard, a free man again, rode gallantly on as far as Antwerp, finding it unsafe to enter any portion of

France, and was going to wait till moderate weather enabled him to cross in safety.

§ 8. But he found that the stormiest of seas was less to be feared than the basest of emperors. No sooner was the captive gone than his late keeper repented his escape. France and John also redoubled their offers if he would seize him once more; and orders were issued to arrest him before he embarked on the Scheldt. But Richard heard of the treacherous intention, and preferring the wintry wind to man's ingratitude, threw himself into a small vessel which was ready to hoist sail, and effected a safe landing at the port of Sandwich. In order that disgrace may be as individually bestowed as fame, let us remember that the Emperor of Germany, who thus equalled the exploits of the Deys of Tunis and Algiers, was Henry VI., the son and successor of Frederic Barbarossa. We wish it were possible to counter-balance this infamy of an emperor with the heroism of a minstrel, and believe in the delightful legend of the discovery of the captive king by the musical perseverance of Blondel. This gentle troubadour is said in all the old story-books to have travelled from castle to castle, harp in hand, and to have paused under every grated window, and sung one of the ballads in which his master used to join. Wearied and disappointed with his useless efforts, we are told that on one occasion, under the walls of a great tower in the emperor's domain, he had scarcely finished his prelude and begun his first stanza, when a well-known voice from within the dungeon joined in the tune, and continued the second verse. Blondel had discovered the object of his search, and Richard had a friend and messenger who would die in his cause. There are no contemporary evidences of the truth of this pleasant story, which must therefore be struck off as one of the picturesque embellishments of history, and not history itself.

§ 9. The personal adventures of Richard end with his return from captivity, and the remainder of his reign consists

of little that can interest us now. As a study of character it may still be useful to contrast the large-minded, jovial, fearless disposition of the king with the almost incredible pusillanimity and selfishness of his brother. No sooner was the crusader in the saddle again, with his sword in his hand, and thousands ready to follow him in an attack on the French, than John was at his feet imploring pardon, and proving how valuable his services might be to his rightful sovereign by the duplicity he had shown to Philip Augustus. He had promised his aid and obedience to that monarch, and surrendered half Normandy to his power. He now came over, reeking with the blood of all the officers of the garrison-town of Evreux, where he had commanded the day before. He had invited them all to supper, and in the gaiety of the banquet had had every one of them put to the sword. Richard received him without rebuke, and merely said, "I will try to forget my injuries as soon as John will forget my pardon."

§ 10. A domestic incident in this year shows the state of feeling among the people. The exactions for Richard's ransom had been followed by still greater demands for the wars into which he rushed. The taxes were unequally assessed, and London found an advocate and protector in one of the wisest and most eloquent of the citizens, called William Longbeard. The long beard which gave him his name was the national characteristic of the Saxons; and when we find that this reformer's true appellation was the evidently Norman one of Fitz Osbert, we have a glimpse of the real mingling of the two races in the attachment which existed between the oppressed townsmen and the man of foreign descent. William Longbeard went through the usual course of a demagogue. Beginning with a good cause, and gaining influence and popularity by his eloquence, he became selfish in proportion as he became powerful. Obtaining a complete mastery over the town classes, by whom he was called the "King," and sometimes the "Saviour of the Poor," he collected crowds which became dangerous to the public

peace. The multitudes became inflamed with a sense of their own importance, and were only brought to a knowledge of their true position when the fears of the merchants and of all who had property to lose called on the authorities for protection. The sword was let loose at once. William Longbeard was wounded in the street, dragged in a dying state to a pretended trial before the lords and prelates, and pitilessly condemned in that wretched condition to be again dragged at a horse's tail and hanged in Smithfield. The combination of unarmed numbers for a relief from misgovernment is a cheering sign of our ancestors at this time, but no nation has ever secured its liberties by mob violence, or without the leadership of the education and property of the land.

§ 11. The animosity between the rival monarchs was so great that every year there was a new war with France. The story of them all is nearly the same—a severe and merciless campaign, a dashing fight, in which Richard waved his unequalled sword or battle-axe, a treaty, and the same hatred as before. This happened in 1196 and 1197. In the latter year, a captive fell into the Plantagenet's hands whom he was rejoiced to see. The Bishop of Beauvais was taken in fair fight, and Richard cast him into a dungeon. "When this man," he said, "heard of my captivity, he hurried across to the emperor, and warned him to treat me with more severity than ever. Heavy chains were put upon my limbs, such as a horse could hardly bear: therefore no ransom for my Christian Lord of Beauvais." The pope interfered in behalf of the incarcerated prelate, whose conduct he did not venture to defend. And Richard, sending to his holiness the coat of mail in which his prisoner had been captured, which was all marked with blood, replied by a quotation from the Bible: "This have we found, know now whether it be thy son's coat or no?" The pope too readily recognised the apparel of his unapostolic son, and the bishop remained in confinement till after Richard's death.

§ 12. When the buds were out on the trees, and the ground was rich with grass, the two Christian rulers were of course at the head of their respective armies, ready to deluge the land with blood. The truce always expired when campaigning weather came. Philip Augustus was defeated with great slaughter, near Gisors, and fell into the river in his headlong flight. Richard was in his loftiest enjoyment, as slayer of men, and emptied three saddles at a single charge. His blade was still the same that had flashed in the Saracen's eyes, like the sword of Azrael, and he was satisfied with his performances in this last of his engagements. Ending his reign as he began, he set off in search of a treasure, which was reported to have been discovered, by one of his vassals, in Limoges. An unknown tower in a remote region was to witness the death wound of the conqueror of Saladin and the flower of chivalry. An arrow hit him in the left shoulder, from the bow of a youth called Bertrand de Gourdon, but did not protract the fall of the castle. It was taken, and the archer was brought before him. "Wretch!" said the dying Richard, "didst thou not fear to lift thy hand against the Lord's anointed?" "You slew my father and two brothers with your own hand, and had threatened death to myself. I repent me of nothing." "But I pardon you the blow," said Richard, admiring, perhaps, the gallantry of the youth, or stung with conscientious pangs in that terrible hour. "Give him a gift in money, and let him go." But mercy and generosity were not the lessons inculcated in the feudal school. Before the body of the warrior was cold, the archer had died a death of excruciating torments, inflicted on him by the followers of the penitent king; and one other useless cruelty was added to the long list which those miserable campaigns had produced. In spite of the poetic elevation of Richard's verses, and the magnanimity affected by his rival, it had become the habit of both parties to burn and destroy the houses and crops wherever they marched, to spare neither sex nor

age on the territories of their opponent, and finally, on failure of ransom, to tear out their prisoners' eyes.

§ 13. Ten years of a great champion's reign had passed, and England was less happy and united than in the vigorous days of Henry I., who was called the Lion of the Law, from the harshness with which he executed judgment on the wrong-doers of his time. It was not so rich and prosperous as in the well-ordered administration of Henry II., whose policy it was to attach the nation to the Crown by the elevation of the ancient race, and who had put arms into the hands of every freeman. Richard was a fighter, and nothing more; greedy of money and of fame, and pausing at no atrocity to secure the object of his search. The relaxation of law and the harshness of government at the same time, are proved by the popular sympathy which was attracted by the outlaws and brigands who lived by rapine and crime. To be a robber was to be a friend of the people—a gentleman and patriot, who could not submit to the oppressions of the Crown and the priesthood, and indemnified himself by occasionally pouncing on a royal tax-gatherer, or a fat abbot on his way home with the monastery rents. Ballads celebrated the achievements of Robin Hood and his merry men in Sherwood Forest as if they had been Wallaces or Tells, and no state of society can be so dangerous as that in which the malefactor becomes the hero, and opposition to authority is a path to public favour.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1189. Accession of Richard I.	1194. Great sums raised in England for the king's ransom, when he is released, and returns to England.
— Richard and Philip of France engage in the crusade against the infidels.	1194—8. War between England and France.
1192. The French and English kings disagree, and the former returns home.	1197. The notorious freebooters, Robin Hood and Little John.
— Richard makes a truce with Saladin, and leaves the Holy Land, but is detained as a prisoner by the Duke of Austria.	1198—9. Richard is wounded with a poisoned arrow at Chalons, which causes his death.

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 2. is devoted to a general
 3. survey of the subject.
 4. The second part
 5. is devoted to a detailed
 6. study of the various
 7. aspects of the problem.
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 14. summary of the results.
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the universal rising against his power, and the first definite recognition of the nation's liberties which put them for ever under the protection of law. Monarchs henceforth might extend their prerogative, and deny justice to their subjects, but it was in open violation of the people's rights, and of the contract by which in reality they wore the crown. In order to leave England free to work out her destiny, and set an example to the world of popular liberty, combined with monarchical and aristocratic institutions, one other thing was required besides the weakness and unpopularity of the king, and that was a separation from the continental possessions which mixed her up with foreign politics, and impeded her progress in many ways. Not that anybody had the sagacity to perceive the injurious effects of the connexion at the time, but the easy wisdom which we all possess after the event enables us to appreciate its disadvantages now. In the first place, the power of each nation was used by politic rulers to repress the advance of the other. The holders of large estates in Normandy were ready, in hopes of forfeiture or partition, to side with the superior against the holders of large estates in England. The feudatories, in the same manner, in England were ready to aid in the destruction of any refractory baron upon the Seine. And when the same man happened to be a landowner in both dominions, his power was paralysed by his double occupation. If he summoned his retainers to defend himself or his tenants from the aggression of the English king in Devonshire or Dorset, his lands upon the Epte or Aisne were infallibly seized upon by the Norman duke. A divided allegiance prevented his decided action on either side. But when John, by a pusillanimity which is wonderful in a Plantagenet, and a falsehood which is almost incredible in any one calling himself a man, had lost the hereditary realms which he derived from the Conqueror and the Earls of Anjou, the weight of that double obligation was lifted from the Norman barons on both sides of the Channel,

and the one rapidly became entirely English, while the other as rapidly became indissolubly French.

§ 2. It is strange that the proudest feeling of nationality in Europe took its rise from a series of defeats and the supremacy of the worst of kings; but the causes we have glanced at will be sufficient to explain the fact. The English pride was not at all offended when Normandy was wrenched from the hands of John; rather we may suppose his losses and degradations were looked on as just chastisements of his course of life. A career commencing in murder, and continued in unbridled licentiousness, found its fitting termination in diminished power and an unregretted death.

§ 3. The story of his nephew's fate is told in two or three different ways; but all agree that his blood lies on the memory of John, if it did not actually stain his hands. This boy was Arthur of Brittany, the son of John's elder brother Geoffrey, and therefore nearer in direct succession; but the laws of hereditary descent were nowhere well ascertained at that time, and in England had the additional weakness of being inapplicable to an elective kingdom, as it still professed to be. John, who was of full age, and in possession of much treasure, had a great advantage over a child of ten years old, who had nothing to bestow. He summoned a meeting of the lords, produced a will in his favour, purporting to have been signed on his death-bed by Richard; and, not relying on this—which was seen to be a forgery, and of little importance if it had been authentic—he was solemnly elected king, with a declaration from the mouth of the archbishop, Hubert of Canterbury, that “no one can have a right to this kingdom, unless for his excellent virtues he is elected to it.” But the excellent virtues of John were not appreciated in Normandy and Poitou as they were by the courtly Hubert: and the cause of Arthur was taken up by Philip Augustus. John crossed the sea, and ravaged Brittany with his mercenary Brabanters, by way of securing the affection of the inhabitants; and

taking a correct measure at the same time of the generosity of Philip Augustus, which induced him to adopt the orphan's cause, he made offers to that chivalrous sovereign—among others, of the succession to the dominions in dispute, if he died without children—which he found it impossible to resist, and immediately guaranteed to John all the territories of which his brother Richard had died possessed.

§ 4. Isabella, Countess of Angouleme, was the most beautiful woman of her time. She was married to the Count de la Marche, and John had long been the husband of Avisa of Gloucester, one of the greatest heiresses in England. The double marriage was only an inducement the more to the self-willed king. He repudiated his wife on some pretence of affinity, seized Isabella by force, and was married to her by the Archbishop of Bourdeaux. Poitou and Aquitaine rose in insurrection at the instigation of the Count de la Marche. The English barons were ashamed to follow their king in such a shameful cause; and Philip Augustus, choosing the time when England was discontented, and the continental states irritated by wrong and insult, adopted once more the fortunes of the disinherited Arthur, and sent assistance to the insurgents of Aquitaine. The disinterested champion only stipulated for as much of Normandy as he could take by force of arms, and Arthur, aged thirteen, and knighted by the sword of the Most Christian king, hung out his forlorn banner with the Lions of Normandy, and was joined by a military array. It was not allowed to be strong enough to do any good to the prince, in case it should make him too strong for his patron's purpose. Philip assaulted Normandy, while Arthur was too weak for anything but to besiege a small castle in which a very remarkable personage was to be found. The wickedest of women, and worst of wives, old Eleanor, the divorced of Louis and widow of Henry, was yet alive, still stirring the embers of domestic hatred, and Arthur was advised to seize the ill-omened prophetess of evil,

as an instrument against his uncle John. The family affection of the Plantagenets was shown before the walls of Mirabeau. The grandmother was besieged by the grandson, who was closely watched by the uncle, and when the unnatural strife seemed nearly ended by the entrance of Arthur into the town, and the approaching surrender of Eleanor, treachery again did its work. John was admitted into the city, and Arthur was captured in his bed. The nobles who shared his fate now felt the bitterness of a hatred which only a coward can feel. They were insulted, loaded with irons, and flung into dungeons. Among these was the Count de la Marche, whose bride was now the Queen of England; and the power of torturing the husband gave additional enjoyment to the possessor of the wife. Twenty-two were sent over to England, and deliberately starved to death in Corfe Castle. The others pined unheard of in different prisons. Of Arthur nothing is certainly known, but that he was taken to the town of Rouen. The story adopted by Shakspeare, and imprinted on the English heart beyond the need of history, is, that after escaping the agony of having his eyes put out, by the compassion of the kind Hubert de Burgh, he died in attempting to descend from his prison wall. But the other version, to which the French annalists give their adhesion, is, that uncle and nephew went out in a boat upon the Seine, and that in an access of simulated rage, the king plunged his dagger into the orphan's breast, and afterwards threw his bleeding body into the dark river; for the time was midnight, and the personages of the story only three—Arthur, John, and Peter de Maulac, his squire.

§ 5. Not more lost to the world and removed from the path of the murderer was the fair young lad whose body was floating down to the sea, than the "Maid of Brittany," his sister, who was immured in a monastery at Bristol, from which she was only released by death, at the end of forty years. All the provinces were up in arms. Guienne, Poitou,

Aquitaine, Brittany, Normandy, all vied with each other in detestation of the frightful deed; and Philip Augustus, sailing triumphantly on the topmast wave of the vast tide of indignation, was carried from town to town, and castle to castle, almost without a moment's check.

§ 6. The Bretons broke out with the courage and impetuosity, and, we may add, the generosity also, which have always marked their race, and Normandy was overrun with the wild Celtic warriors, who had preserved their ancient language and arms, and their national attachment to their chiefs. John, in the meantime, gave himself up to voluptuous indulgence in Rouen. He heard every day of a new rising, of a new falling away from his obedience; but he sank only the deeper in the life of riot and debauchery to which he was inclined. When the danger, however, came near, and the shouts of the offended populations began to mingle with the strains of his minstrels and the laughter of his buffoons, he took fright, and hurried over to England. But nobody would give help to a murderer who would not fight, and a king who had no bribes to offer. John found himself without a friend, and raged and stormed against the selfishness of the English, who would not part with their money to recover Normandy for its legal lord. Normandy was rapidly re-annexed to the French crown, from which it had been severed by Rollo the Norman nearly three hundred years before. Anjou, Touraine, and all the other domains of Eleanor and Geoffrey, followed the example; and John, after summoning courage to land at Rochelle with a small army, which scutage money and other exactions had enabled him to raise,—after marching magnanimously into the field before the enemy had assembled to meet him, and burning as many towns and villages as lay in his way,—ventured at last to advance near to the encampment of a French force which Philip had brought down to oppose him. But when he saw the spears and the pennons, and heard the neighing of the horses, the shouting of men, and the blasts

of trumpets, his heart failed altogether. He ignominiously fled from such a dangerous neighbourhood, and when he had placed his wretched limbs in safety on the soil of England, threw himself on the protection of his Holiness the Pope.

§ 7. His Holiness the Pope, to ordinary apprehensions, was the unholiest of men. A more truculent destroyer of human life never sat on the Roman throne. He preached a war of extermination against the heretical inhabitants of Provence, and declared it more meritorious to put a man of Toulouse to death, who denied the supremacy of the chair of St. Peter, than a Saracen who denied the Christian faith. His name was Innocent III.; and it seems almost a bitter mockery to bestow the name of Innocent and the title of Holy on such a man. It was to this great descendant of the Apostles that John had recourse. Submission and promises had their usual effect, and Innocent laid injunctions on Philip Augustus to leave the fugitive alone. But a momentary security brought out all the vices of the fugitive's nature. He rose up against his benefactor the pope, without having secured the affections of the people. He nominated his favourite, John de Grey, to the See of Canterbury; and Innocent, who determined to outdo the wildest assumptions of his predecessors, appointed Stephen Langton, by his sole authority and the recommendation of the monks of Canterbury. John, who would have quailed before a cardinal or pope, took courage against a few miserable monks. He drove them by force from their cells, and seized the conventual lands. While meditating further vengeance he was waited on by three of the bishops with a message from the furious old man at Rome. They threatened the awful sentence of an interdict, and commanded him to restore the monks to their dwelling and properties. John for a moment flashed out in wrath. With a great oath he cried, "If you or any of your tribe dare to put an interdict on my realm, I will pack you and all your priests out of England, and confiscate your

goods. As to the Roman shavelings, if I find any of them in my dominions, I will tear out their eyes, and cut off their noses, and send them to their friend the pope." When John spoke loudest he always grew frightened at the echo of his own voice.

§ 8. That voice came back to him on this occasion in the form of an Interdict. The religious life of England was at an end. There were no meetings in churches, or ringing of bells, or chanting of psalms. The dead were buried without solemnity. The dying, indeed, were absolved, and the infants were baptized; but in all other respects the offices of the priesthood were refused. The young could not marry, the afflicted could not pray, the devout could not visit the relics of holy saints. Thus John stood for a whole year in the midst of a people whose consolations and amusements were all removed. They hated the cause of so melancholy a state of things, and rejoiced when the interdict upon the kingdom was followed by an excommunication against John. In this last sentence all the evils pronounced by an interdict on a people at large are concentrated on a single man. He becomes like a leper of old, and carries the mark of his doom into all the relations of life. No man may eat with him, or talk with him, or aid him in his designs, or furnish him with what he requires. It is a condemnation to a living death, and was at one time the strongest weapon in the armoury of the Church.

But John was not so superstitious, nor Innocent so powerful, as the kings and pontiffs of a hundred years before. Indeed John was of a wonderfully capacious belief, and thought that any religion which enabled him to enjoy his debaucheries and trample on his subjects was as good as any other. Whereupon he sent an embassy to the Mahomedan emirs of Spain, promising his submission to Mahomet, provided they would send him men and money to resist the Frenchman and the pope. But the cautious Mussulmans, when they had made some inquiries into the royal applicant's character,

and were told by the ambassador himself that he was hated by high and low, declined the honour of such a convert, and Islam was spared the degradation of his adhesion.

He passed over into Ireland, and met with no resistance from the native chieftains or the Norman barons who had hitherto refused submission to his commands. He avenged his outraged dignity by exacting exorbitant fines, and returned, after three months' absence, to delight his English subjects once more. Impartially dividing his cruelties between the Old Testament and the New, he levied contributions from all the clergy, from abbot and abbess, from priest and friar, and then, turning his attention to the Jews, pulled out a tooth from a rich usurer's mouth for every day he refused to surrender his treasure.

§ 9. Pope Innocent grew strong in the universal detestation which gathered round the tyrant. He absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and the insolence of the proceeding was lost in its necessity. It was necessary that power should be taken from hands which could not use it. A crusade was proclaimed, and Philip Augustus was solemnly invited by the Pope to undertake the invasion of England. In addition to the natural inducements of glory and plunder, the chief shepherd of the faithful held forth the reward of the pardon of all his sins, and the French monarch could no longer refuse the bait. He collected a fleet and a large army, and took his station at Havre. Here, however, he received a visit for which he was not prepared. The English hated their craven master, but had a still stronger national animosity to the French. Ships were gathered in great haste. The sons of the old sea-kings pushed across the Channel, and fell on the hostile galleys at the mouth of the Seine. They burnt Fecamp, and ravaged the whole coast, and the invasion of England was at an end. But it was only a foreign enemy which had attracted friends to John's side. When left free from external danger the whole population were determined on a change. John saw

something in the aspect of the military array he summoned on Barham Downs, which told him that there were foes more terrible than pope or king, and probably the battle he gained at Damme (the port of Bruges), the first naval victory of the English over the French, which, by exterminating the army of Philip Augustus, left England safe from all peril from abroad for a long time to come, contributed to the next move on the part of the spiritless monarch.

§ 10. John yielded to the arrogance of Pope Innocent everything he had so long declined. He reinstated monks and nuns; he accepted Stephen Langton, the pope's nominee, as Archbishop of Canterbury, and descended to the supreme baseness of resigning his crown into the hand of the Italian priest, and receiving it again as liegeman and servant of the Holy See. For this all his sins were forgiven; he was taken into favour by his new master, and the proud lords and stubborn yeomen who remembered Henry II., and had tilted and fought with Richard I., were expected to yield an unmurmuring submission to the recreant knight and dishonoured king, who claimed his territories from the good pleasure of the pope. If such were John's expectations he was rapidly undeceived. Stephen Langton, with the English mitre, assumed the English heart, as befitted his name and lineage. At the end of 1214 he summoned a meeting at Bury St. Edmunds for the redress of grievances, and barons and prelates attended in great numbers. The quarrel of Henry and à Becket had occurred exactly fifty years before (1164), and if you will turn to the articles of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and compare them with the provisions of the Great Charter, which were now for the first time taken into consideration by the members of this assembly, you will see the great change which those fifty years had produced. The Constitutions of Clarendon were framed to curb as far as possible the exorbitant pretensions of the priesthood, and for the vindication of the laws of England against the immunities of the

Church. It was meant to decide whether the supreme power of the State resided in the crozier or the crown. The present struggle was also for the maintenance of law ; but it was against the encroachments of the royal authority, and on the side of justice for all the people. In it were found not only the proudest names on the beadroll of the Norman nobility, but the great body of the clergy, which in the former period had been gathered in support of their professional privileges. They had become better Englishmen since that time and worse Normans, but on both occasions were considered the champions of the national cause.

§ 11. The monks of Canterbury continued true to their old traditions, and knew that in electing Stephen Langton to the primacy they kept power in the hands of a true Anglo-Saxon, who would resent all aggression on the people as well as on the Church. Strengthened by the support of almost all classes of the king's subjects, and aided in their effort by the warm assistance of the English bishops, the barons presented their demands—rather than petitions—for reform in the early part of 1215. John met them with his usual skill. He solemnly assumed the cross of the Crusade to shield him from their unpalatable requirements, and appealed for protection to the pope. As soon as an answer could be received it came, thundering threats and objurgations against a confederacy of impious rebels who troubled the Lord's anointed with questions of amendment of his government, when his soul was fixed on the Holy Land. But barons and bishops were firm to their cause, and marched to London with their banners displayed, and their armed retainers at their back. A grim-faced, strong-nerved body of petitioners like these were more difficult to answer than any John had hitherto encountered. To grant their demands would have ruined his schemes of ambition ; to refuse them would endanger his life. He resolved on his usual compromise : to consent to their requests, and to get absolution from his promise ; and in this mood

of mind he met the barons of England at Runnymede, near Windsor, on the 15th of June.

MAGNA CHARTA.

§ 12. Millions of people have shouted for Magna Charta, and boasted of it as the palladium of liberty, without knowing much about it, and even on closer inspection it requires to be viewed in connexion with the state of society at the time to present it in its true proportions, not only as the first foundation of all our future gains, but the solemn league and covenant between the two nations and varying classes encamped on this soil. From this time there was neither lord nor vassal, Norman nor Saxon, in the eye of the law; and the further lesson was taught that the links in the chain of freedom are so intimately connected, that the weakening of one endangers the whole.

Henceforth the tyranny that oppressed the cottage was felt as a wrong done to the castle; nor less was it felt that an injustice which assailed the baron was a blow levelled at the humblest freeman in the land. A standard was at last found, by which the deficiencies of the Government and the rights of the people could be measured. Up to this time the hearts of the multitude had turned to the shadowy consolations of the unknown time before the Conquest, and in all their woes they clamoured for the restoration of the laws of Edward. Here was a law of their own time, clearer in its expression, wider in its range, and more solemn in its sanctions than any of the customs of their Anglo-Saxon ancestors; and if anybody henceforward pretends to despise the blessings of the Government under which he lives, on the plea that he has never *seen* the English constitution, let him turn to the worm-eaten parchment of that great document which was signed at Runnymede, and he will see the first flow of the fountain that has spread out into such a potent stream, and beautified and fertilized so many centuries.

† An equal distribution of civil rights to all classes of freemen, along with a preservation of all the just prerogatives of the crown, is, in the opinion of Mr. Hallam—the most judge-like of our historians—the peculiar beauty of the Charter.

After a confirmation of the rights and privileges of the Church, it began by redressing the abuses to which the military tenures had become subject in regard to the services in chivalry and the treatment of wards and widows. Reliefs or payments to the lords were fixed in proportion to the tenant's holding, not left arbitrarily to the settlement of the lord himself. Marriageable heiresses were withdrawn from the money-making machinations of their guardians, and large-dowered widows were not obliged to marry under pain of ruinous fines. These ameliorations were extended to all the sub-tenants in the land. The ports and towns of the kingdom were opened to the free-trade of all the world. The franchises of London and the commercial boroughs were declared inviolable. The Court of Common Pleas was fixed in Westminster, instead of following the king's person wherever he might be, and was thus made accessible at all times. The forest laws were abated, though not annulled. It was declared that justice or right should not be sold, denied, or delayed to any man. And then the great words were spoken which put the seal on the national determination: "No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseised of rights and property, or be outlawed, or exiled, or otherwise destroyed but by lawful judgment of his peers or the law of the land." "It is obvious," continues Hallam, "that these words, interpreted by any honest court of law, convey an ample security for the two main rights of civil society. From the era, therefore, of King John's Charter it must have been a clear principle of our constitution that no man can be detained in prison without trial."

There were many other excellent articles in the Charter granting permission to freemen to leave their property by

will, or enabling their heirs to succeed them if they died intestate; limiting the amount of fines to be assessed for small offences on freemen, merchants, and villeins, and declaring that the first shall not be deprived of his tenement, the second of his merchandize, and the third of his implements of husbandry. Some of these we notice principally to call attention to the degraded state of the people, which could require such enactments in their behalf; but we will dwell a little longer on the last of these clauses, as it has been used as an argument against the public spirit of the lords, inasmuch as it is the only one in which the condition of the villeins, or non-freemen, is alluded to at all. But this allusion carries all the rest. The mitigation of a fine and the sacredness of his tools sanctioned the right of the villein to the property he held. They guaranteed him the right to own carts, and ploughs, and pickaxes, and spades; and a man in legal possession of these will not be long without obtaining more.

§ 13. That the Charter was considered a great blow to despotic authority was soon proved by the view taken of it by the king and the pope. Scarcely had the barons retired from the field of meeting, and relieved John of their hateful presence, before he applied to Innocent for an absolution from his engagement; and sent an agent to Flanders, Poitou, and Gascony to enlist as many freebooters and mercenaries as his treasure could collect. Both answered his call. The pope excommunicated the barons, annulled the Charter, and suspended the archbishop from his ecclesiastical powers. Brabanters, Flemings, Gascons, and all the horde of idle and dissolute swordsmen whom the crusade had left behind, came to the assistance of the oppressed monarch and outraged pontiff. With the aid of Fulk de Breauté, the leader of those adventurers, John took his revenge upon the barons. He seized their estates, and burnt their houses; he tortured the townsmen till they made a discovery of their hidden wealth,

and after a siege took the Castle of Rochester, which had been a stronghold of the popular cause. He then marched in person to the northern counties, and seemed to revel in the atrocities he committed and enjoined. Crossing the Tweed, he devastated Scotland as far as Edinburgh, in revenge for the youthful Alexander having accepted the homage of the outraged population of Yorkshire. But he avoided a battle as usual, and retired before the combined Scots and Northumbrians. Fugitive or successful it was all the same. Blood and ruin marked his passage through the country, equally of friends and foes; and he carried his mercenary murderers, loaded with the plunder and curses of the land, to their old quarters in Kent and Surrey. The barons, however, maintained their power in London, which had been confided to the care of Robert Fitzwalter, "Marshal of the Army of God and Holy Church," while the good Stephen Langton was governor of the Tower. From this they sent forth their foragers to gather supplies; they imposed fines upon the towns which appeared lukewarm in the cause; and, finally, when the treasures of John, and the fulminations of the pope, and the swords of the foreigners became too powerful, they threw themselves on the dangerous expedient of requesting aid from the suzerain of their oppressor, and made an offer of the English crown to the heir of the King of France.

§ 14. But when the young prince came over, and with the help of his armed followers and the barons, took Rochester, and made his triumphant entry into the capital of the kingdom, the English people began to repent of having called in a foreigner to profit by their domestic broils. They did not like the cry of "St. Denis" to be heard in victorious opposition to their native "St. George," and left the French flag. Some even carried their swords to the ranks of the trembling John, and Louis saw his acquisition rapidly disappear. Lincoln was taken; Lynn received the royal army with a friendly welcome; and when on the 19th of October, in this

year of trouble and distress, the throne was delivered from the encumbrance of the weakest and falsest of all our kings, by his timely death at Newark a great revulsion of feeling immediately took place in the English mind. A little boy of nine years of age, the heir of so many monarchs, and inheriting so perfectly the blood of both the peoples, was a stronger opponent of the intrusive Frenchman than his unworthy father would have been. There were no wrongs to avenge, and no disgrace to blush for in the person of Henry III., and the influence of these feelings was very soon shown in the allegiance of all classes to their native king. Delivered from the infamy of so degrading a ruler, it was felt that it only needed the expulsion of the invaders to give England a prospect of peace and prosperity such as she had never previously enjoyed.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

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| <p>A.D.</p> <p>1199. Accession of King John.</p> <p>1201. A war commenced with France. The barons refuse to attend the king in the wars abroad.</p> <p>1202. John repudiates his wife, and marries Isabella, Countess of Angouleme; murders his nephew, Prince Arthur.</p> <p>1203-4. Philip of France captures Rouen; and many of the towns in Normandy.</p> <p>1205. King John levies a heavy tax on his barons for deserting his service in Normandy.</p> <p>1207. John drives the monks of Canterbury out of England, and confiscates their goods.</p> <p>— The first annual mayor and common council chosen this year.</p> <p>1208. The Pope places the kingdom under an interdict, and the king confiscates the land and goods of all the clergy that obey the interdict.</p> <p>1209. The Pope excommunicates the king.</p> <p>1210. The king subdues the Irish,</p> | <p>A.D.</p> <p>and brings them under the English laws. Lays heavy taxes on the clergy.</p> <p>1211. The Pope absolves the king's subjects from their allegiance.</p> <p>1212. A great portion of London consumed by a fire, in which 8000 persons lost their lives.</p> <p>— The Pope proceeds to depose King John, and gives his kingdom to the French king.</p> <p>1213. The king is compelled to resign his dominions to the Pope, and submits to hold his kingdom as tributary to him, at the yearly rental of 1000 marks.</p> <p>1215. The barons make war upon the king, who is obliged to yield to them, and grants the charter of privileges called Magna Charta.</p> <p>1216. Continued contests between the king and his rebellious barons, who swear fealty to Louis, the heir of France.</p> <p>— Death of King John.</p> |
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CHAPTER IV.

HENRY THE THIRD.

A.D. 1216 TO A.D. 1272.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Philip II. (Augustus); Louis VIII. (the Lion); Louis IX. (the Saint); Philip III. (the Hardy).

SCOTLAND.—Alexander II.; Alexander III.

POPES.—Honorius III.; Gregory IX.; Celestine IV.; Innocent IV.; Alexander IV.; Clement IV.; Gregory X.

§ 1. Accession of Henry III. The heir of France and the rebellious barons defeated at Lincoln.—§ 2. The French fleet defeated, and almost destroyed. The invader quits the kingdom.—§ 3. Insolent assumptions of the Pope's legates.—§ 4. War with France. Magna Charta established. § 5. Henry's exactions from the Jews, and general oppressions.—§ 6. Hubert de Burgh selected for the regal vengeance.—§ 7. Mal-administration of the king's government under the influence of foreigners.—§ 8. Increasing discontent.—§ 9. Magna Charta again solemnly ratified.—§ 10. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. Parliament of Oxford.—§ 11. Contests between the king and the barons.—§ 12. Battle of Lewes, and capture of the king.—§ 13. Simon de Montfort assembles a Parliament at Winchester, to which knights and burgesses were first summoned. Their first meeting.—§ 14. Simon de Montfort defeated at the battle of Evesham, and slain His high character and lamented death. The "Dictum," or "Edict of Kenilworth."—§ 15. Prince Edward's crusade to the Holy Land.—§ 16. Death of Henry III. Prince Edward proclaimed king.

§ 1. HENRY OF WINCHESTER was fortunate in the support and guardianship of the great Earl of Pembroke, the marshal of England; fortunate also in the support of the papal legate, who hurriedly added the sanction of religion to his hereditary right, by crowning him with all the ceremonies of the Church. Few were the attendant lords and prelates, for a great number of the barons were still in the camp of Louis; yet the holy form was not without its use, and the youthful

sovereign was made to pay largely for it, by making England and Ireland tributary to the pope. The next step to secure his authority was a ratification formally given to the Great Charter. Adhesion to the foreign claimant had now become treason to the crowned king. The barons, in fulfilment of their promise, gave an outward aid to the French prince, but their thoughts were turned to the little English boy, who was ready to welcome them back to their duty and their estates. Louis distrusted his own supporters, and went over for reinforcements to France. But Hubert de Burgh had a stout fleet in Dover bay, and fell upon the transports on their return; archers were out all along the road, from Sandwich to London; and when the unfortunate invader reached that city, after a painful march, he heard news which filled him with dismay. Pembroke himself, at the head of four hundred knights, two hundred and fifty crossbow men, a number of mounted yeomanry, and a body of foot, had the audacity to appear before the city of Lincoln, in which a great French army, under the Count de la Perche, was besieging the castle of the place. The English archers got into the fortress, and poured their arrowy shower upon the assailants in the street. Suddenly the town-gate was forced open, and Pembroke with his yeomen entered. Mounted knights could not move in the narrow lanes, and the whole host surrendered at once. There was such spoil of golden baldrics and silver pennons, such ransoming of the rich, and pillaging of the spoil-encumbered enemy, that the capture is known in history as the Fair of Lincoln.

§ 2. Blanche of Castile, the wife of the pretender, who is famous as the honoured mother of Louis IX., sent fresh succour to her husband. But Hubert de Burgh was again ready for sea, and so crippled the fleet and convoy by dashing in among the vessels with his iron-prowed galleys, and pouring broadsides of arrows upon their crowded decks, that of all the eighty "great ships" and many transports, only fifteen got

safe to land. The French cause was at an end, and at the end of the year a treaty was concluded, in which Louis, stipulating for the safety of his English adherents, and the restoration of their honours and estates, bound himself to take no steps prejudicial to his rival's throne, and prepared to return home. The booty of churches and shops which had enriched his less conscientious followers had not improved the fortunes of the heir of France. He found himself so poor that he had to borrow money for his journey from the merchants of London. Pembroke conducted him in all honour, with much courtesy and many professions of esteem, from the capital to the sea, and the soil was once more free from the footsteps of an invader.

§ 3. And yet this can scarcely be said as long as the pope's legates remained in the land. Those domineering dignitaries interfered in all public affairs, and feeling themselves unrestrained by the provision of the treaty with the heir of France, revenged themselves upon the monks and abbots who in the late troubles had disobeyed their commands. Claiming, indeed, the whole kingdom as the property of their lord, one of them, the same Pandulph who had received the craven submission of King John, gave orders that no person was to hold more than two royal castles at the same time—a measure directed in the interest of the young king, but so imperiously urged, that it offended the pride of the nobles on both sides. But Henry by this time had been more solemnly crowned than on the previous occasion, the ceremony being performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was now, in 1223, declared in full council to be of age, though only in his seventeenth year, and the whole of the royal authority was brought to bear in consolidating the national peace. Hubert de Burgh attacked the persons, principally the foreign favourites of John, who refused to surrender the castles to which he had appointed them; and being less merciful, though perhaps more just, than the wise and generous Pembroke, who had died in 1219, he hanged

eighty of the foreign garrison of Bedford Castle, making no distinction between knight and squire. This severity, however, was more in consequence of the cruelties of which they had been guilty in the neighbourhood than of their disobedience to the royal command.

§ 4. The quarrel with France, which broke out in 1225, has little influence on the succeeding history of either kingdom; but it is worthy of English notice as the first instance of two things to which we have remained constant ever since—a vote of money and a claim for the redress of grievances. Louis, now King of France, declined to fulfil some conditions which the English maintained had formed part of the recent treaty, by which he was to surrender Normandy and all the other possessions of the late king. He denied that he had ever agreed to so impossible a condition, and even made a demonstration against Guienne and Poitou, the small territories which remained to the Norman line. Hubert de Burgh applied to a great council for aid. They voted a supply, and required a fresh declaration of Magna Charta. Henry, nothing loth, published a new guarantee of the famous statute, and all parties were well pleased. The English considered a law strengthened by dint of constant iteration, and Henry enriched himself and his brother, Richard of Cornwall, with the proceeds of the tax. Civil dissension was at an end; peace was concluded with the regent-mother of the great and gentle Louis IX. (who succeeded his father in 1226); Gascony had been secured by the expedition of Richard of Cornwall, and the king's throne was supported by the wisdom and energy of Hubert de Burgh; yet all men felt uneasy. There was a foreboding of evil times to come, and as the king's character became developed there was ample cause for the universal apprehension.

§ 5. Seduced by the interested invitations of the discontented barons of the west of France, the true son of John showed all the qualities of his father, and lavished the money

he had wrung from his people on feasts and favourites, while Blanche of Castile was summoning her array. When it appeared, with the Amazonian queen directing all its movements, Henry betook himself to the safer amusement of torturing Jews and pillaging his subjects at home. He still farther showed his resemblance to his father in the meanness with which he thought to cast the blame of his failure upon others.

§ 6. Hubert de Burgh was the victim selected for the royal vengeance, and a loose was given to the hatred of his enemies. It is a good sign of that gallant warrior, that in that most dissolute of courts his enemies were numerous and powerful. They accused him of grievous faults, mal-administration, and neglect of duties; and knowing nothing of the masterdom a great spirit exercises over a weak one, they wound up by accusing him of having won the king's heart by magical incantations; and the convicted conjuror fled. He was pursued, and, although under "the protection of our lord the king," was seized in a church at Brentford, in Essex, to which he had escaped, friendless and defenceless, holding the cross in one hand and the host in the other. The courtiers dashed in upon those sacred guards, and sent for a smith to make manacles for the prisoner. But the smith was a good Saxon, and could not be persuaded to fetter the limbs of the greatest Englishman then alive, the defender of Dover, and conqueror of the French fleet, and the baffled confederates fixed the captive on a horse with ropes, and led him in brutal triumph to the Tower of London.

If the patriotic sentiment of the other nobles was dead, the ecclesiastical pride of the clergy was injured by this proceeding. Hubert had been seized in sanctuary, and must be set at large. He was carried back, therefore, to the parish church at Brentford, and pæans of exultation were sung at the success of the clerical reclamation. Yet no further effort was made when the enemies of the great justiciary were observed

to be drawing a rampart round the place of his refuge, guarding it night and day to prevent his escape; and even when they finally succeeded in starving him into a surrender, and restoring him to his dungeon in the Tower. The end of this story is what might be expected: Hubert delivered all his ready money, and surrendered the greater portion of his estates into the hands of the king, and Henry thought he had repaid all the services of this best servant of the crown by permitting him to live in free custody, as it was called, in the Castle of Devizes. From this he managed to escape—was adopted as leader by the barons, who were wearied with the royal excesses, and when his influence was perceived to grow by the popularity of his character, the versatile king lured him once more to the court, and apparently restored him to favour, enriched him a second time with lucrative offices, and the last we hear of Hubert is that he preserved himself from a second persecution by making Henry a present of four of the castles he illegally kept in his hands.

§ 7. This course of government could never be permanent. The favourites of the youthful sovereign had all been foreigners. His ministers and great officers, as he grew older, were likewise selected from Poitou or Gascony. The English national feeling was now so strong that this was resented by peer and peasant as a slight to their common country. Matters grew worse, when a foreign queen, whom he married in 1236, a daughter of the Count of Provence, brought over in her train a swarm of fresh destroyers to be provided for with English lands. Guienne sent its adventurers; and nobles with emblazoned shields, and very empty pockets, found their way to the fertile soil, where there was a sure provision for every one but a native. A defeat on the Charente in 1242 added no fresh disgrace to Henry, nor glory to the Christian king; the measure of Henry's disgrace was already full, and of Louis IX.'s glory. A fugitive once more, and satisfied with a five years' truce, the English monarch came back to

his own country beaten, hated, impoverished, and more anxious for money than ever. If a man is already disliked, he has no great chance of regaining his subjects' love by asking them to increase their payments. And Henry grew more intolerable every day. He bestowed English heiresses on his foreign satellites, and surrounded himself with flatterers and sycophants, among whom by this time he could find none of English birth. The oppressions also of his purveyors knew no bounds. When you see this name ostentatiously printed above a tradesman's door, you can scarcely believe what were the rights and privileges the office originally conveyed. Whenever the king travelled, the purveyors took, at a merely nominal price, all that was required for the maintenance of the court. They seized corn and wine, and bed and board; and not satisfied with this, they went into an open market, and taking possession of all the commodities for the use of their master, sold them at an advanced price for their own benefit. They were worse than an army of invaders, and the royal presence was as much dreaded as the plague.

§ 8. For some years this state of things went on—a careless, unprincipled king, and a gradually discontented people. The barons in council again came to the rescue. They refused him the money he demanded, reminded him of his perfidy and baseness, and accused him of trampling on the nation, and ruining its commerce by his illegal exactions. He threw himself on the patriotism of the people and the zeal of the Church. He resolved, he said, to reconquer the old continental possessions of the crown; but nobody believed in his courage or ambition, and he got no loans for the intended war. He then affected a devout desire to go to the Holy Land, and talked of sailing on the crusade immediately; but the Church kept its coffers safely locked, and the penniless pilgrim stayed at home.

§ 9. Nothing could restore confidence in a man so fickle and false. He offered on all occasions to publish another

ratification of Magna Charta, and insisted, like a popular author, on being paid for every new edition of the work. To impress the real solemnity of the contract between crown and people on this vain and thoughtless mind, the barons attended a meeting in Westminster Hall, where the king made a more formal ratification of the national liberties than had ever been done before. The dignitaries of the Church were there in their official robes, the lords in full array. When the oath of adhesion was made in the hands of the archbishop, each abbot and prelate threw to the ground the burning taper he had held in his hand during the ceremony, and as it died out in smoke, the primate called with a loud voice, "So may the soul of every one who infringes the Charters perish and expire in hell!" A great "Amen!" resounded through the building, and Henry exclaimed, "So help me, God, I will keep them inviolate, as I am a man and a Christian, a knight and a crowned king!"

On the strength of this compact he received a supply of money; and before the great hall was purified from the smoke and smell of the extinguished candles, the foreign wassailers were enriched with the nation's money, and the Charter of Runnymede forgotten as if it had never been. A foreign expedition added to his embarrassments, and, as if he had not impoverished himself sufficiently in other ways, he had the foolish pride to accept the crown of Sicily from the pope for his second son, Edmund, and to maintain the election of his brother Richard to the dignity of King of the Romans. With a King of Sicily and a future Emperor of Germany in his family, and with the pope to aid him in his assault on the treasures of the English Church, he began a course of oppression against bishoprics and abbeys which revolted from his cause,—the only body in the State capable of counteracting the other orders. Nobility, Church, and people were now joined against the most contemptible of despots, and the time had arrived when power was to be lodged in worthier hands.

§ 10. The greatest man at this time in England was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who had married the king's sister. In right of his foreign birth—for he was the son of the ferocious Simon de Montfort who had exterminated the Albigenses with fire and sword—the king had treated him with greater kindness than any of the English nobles, and loaded him with wealth and power. But Simon very soon saw the propriety of adopting the national feelings of the people among whom his life was to be spent. He became more English than any of the barons, and put himself at the head of the home party for the expulsion of the foreigners. To get him out of the way, Henry gave him the government of Guienne, and when complaints were forwarded against him, caught at them with eagerness, and Simon came hurrying to court. Henry in wrath and insolence called the great earl a traitor, and the blood of the warrior was roused. "If it were not for your kingly office," he said, "I would make you rue this insult," and left the hall. There were uneasy reconciliations and fresh dissensions between the brothers-in-law for several years; but on the 11th of June, 1258, the struggle grew more important, for it embraced almost all orders in the State. The barons met at Oxford, and passed certain "Provisions," conveying the royal authority into the hands of twenty-four commissioners—twelve chosen by the barons and twelve by the king—and to this alteration in the form of government, the king and Prince Edward, now in his nineteenth year, gave in their adhesion on oath. But it was soon found that men's minds were not yet ripe for so constitutional a form as a Council of Regency. The rough barons, who considered their success a triumph over their enemies, used their power tyrannically. They expelled the foreign favourites without even the forms of law; they did not summon "four knights chosen by the votes of the frecholders" from each county, and they did not "hold three sessions of a Parliament regularly in each year," as had been settled by

the "Provisions of Oxford." The Royalists, therefore, took heart once more. Henry seemed happy he had another oath to break. Edward, as if to break up the confederacy, sided alternately with Leicester and his rival, the Earl of Gloucester; and the nation began to lose all expectation of reformation or amendment from such selfish and unprincipled partisans.

§ 11. Henry was ready with his usual expedient, and produced a dispensation from the obligation of his oath, signed and sealed by his holiness the pope. Leicester retired from the country when the tide of loyalty took so adverse a turn, and the fatuous king established himself in the Tower of London. Edward the Prince joined his father, and the queen brought all the weight of her unpopularity to the same cause. "Down with the witch!" cried the people, as she sailed under London Bridge; "drown her!" and threw stones and mud into the boat. Leicester was soon at the head of a new confederacy, and in the various scenes and shiftings of this most obscure and undignified drama we perceive no hope for the future stability of the kingdom, unless some fresh element of power comes into operation. And this was about to be. On both sides the mask of moderation was thrown off. The barons were declared rebels, and the king declared a tyrant. London tolled the great bell of St. Paul's, and the barons' city followers buckled on their quivers, and took their swords in hand. The north collected its warriors in support of the crown; Edward, who had hitherto professed a regard for the oaths he swore at Oxford, ranged his forces openly on his father's side. There were sieges, combats, conflagrations, and rapine all over the land; and at last the two armies drew near in the neighbourhood of Lewes, in Sussex.

§ 12. A great battle was fought on the 13th of May, the first important one between purely English parties that ever was fought in England. Other fights had been for foreign

objects, or with foreign helps. Here there were English on both sides—an unpopular king supported by the blessings of the pope and the swords of the nobles who were personally at feud with Leicester; and Leicester, supported by the goodwill both of Church and people, and the adherents of all the barons who were alarmed at the despotic power of the Crown. It is strange, in that age of priestly domination, to see the slender influence of the papal authority in the land. The barons were excommunicated, and their followers condemned as sacrilegious heretics; but the native clergy and the masses of the people took no notice of those furious denunciations. Simon was the theme of many ballads among the peasantry, and of many prayers among the priests. Great, therefore, was the rejoicing in little hamlets and snugly embowered convents when the mighty news was spread that Lewes had seen a total defeat of the royal and papal party; that by a treaty, which is called the “Mise of Lewes,” the king was a prisoner and Edward a hostage in the hands of Leicester, and at last some bounds placed by an irresistible authority to the wrongs they had suffered so long.

§ 13. Nothing, however, is so remarkable at this time as the reliance placed by Leicester on the people at large. When the queen, who had fled to the Continent, collected a fleet for the conveyance of the troops she had raised in her husband’s aid, Leicester summoned the whole array of the armed yeomen of the land, and trusted no longer to the feudal chieftainship of the lords. He embarked in a fleet himself, leaving the country to be guarded by the “archers good.” He blockaded the enemy in their harbours, and on his return took the step which altered the march of our history for all succeeding time, by introducing the principle of *representation* in the “towns, cities, and Cinque Ports,” where wealth and intelligence had so imperceptibly been accumulating. He issued writs in the king’s name to the richer of the boroughs, to “elect two good and substantial burgesses” to attend to their interests in Parliament,

and two knights at the same time were chosen for each county.

Though Leicester's primary object was probably to strengthen his party in the deliberations of the assemblage by an increase of the popular influence, as opposed to the more aristocratic leanings of the barons and great feudatories who sat in the same hall, such a mine of wealth was discovered in the votes of money which those free-handed citizens passed in support of any favourite object, that henceforth their presence in the English Parliament has never been dispensed with. We shall see what various fortunes the representation of our country passed through; but this we shall see in all the changes and chances of its career, that the power of the purse was also the power of improvement, and that the supply of the king's exchequer was always in exact proportion to the growth of the nation's rights. We have not only fought for every advance in our political condition, but paid in hard cash for every concession of the king. A nation of shopkeepers perhaps values its liberties the more that they have been secured to it by regular bargain and sale.

The first English Parliament, constituted as at present, met on the 28th of January, 1265. There were lords by writ of summons, bishops as spiritual peers, knights of the shire, and members for the boroughs; and the trials and struggles of six hundred years have done little more than expand the system, by the introduction of new constituencies, so as to widen the basis of our representative government in proportion to our population and wealth. But the future results of this great innovation were not dreamt of by the persons who introduced it. Prince Edward, whose vigorous character became developed amid the contests of a civil war, looked ill-pleased on the Parliament, and while held in what is called free custody, entered into plots to overthrow Leicester's authority. Gloucester was ready, and Clare, and a number of others who were excluded from power.

§ 14. One day in Whitsun-week Edward was out on horse-

back with some of his attendants, who acted also as his guard. He offered a prize for the swiftest horse amidst his retinue, and the course began when the high-mettled racers were on their homeward way, panting and blowing from fatigue. The prince sprang lightly to the saddle of a fresh steed, and, waving his hand in derision, galloped off to where his confederates were waiting. Leicester started up from his royal revels at Kenilworth, and once more took the field. But the tide of victory had turned, for genius had gone to the other side. The earl was not well seconded by his son, with whom he had left a large force, and Edward manœuvred so as to prevent a junction between them. By a fortunate rush he took the young De Montfort prisoner, with all his baggage and treasure. Hoisting the pennons of the captive knights, and displaying the great banner of De Montfort, he deceived the army of Leicester, and surrounded it near Evesham, on the Avon. The military eye of Leicester was not long deceived. He perceived a new hand was guiding the motions of the advancing host, and exclaimed, "The Lord have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are Prince Edward's!" Some strangely romantic incidents are recorded of the battle that ensued. Henry, the king, was mounted by the barons on a war-horse, and led into the fight. In the confusion of the charge he was overthrown, and on the eve of being killed; but lifting up the visor which concealed his features, he said, "Hold! I am Henry of Winchester." Edward was within hearing of his father's voice, and dashed forward to protect him. He conducted the old man to a place of safety, and returned to the field, where he found the most relentless slaughter carried on on both sides. Leicester made one attempt to stay the strife, and called out to the enemy, "Do you give quarter?"—"No: not to traitors like you!" was the reply; and the old warrior seeing his son slain and his friends cut down around him, put spurs to his horse, and died sword in hand in the thickest of the press. This was

the decisive battle of Evesham, which restored the king to freedom, and gave first evidence of the conduct and energy of Edward I., 4th August, 1265.

Simon de Montfort had so endeared himself to the Church and people, that they endeavoured to reward him for his patriotic endeavours by looking on him as a saint. Miracles were reported as happening at his intercession, and pilgrimages began to the field where he fell. He was popularly talked of as Simon the Righteous, and the dead earl was not unlikely to be a more formidable enemy to the king than he had ever been in his lifetime. In the next parliament accordingly his miracles were repealed by statute, and any man foolishly believing in his saintship was severely punished. But a great council, held at Kenilworth in the following year, showed a wiser spirit in other respects. It re-enacted all the great charters, secured the liberties of the Church, and limited the royal vengeance upon the persons late in rebellion to a fine, at the utmost, of seven years' rent, instead of total confiscation. This is called the *Dictum*, or *Edict of Kenilworth*, and in the course of a few months its moderation produced a peace. The last of the malcontents, who had retired to the Isle of Ely, surrendered to Prince Edward on being admitted to the privileges guaranteed by the "*Dictum*;" and after a riotous resistance, in which they plundered the Palace of Westminster, the Londoners at last submitted, and the civil war was concluded by a solemn parliament at Marlborough, where honourable terms for both parties were finally arranged.

§ 15. To show how entirely re-established was the ordinary course of law, the prince, and Edmund, his brother, with many a baron bold, yielded to the preachings of an apostolic legate in the following year, and devoted their swords to the extermination of the Moslem. There might be reasons for this resolve which did not meet the public eye. The friendship of the Church was of inestimable value to the heir of a feeble

and petulant monarch, who had alienated the affection of all orders in the State. A march to Jerusalem, with the pilgrim's cross upon his breast, might be a counter move to the ecclesiastical popularity of De Montfort. A living crusader might be more venerated by priests and people than a saint of their own making who had died fighting against his anointed king. And if this was the policy the step was successful. He reached Tunis, to which the piety of the French king, Louis IX. (justly commemorated no less in history than in hagiology as Saint Louis,) had conducted the Christian force, just in time to witness his chivalrous deeds and noble death-bed; and while all France was in mourning for the best of her kings and proudest of her nobility, Edward continued his course up the Mediterranean Sea, and let the dreadful English battle-cry be heard once more, which had terrified the Mahomedans in the days of Richard I. Henry meantime pursued his obscure career. Weak, and yet obdurate to the last, he awakened as much contempt as hatred; yet though he oppressed where he was able, and deceived wherever he could, was false to his friends and neglectful of his duties, there was the great name of the young conqueror of Nazareth and deliverer of the Holy Land to guard and aggrandize the English throne. Edward's victories in Palestine stilled many a murmur on the English shores.

§ 16. And the murmurs were deep if not loud. The land was oppressed with the expenses of useless wars waged for unnational objects, and had not even the gilding of triumph to reconcile it to its losses. Scotland irritated, Wales in nominal subjection, Ireland unremunerative, Sicily lost, and the Empire vanished—these were the results of enormous subsidies and inglorious campaigns. The prospect, therefore, of the reign of a sovereign who knew how to conquer and rule, brought comfort to all parties in the State. The nobles, the Church, and the people were combined for the first time by common interest against the exactions of the

pope and the king. Rome was enriched, by the forced tributes of the clergy, with more than the revenues of the crown, and Henry ruthlessly gleaned the few sheaves left by the rapacity of the legate. Even the nickname "Longshanks" was a sign of Edward's national favour; for it had a kind, familiar sound, which contrasted with the Norman "Courthose," or "Beauclerc" of a former time. The language had become thoroughly English in the interval, and the people looked forward to as thoroughly English a king. But when at length the dishonoured crown fell from the feeble brows of Henry, and the heralds proclaimed the accession of Edward, men were divided in their opinions as to whether he was alive or dead. Nothing had been heard of him save that a fanatical Mussulman had tried to poniard him near Acre in June, and that he had sailed in the following month for Italy. England was in this uneasy state of expectation and uncertainty when the year 1272 was drawing to a close, and preparations, in many a castle and many a strong walled borough, were doubtless made to be ready for either event.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

- 1216. Accession of Henry III.
- 1217. The Heir of France and the rebellious barons defeated; the French fleet destroyed, and the invader expelled the kingdom.
- 1221. The king's sister, Lady Joan, married to Alexander, King of Scots.
- 1223. Louis, King of France, declares war against England, and captures Rochelle.
- 1227. King Henry cancels Magna Charta and the forest charter, which raises up a conspiracy against him.
- 1229. The king's rigorous exactions from the Jews.
- 1238. Prince Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and some of the nobility, depart for the crusade (the sixth).

A.D.

- 1239. Birth of the king's eldest son, afterwards Edward I.
- 1253. Magna Charta solemnly confirmed.
- 1258. Parliament of Oxford, which is known as the Mad Parliament.
- 1262. War between the king and his barons. Montfort, Earl of Leicester, chosen general of the barons' forces. The king everywhere defeated.
- 1264. Battle of Lewes, and capture of the king.
— Earl Montfort calls a parliament at Winchester, to which knights and burgesses were first summoned.
- 1265. Earl Montfort defeated at Evesham, and slain.
- 1270. Prince Edward enters on the crusade to the Holy Land.
- 1272. Death of King Henry III.

CHAPTER V.

EDWARD I. (LONGSHANKS).

A.D. 1272 TO A.D. 1307

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Philip III. (the Hardy); Philip IV. (the Fair).

SCOTLAND.—John Baliol; Robert I. (Bruce).

POPES.—Gregory X.; Innocent V.; Adrian V.; Vicedominus; John XX.; Nicholas III.; Martin IV.; Honorius IV.; Nicholas IV.; Celestine V.; Boniface VIII.; Benedict XI.; Clement V. (at Avignon).

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- § 1. Accession of EDWARD I. Retrospect of the preceding reigns.—
 § 2. Edward's victorious tournament with the Count of Chalons at Paris.—§ 3. His invasion and conquest of Wales. Llewellyn Prince of Wales. His death.—§ 4. Edward quells his rebellious vassals of Gascony.—§ 5. Disputes in Scotland respecting the succession to the crown, and their origin. The maiden of Norway; her death. Award of Edward in favour of Baliol.—§ 6 Dissatisfaction of the Scottish lords at the abject submission of Baliol to Edward's domination.—§ 7. English possessions in France. Edward is insultingly summoned by the French monarch to answer complaints before his peers at Paris. Conquest of Scotland.—§ 8. Sir William Wallace, the hero of Scotland, raises the standard of revolt. His successful career. Appointed "Guardian of the kingdom and commander of the armies."—§ 9. Contests in France. Difficulties, foreign and domestic, by which Edward is surrounded. Taxes refused without the assent of Parliament. Peace with France.—§ 10. Edward's invasion of Scotland, and his devastating career. His contests with his peers and parliamentary representatives. Betrayal and savage execution of Wallace. His high character.—§ 11. Earl Comyn defeats the English army. Edward's expedition into Scotland, and his sanguinary career. Insurrection of Robert Bruce; he stabs Earl Comyn. Is crowned as Robert I. of Scotland.—§ 12. Edward makes immense preparations for invading Scotland. Successes of Bruce. Indignant rage of Edward. His death.

§ 1. EDWARD was thirty-three years of age, strong in body and expert in all knightly exercises, the greatest warrior of his time, and distinguished not less for political skill than military courage. After the feeble reigns of his father and

grandfather, the fiery blood of the Plantagenet seemed to run in its old channels. Richard might have been owner of his sword, and Henry II. of his strength of will. His regardlessness of life, furiousness of temper, energy of exertion, and love of power might have characterized the founder of the Norman race. Yet the position of England was so greatly changed, that the personal qualities of its ruler were not of such paramount importance as at an earlier date. It was a constitutional country, governed by certain laws, strengthened by charters, garrisoned, as it were, in the name of freedom by municipal corporations, and regulated in its expenditure and taxation by the public voice, expressed in parliament assembled. The *idea* of a limited monarchy was complete in all its parts; but unfortunately men at that time were not to be restrained by so unsubstantial a thing as an idea from stretching their authority as far as it would go; and bold and unscrupulous rulers like Edward, while acknowledging the laws and customs of the State as binding upon others, and even upon themselves, relied for a justification of their most illegal actions on the revived fiction of a dark and undefined power called the prerogative. This certainty of escape from the effects of their own concessions, was perhaps one of the reasons why they were always so ready to ratify an ancient charter, or abrogate a tyrannical enactment. The gratified parliament paid for the concession or the repeal, and the king performed the same acts again, not by any authority conveyed to him by a law, but by virtue of some inherent faculty inseparable from his office. The present maxim, that the king can do no wrong, was exactly reversed in Edward's mind, for he seems to have thought that unless he could do as much wrong as he chose he was not a king at all.

§ 2. Edward had taken so many of the wilder spirits of the time—the supporters of Leicester and lovers of war for its own sake—in his train to Palestine, that he had little cause to fear for the quiet of England in his absence after his father's

death. He took the precaution to order the mayor and aldermen of London to cast any suspicious persons within their jurisdiction into prison, and continued his stay in France, cabaling, fighting, and feasting, as the manner of those times was. He accepted a challenge from the Count of Chalons to meet him in a peaceful tournament. He attended with a thousand knights and soldiers to be witnesses of the joust. Chalons came on at the appointed hour, and when Edward perceived that he had brought twice the number of spectators of his prowess, and all armed and mounted, he suspected treason, and instantly both sides took off the blunting-guards of their spears, and proceeded to deadly combat. Chalons relying on his bodily strength, closed with the English king, and grasped him round the neck. Edward in a moment made his charger jump aside, and the encumbered count fell heavily to the ground. He offered his sword to the conqueror, and cried for quarter; but the Plantagenet signed to a common soldier to receive the sword, and thus inflicted irreparable disgrace upon the knightly name. The bloody lists were left in triumphant possession of the English, and Edward, having shown that he had not degenerated from the day of his earlier fame, returned to his expectant kingdom, and was solemnly crowned in Westminster Abbey on the 19th of August, 1274.

§ 3. Not long had he been seated on his uncontested throne before he cast his eyes to the westward, and determined on the conquest of Wales. The relations between that Principality and England up to this time had been doubtful and undefined. Foreign and even hostile as regarded the feelings of the population, it was looked on as a dependency of the English crown, by reason of the feudal homage paid by the greater number of the native chiefs. Many of the Anglo-Normans had invaded the country, and established their dominion by force of arms and the erection of strong-walled castles. They were nobles of England and great proprietors of Wales; but the peasantry, the original gentry, and here-

ditary princes were strongly national still. They spoke Welsh, and feasted their revenge with the boastful prophecies of their bards, who foretold their triumphant restoration to the old British soil. The authority, therefore, of the English settlers was limited to the small territory where their garrisons were placed. The Welsh hated them as tyrannical invaders, and they hated the Welsh as a discontented and inferior race.

Several of the native chieftains had weakened the patriotic cause by mixing themselves up in the disputes of the English factions. Llewellyn, the prince, who derived his independent authority in an unbroken line from one of the oldest ancestries in Europe, had attached himself to the party of the Earl of Leicester, and was still betrothed to his daughter, the beautiful Elinor de Montfort. In the absence of any law to enforce the obedience of the Welsh ruler, Edward had no difficulty in bringing forward a claim of paramount superiority over the whole realm of Wales; for the predecessor of Llewellyn had done homage for certain of his lands to his predecessors on the English throne, and accordingly all England was called to arms to subdue a refractory vassal, and complete the conquest which had been left imperfect, not only by William the Bastard and the Normans, but by Hengist and the Saxon bands, and by the great Romans themselves. An unconquered land, as the minstrels sang to their harps, without taking into consideration that a sterile territory with brawling streams tumbling through rocky defiles, and inhabited by a poor and half-savage people, is sometimes considered not worth the trouble of conquering. But Wales was now discovered to have rich valleys enclosed between its sheltering hills, and colonies of Flemings and other foreigners who turned the rough wool of the country into valuable exports; and streams which watered large levels of grassy soil, and harbours which led by the easiest course to the new dependency of Ireland, and gave the command of the western

sea. These were excellent reasons in the eyes of Edward for pushing his refractory vassal into rebellion, in order to gain the legal forfeiture of his land.

Llewellyn sent to France for his affianced bride, and she embarked with her brother Almeric for the port of Bristol. But a fiercer wooer encountered her in the Channel. An English ship took the hapless children of the great De Montfort prisoners; and although Llewellyn offered a ransom, and public feeling was outraged by this unchivalrous treatment of an unoffending maiden, the politic king was inexorable; and while the Welsh prince was inconsolable for his loss, poured his forces into the disputed country. By the co-operation of a fleet which cut off supplies, and the treachery of rival chiefs, including Prince David, the brother of Llewellyn, he succeeded in forcing the unprepared Welshman to a surrender on terms which stripped him of all his possessions except the Isle of Anglesey, and gave to his impoverished arms the bride whom he had wooed and won in the happier days of his almost regal rule.

These things were not forgotten on either side. The fiery genius of the Welsh burst forth in prophecy and song. Llewellyn and his brother became reconciled by a community of degradation. Anglo-Normans sneered at their language and manners, and even their dress, and the sword was drawn with a determination on both sides to put an end for ever to the contest between the races. But what could courage and patriotism do against suits of strong armour and thousands of mounted men? The quick mountaineers made forays hither and thither; castles were surprised by the rapidity of attack, and proud barons, who had never coalesced with their tenants or neighbours, were driven across the marches; but the mighty torrent of disciplined and exasperated soldiers still poured on. Edward, in spite of the often confirmed charters and his professions of moderation, imposed a forced loan upon Church and State, and marched at the head of all his lords

and vassals. Great roads were thrown open in the woods as far up as Snowdon; and to meet the guerilla warfare of the natives, levies were brought over from Gascony, where the hills were as steep and the torrents as rapid as in the wilds of Aberfrau. Mailed warriors to ride down a regular force, and men of the Pyrenees to watch the light-footed bands of the scattered partisans, made both species of resistance hopeless to the weaker power. Temporary success,—such as that achieved at the Menai Strait, where the advancing tide unexpectedly overwhelmed many knights and gentlemen, while the Welsh prevented their escape by guarding the outlets on either side; or that other greater triumph where Edward himself was forced to fly for safety to one of his castles,—these and several other incidents of the same kind had no effect on the inevitable result of the war. Llewellyn, the brave and injured prince, was seized by surprise, if not by treachery, on the banks of the Wye. His head was barbarously cut off, and sent to Edward, and Edward sent it on to London, to be crowned in derision with a willow crown, and hung up on the walls of the Tower.

David also, who had redeemed his first apostasy by patriotic courage worthy of his place and lineage, was betrayed by some of his countrymen, and carried, to gloat the king's eyes with the spectacle of his miseries, to Shrewsbury. The Welsh prince was condemned as a traitor to the English king—the Welsh warrior as a murderer, inasmuch as he had put certain knights to death in the storming of Hawarden Castle; and for these high crimes and misdemeanours he was dragged by a horse to the place of execution, hanged and disembowelled, and his limbs sent to be hung up in different parts of the country; and this henceforth was considered the mode of death incurred by the crime of treason—a mode, with all its atrocities and shameless cruelties, which has only been repealed in our own time.

The report propagated by the vengeful malice of the con-

quered race, that Edward murdered all their bards in cold blood, is not now credited. That he was anxious to spare their lives we need not believe, for they were an organized body, offering by their songs and poems as powerful an opposition to his plans as the swords of their countrymen; but the falsehood of the accusation is proved by the existence of innumerable writings of the bards immediately and long after the date of the supposed slaughter; and though they were of course filled with the wildest breathings of national enmity, we perceive how lucky it is for Edward's fame that the libels of his living enemies are an incontrovertible proof that he did not put them to death. It was, indeed, contrary to his policy to irritate a nation which he felt he had subdued. Being now his own, he had no farther interest in doing it harm. He tried to soothe them with the harmless joke of presenting to them his son Edward, who was born at Carnarvon, as a prince, a native of Wales, who could speak Welsh as well as any other tongue—the fact being that this premature scholar was a baby of a few weeks old. He farther tried to win over the population by the encouragement of commerce. He granted franchises to several of the towns, and, like many other tyrants we have heard of, both in public and private life, was very good-natured as long as he had everything his own way.

§ 4. Having finished the Welsh war, he went over to France, and quelled the vassals of Gascony, who had swerved from their obedience during the English troubles; and, at the end of three years, he returned once more to his island home; for a greater prize than Wales was within his reach, and his ambitious dream of converting the kingdoms of England and Scotland into one united monarchy was on the point of being realized.

§ 5. The story begins, like a romance, with the birth of a princess of Norway, of the name of Margaret, in the year 1283. For a short time no notice was taken of this unimportant event; for no national interests were apparently con-

cerned with the life or death of so obscure a child. Her mother, the Queen of Norway, was alive, and might have sons to carry on the succession; her grandfather, Alexander III. of Scotland, was alive, and only forty years of age; and his son, the prince of Scotland, was alive, and happily married to a daughter of the Earl of Flanders; so the little Margaret seemed to be doomed to a nameless fate. But in one fatal year her mother, the Queen of Norway, and her uncle, the Prince of Scotland, were carried off by death; and the bereaved grandfather, the gallant and good Alexander, called a meeting of the States, and settled the crown on the orphan princess beyond the sea, who was now the sole representative of his house. The assembly was held in Scone, and all the lords, and bishops, and freeholders of the kingdom swore fidelity and allegiance to the maiden of Norway, failing the king and his issue male. While this obligation was merely contingent, the peace of the country was not disturbed. A farther guarantee of repose was given by the marriage of the king himself in the succeeding year (1285), and Scotland was never more prosperous and secure. All of a sudden this quiet was overthrown, and the maiden of Norway became the most prominent personage of the time. Alexander mistook his way in the dark on the coast of Fifeshire, and leapt his horse over a precipice on to the shore, and was killed (1286).

The nobles were now astonished at the deed they had done in accepting the succession of a female. Such a thing had never occurred before in that wild land of strong passions and furious chiefs. Even in England, which was more under the dominion of settled law, it had been found impossible to unite the banners of so many mailed warriors under the leadership of the Empress Matilda; and if there had been in Scotland a Stephen, and only one—a man full grown, and related, however distantly, to the crown,—the same thing would have occurred as at the death of Henry I. Matters, indeed, were far

more distasteful in this case than in the other ; for the female was an infant and a foreigner ; she had no near relative to take her part, her next of kin being in fact the dark impersonation of selfishness and ambition who sat on the English throne. The grandmother of the hapless heiress had been Margaret of England, the daughter of Henry III. and sister of Edward. Eric, the Norwegian father, and Edward, the English uncle, came to an arrangement about the disposal of the child. She was to be sent either to Scotland, if it was quiet enough to ensure her safety, or to England, till that state of affairs took place. Nothing was said, in the treaty between the kings, about the marriage of an infant of six years old ; but by way of being ready for anything that might occur, Edward had privately procured a dispensation from the Pope enabling his son Edward to marry his cousin, the maiden of Norway, with a kingdom for her dower.

Next year, accordingly, he came forward authoritatively and claimed the young queen's hand for the Prince of Wales. A marriage treaty was concluded at Salisbury between Eric and Edward, in which Scotland was recognised as " free, absolute, and independent," and the factions which already were rife in the land were stilled for a time in expectation of the royal bride. She was to leave Norway as soon as the marriage contract was signed ; but the fatality which pursued the line of William the Lion continued still. The maiden of Norway landed on one of the Orkney islands, and died from the fatigues of the voyage ; and when this was noised abroad, there was no further restraint on the bitterness of party strife. A race of meanness and subserviency was run by the chief competitors for the crown. Baliol, Bruce, and Hastings—all three Normans in descent, and liegemen of the English king—placed everything in his hands. His first proceeding was to lead a great army to the Tweed to make his judgment respected, whatever it might be. His next was to extort a letter from all the contending lords, acknowledging his feudal

supremacy over the whole of Scotland, to give a colour of right to his award as "Lord Paramount arranging the quarrels of his vassals." After these preliminaries he appointed a commission of inquiry, which decided in favour of John Baliol; and on the 30th November, 1292, the English monarch sentenced the successful candidate to sit on the degraded throne.

When we perceive how nearly the union of Great Britain was effected by the projected marriage of the maiden of Norway, it is impossible to prevent a feeling of regret that the two countries were not spared the three hundred years of enmity and suffering which elapsed till the junction was effected. We are told, indeed, by way of consolation for the griefs and hatreds of so many generations, that the strife was productive of great virtues upon either side, and that even the animosity gave rise to a strongly-defined feeling of nationality which has strengthened the character of both the peoples.

Another advantage of the continued separation is ingeniously found by some people in the respect with which the reconciled antagonists entered upon the alliance from which such happy effects have flowed. The struggle, they tell us, is transferred to other fields, but carried on with the same defined nationality as the Bannockburns and Floddens of a former time. The authors, thinkers, discoverers of the one nation maintain a glorious combat with the intellectual champions of the other. And if to this strongly-marked separation we are indeed indebted for the unmatched national portraiture of Scott, and the equally unmatched songs of Burns—if the long agony from Edward to James left at last two generous rivals, and not on one side a triumphant mistress and on the other a discontented subordinate—we may see another proof of how apparent evils turn out, in wiser guidance than ours, to the permanent benefit of the parties concerned. Yet it is sad to go back from the contemplation of our existing condition to the dark fields of blood and

treachery which are spread out before us in the dismal period it is now our duty to describe.

§ 6. A series of insults inflicted on the patient spirit of Baliol awakened the indignation of the Scottish peers. They saw their king summoned to defend his conduct at Westminster as if he had been a common holder under the crown; they saw also that the supposed offences of the phantom monarch were visited in a very substantial manner by the seizure of great estates and strong castles which did not belong to the crown: so that Edward was always sure to be right. If Baliol obeyed, he acted as his lieutenant; if he resisted, he seized the property of somebody else. But when the castles and towns of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh were claimed by the English king for some defalcation of their nominal ruler, the lords and gentlemen of Scotland would submit no longer. They appointed a council of earls, bishops, and barons to manage public affairs, and commenced the alliance with France, which, through all the alternations of Scottish fortunes during the separate existence of the kingdoms, was looked on as the only protection by the country against the overwhelming forces of its southern neighbour. But the politic attempt to maintain their independence by treaties which readjusted the balance of power, was a great improvement on the former rude violence of the Scottish leaders. It brought them into civilizing contact with nations more polished than themselves, and from this period we must date the practice which lasted all through the English wars with France, of never allowing Scotland to continue neutral when the two larger countries were engaged. In this way the weaker State, though unequal to conquer, or perhaps, unassisted, to resist either of the others, was constituted a sort of umpire between them. If England secured for awhile the quiescence of her neighbour, she triumphed over her foreign foe. If France re-awakened the hatred of England on the north of the Tweed, the English were distracted from the prosecution of the continental war.

§ 7. The possessions of the English crown in France were now limited to Aquitaine and Guienne. Normandy and the other States derived from descent or conquest had been formally ceded to the native suzerain, and Edward was too busy with Wales and Scotland to make any efforts to regain his old inheritance. But Philip the Fair, the French monarch, was a full match for Edward in policy and war. Whatever insult he saw the Plantagenet heap on Baliol, he tried to retort on the presumptuous king, who, though wearing the English crown, was still but a vassal of France. He summoned him to answer complaints before his peers in Paris, as the Scottish liegeman had been summoned to London; and so delighted were the Scottish council with this conduct, that the preamble of the act of alliance contains a statement, "that the Scottish king is grievously offended at the *undutiful* behaviour of Edward to the King of France;" and the war was begun by an incursion of forty thousand men into the county of Cumberland. But the sword of Evesham and Nazareth had not lost its edge. Edward came down upon the invaders with a great array, and ere they could recover from a repulse at Carlisle drove a great body of them into Berwick, and besieged them by sea and land. When the assault at last was given, Edward was the first to leap the ditch, and led the angry lines. Nothing was spared. For two days the fury of the conquerors raged against the town; and when quiet was at last restored, it was found to be produced by the entire destruction of every inhabitant. Pouring his forces across the stream, he besieged and took Dunbar. Roxburgh, Dumbarton, and Jedburgh received English garrisons; and, last scene of all, which might naturally be supposed to end this strange eventful history, John Baliol appeared before the Bishop of Durham in penitential garb, with a white rod in his hand, confessed his faults towards his great lord and master, Edward, and laid the homage of the kingdom, lords, and people at his royal feet. No one raised a voice against this deed. Edward sent off to England the

sacred stone on which the Scottish kings had been crowned from time immemorial, in token that the Scottish royalty had been overthrown, regulated the offices of the kingdom, as if he had been the hereditary and settled heir, and showed the only symptom of insecurity by placing English officers in command of all the castles in the south.

§ 8. Sir William Wallace came forth from the obscurity of his simple station, and raised the standard of revolt. Many of the nobles were at first attracted to the cause, and, among others, young Robert Bruce, the grandson of the original competitor for the crown, hearing of the heroic gathering under the "Knight of Elderslie," dashed off from the very shrine of à Becket, at which Edward had forced him to swear to be his faithful liegeman, and praying heaven to pardon his perjury, presented himself among the Scottish levies, and raised the national hopes to the highest pitch.

Wallace, however, was but a commoner, of no great family, and had nothing to recommend him to the plumed aristocracy but the greatest genius which had hitherto appeared in Scottish war, the noblest heart that ever beat in a patriotic bosom, a courage that "no cold medium knew," and a sword which never met its equal. The Scoto-Norman chivalry declined the leadership of a Rensfrewshire laird's second son, and preferred the mastership of the descendant of so many kings. Edward again received the slavish submission of the nobles and prelates of Scotland. Even Bruce repented for awhile of his ill-judged disobedience, and nobody was left to resist the united forces of the English king and the Scottish peerage but William Wallace and the Scottish people. Crossing the Forth, the liberators took Brechin, Forfar, and Montrose. While engaged in besieging Dundee, Wallace heard that a great English army was advancing upon Stirling. Hurrying along the winding shore of the most beautiful of Scottish rivers, he arrived in time to inflict a deadly blow upon the enemy while they were confusedly marching over the bridge.

Cressingham, the English treasurer, was killed. Surrey—a name to be often repeated in these early wars—fled without drawing bit to Berwick. The flames of rejoicing burst out on every hill-top, and before the shouts of the victory had well died away, all Scotland was up in arms. Edinburgh and the other great fortresses of the Lowlands surrendered to the national summons. England itself was not safe; for the victorious band penetrated across the Tweed, and only retired when their provisions failed. Wallace was appointed “Guardian of the Kingdom and Commander of its Armies” in a solemn gathering at Forest Kirk, in Selkirkshire. And though in this document occurred the phrase that those offices were held in the name and for the interest of King John, all men felt that an effective leader was at last found, and that the independence of the whole land was secured.

§ 9. Edward heard of this position of affairs in Scotland when he was resting from the fatigues of a disastrous campaign against Philip the Fair in Flanders. The policy which made Scotland a thorn in the side of England was counter-balanced at this time by stirring up the enmity of the Low Countries to France. Guy of Flanders had a fair and marriageable daughter, who was a prize for kings. Edward and Philip accordingly entered into competition. Edward offered the Prince of Wales, but Philip seized the Count and Countess by treachery, and locked them up in the Louvre. This new method of wooing an heiress by the imprisonment of the parents was successful. To gain their own liberty they surrendered the coveted maiden into the charge of their feudal chief, and Edward took the field to recover his son's bride, and revenge the insult thrown on his good friend Guy. But misfortunes came upon him, not in single file, but in battalions. First, his fleet, composed of contingents from different ports, quarrelled at the mouth of the Damme, and Yarmouth fought against Deal and Dover as if they had been national foes. Next, the army was almost as tumultuous

and disunited as the fleet. English and Flemings quarrelled over the booty of Bruges before the assault began, and killed each other for the imaginary wealth which they never saw. Chafed, humiliated, and discomfited, Edward took the remains of his undisciplined forces into Ghent for the winter, and there heard of what had been going on at Stirling; that Scotland was lost, and Wallace at the head of a united and indomitable people.

Money at that time, as ever since, was the main sinew of war. Edward sent over an order for a tax to be collected without delay, and appointed his officers to receive the proceeds. It was something like the fight for the booty of Bruges, for no tax was gathered. Hereford and Norfolk—the Constable and Marshal of the kingdom—issued orders, in the name of the nobles of England, that no man was to pay a contribution which had not been assessed by the Parliament. France was gathering another army. Flanders was disheartened and disaffected: Scotland was bristling with spears; Edward's weakness was England's opportunity; and there appeared a deputation at this time carrying over a deed all properly engrossed, containing an act of confirmation, not only of the two great charters (Magna Charta and the Charter of Forests), but of the still more important statute which declared that henceforth "no tallage or aid should be levied without the assent of the peers spiritual and temporal, and the knights, burgesses, and other freemen in parliament assembled." This, which is called the statute "De Tallagio non concedendo," is considered a still higher landmark of English freedom than any of the charters, as it expressly conveyed away from the crown the power of raising the supplies. Edward felt the effect of the act at the very moment of affixing his signature; but he relied on the friendship of the pope to release him from his obligation—on the fickleness of the English mind, which might be turned away from so harsh a proceeding—on the still immense extent of his feudal pri-

vileges; and, lastly (as proved true), that the "Confirmation" itself might be repealed when Parliament was in better humour. But the signature was formally affixed at Ghent; the usual price was paid for it, in the shape of a large subsidy; he patched up a truce with Philip; and the face of affairs in Scotland immediately changed.

§ 10. With a great force of mailed knights and bowmen trained in the Low Country wars, Edward came on like a devouring fire, and devastated the whole country, which he (as if in mockery) called his own. In a great battle at Falkirk the loose levies of the Scots were scattered in irretrievable disorder. Wallace was deserted by all who despaired of the cause of freedom; and the English king, no longer dispirited as he had been at Ghent, appeared at Westminster, prepared to use his fame and increased dominion as a shield against the claims of his exacting parliament. But Humphrey de Bohun of Hereford, and Roger Bigod of Norfolk, were at their posts as before, and insisted on a personal ratification of the non-concedendo statute. Edward declined, under various pretexts; and when the other peers and prelates joined in the request, he privately slipped out of London, on pretence of its air not agreeing with his health. When he was driven at last to extremity by the perseverance of the lords and representatives, he granted the ratification they required, but added a clause reserving "the right of his crown," which did away with the whole efficacy of the act. By a kind of appeal which was not uncommon, he carried the disputed question before a great meeting of the citizens of London. While the early clauses were read, the shouts of applause were only mingled with exclamations of thankfulness for his royal bounty; but when the last sentence was uttered, and the worthy townsmen saw they had been deceived, there were unmistakeable symptoms of a dangerous commotion. London in rebellion would be almost worse than parliament in bad humour, and seeing no further refuge either in subterfuge or

refusals, he went in solemn state to a new parliament which met at Easter, and omitting the last proviso gave his royal assent in all the forms; and the liberties of the country had one barrier more.

Wallace of Scotland could no longer resist; he would not, however, submit. Sinking from the leader of a nation into a captain of partisans, he kept alive the courage of the common people, and fell into the hands of his enemies only by treachery at last. Edward, with savage exultation, had him executed in Smithfield as a traitor (though the intrepid prisoner protested against the name, as never having been a subject), and fixed his limbs on the gates of four cities, to be a warning to all his foes. Yet impartial history has consecrated the name of Wallace as one of the greatest of heroes, and, in spite of harshnesses and occasional cruelties which were inseparable from the spirit of the time, as one of the purest and best of men. Little does it become either England or Scotland to talk lightly of the merits of the Knight of Elderslie. The sound of his name inspired the smaller country with a military ardour and generous disdain of slavery, which gave her a glory altogether incommensurate with her extent or riches, and his activity and soldierly skill, by opposing a bulwark to the ambitious designs of Edward, prevented the growth of a monarchical power which would have overwhelmed both the nations. It was a strange condition of affairs when the English monarch gave freedom to England as the price of being enabled to enslave her neighbour, and when the example of the southern parliament, in doling out the supplies for their subjugation, gave a lesson in constitutional government to the emancipated Scots.

§ 11. Earl Comyn had been appointed governor on the resignation of William, after the battle of Falkirk, in 1299. The name of Bruce was added to the commission of regency by the love of the Scottish people, but the bearer of it was at the court of Edward doing homage for his lands in Annandale,

and comporting himself in all things as an obedient subject of the English crown. Comyn fought one great fight at Rosslyn (1303), and defeated the English army. Stirling Castle was retaken from the English garrison, and another of the moves took place upon the chess-board of national interests which seemed to have no connexion with the immediate game. For the success of Scotland had an immense effect in Flanders. "Let me punish those Flemings, your allies," said Philip, "and I will leave you to exterminate my allies, the Scots." The Flemings had defeated the chivalry of France, at Courtrai, as Comyn had defeated the southern chiefs at Rosslyn. The bargain was agreed to at once; Edward deserted the men of Ghent and Bruges, and Philip deserted the men of Roxburgh and Caerlaverock. Gascony was restored to the English king, and the Pope of Rome was handed over to the tender mercies of Philip the Fair. The pontiff had offended Edward by the claim he advanced to the actual possession of Scotland, as a fief of the Holy See, and had equally offended the Frenchman by his arrogant claims of subsidies from France. No terms were kept with either Pope, or Fleming, or Scot. The poor old Boniface was seized at Anagni by the French Guards, and struck on the face by a degenerate Roman of the name of Colonna. The mob of Flemings were pitilessly ridden down by all the knights and nobles whom the slaughter of Courtrai had spared; and Edward dashed once more with disembarrassed hands across the border, and published his fatherly regard for the land he claimed by the light of its burning towns. Comyn found resistance hopeless, and even submission of no avail. The deluge of wrath went on, and English counsellors were summoned to meet at Westminster, and settle the government of Scotland, as if it were a new province annexed to the crown.

Robert Bruce, Lord of Carrick and Earl of Annandale, secretly brooded over the downfall of his country and his hopes of a royal throne. Comyn was son-in-law of Baliol,

and inherited his claims, so that there could be no co-operation between them, but Edward played upon them both. He loaded Bruce with favours, but watched his every movement with the utmost care. When Wallace had been half a year dead, and Scotland seemed helpless under the heel of the English usurpation, letters from Bruce's enemies were secretly conveyed to Edward, endeavouring to procure his ruin. Bruce was not left without notice of these machinations. The Earl of Gloucester, the husband of Edward's daughter, sent him a purse of money and a pair of spurs, on pretence that he had borrowed them from him some time before. Bruce looked at the gifts of his friend, and made out their meaning at once. He mounted his horse, and when he reached a smith's workshop on the road, took the precaution of having the shoes turned the wrong way, so as to leave a misleading mark in the snow, and finally arrived at his Castle of Lochmaben, and invited Comyn to an interview in the Minorite Church at Dumfries. They met; but no unanimity could be expected between rivals for a throne, even though all hope of a throne for either of them had utterly disappeared. They broke out into violent altercation, and in front of the high altar Bruce drew his dagger and stabbed his enemy. Hurrying pale and breathless out of the desecrated building, Kirkpatrick of Closeburn and Lindsay of Crawford were struck with his appearance, and asked the cause. "I doubt I have slain Comyn," he replied. "Doubt!" said Kirkpatrick, "I'll make sicker" (sure); and rushing up the aisle, passed his sword through the inanimate body of the Guardian, which still lay at the foot of the altar steps. Little horror seems to have been excited either among laymen or clergy by this most cruel and sacrilegious act. Bruce summoned his friends—bishops and abbots came among the rest—and ere Comyn was cold in his grave, his murderer passed in all haste to Scone, was crowned under the old roof which had witnessed the consecration of so many kings, and threw down the gaunt-

let to Edward of England in the name, no longer of Bruce of Carrick and Annandale, but as Robert I. of Scotland.

§ 12. The great conqueror was perhaps not displeased that the long struggle was now placed on an arbitrament that was sure to be final. He summoned the whole nobility of England to meet him in London, feasted them in the Temple Gardens, and having knighted his son, Prince Edward, and upwards of two hundred of his youthful companions, vowed his vow upon the peacock (the most solemn of knightly oaths), that he would avenge the death of Comyn, and sent the new chevaliers forth to flesh their maiden swords upon the friends and supporters of the recreant Bruce. He made them promise that if he died before the campaign began they would carry his body into the field against his enemies. The groans of his slaughtered foes, he fancied, would "soothe the dull cold ear of death;" and by slow stages, weak in person, yet breathing immortal hate, he pursued his journey in a litter. His approach was sufficient to set his partisans on fire. Thousands gathered from all quarters, and Bruce was taught, in the school of adversity, how "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." He was routed at Methuen, and fled into the fastnesses of the North. His wife and daughter were seized, and sent prisoners to England. Three mounted warriors clad in burnished arms had been taken prisoners at the fatal fight, and it was only on stripping their mail that the stalwart soldiers were found to be the Bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrew's, and the Abbot of Scone. Their shaved crowns compensated for their steel helmets, and their lives were spared. All hearts, however, were moved with compassion when the young and gallant Nigel Bruce, the brother of the king, was dragged from his castle of Kildrummie, and hanged at Berwick. The gallows was busy with the young and noble all over the land. Edward waited in greedy impatience at Carlisle for the news of what was going on. He heard of success after success, and yet there was no symptom of sub-

mission. Bruce appeared at short intervals from his different hiding-places, and kept the national cause alive. His brothers, Thomas and Alexander, were brought prisoners into the presence of the harsh old king, at Carlisle, and he ordered them to the fatal tree. Rage increased as his bodily powers decayed, and he was stung into positive madness by the report of a great victory obtained by Bruce over his lieutenant, the Earl of Pembroke, at Loudon-hill. Forcing himself from his sick bed, he appeared in the saddle once more. With his horse's head to the north, he moved onwards as fast as his failing strength allowed, and at last, with his eyes fixed on the doomed coast, and the same indomitable anger in his heart as ever, he died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, a small fishing village, six miles from Carlisle, and left the completion of his vengeance to his son.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

- 1272. Accession of Edward I.
- 1274. King Edward's arrival in England on his return from the Crusades.
- 1282. Conquest of Wales, and the death of Prince Llewellyn.
- 1284. Edward II. born at Carnarvon, and styled Prince of Wales.
- Death of Roger Bacon, the great philosopher.
- 1286-9. The Jews are all seized, and large sums of money extorted from them; finally banished the kingdom, to the number of 15,000.
- 1291. Fierce disputes in Scotland respecting the succession to the crown between Bruce and Baliol. The settlement of the question referred to King Edward.
- 1292. Edward declares John Baliol King of Scotland.
- 1295. France and Scotland at war with England.
- 1296. Edward defeats the Scots, takes

A.D.

- possession of Edinburgh, and brings the King of Scots prisoner to London.
- 1297. It was enacted that no tax should be levied without the consent of the knights, citizens, and burgesses assembled in parliament.
- 1299. An insurrection in Scotland under Wallace. The king obtains a victory at Falkirk, when 40,000 Scots were killed on the spot.
- 1305. Sir William Wallace, the principal promoter of the Scottish insurrection, tried by the laws of England, and executed as a traitor.
- 1306. The Scots again rebel, and crown Robert Bruce King of Scotland.
- 1307. Edward assembles a vast army at Carlisle, with the intent of destroying the Scotch kingdom.
- Death of Edward I.

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD THE SECOND.

A.D. 1307 TO A.D. 1327.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Philip IV. (the Fair); Louis X. (Hutin); John I.; Philip V. (the Long); Charles IV. (the Fair).

SCOTLAND.—Robert I. (Bruce).

POPES.—Clement V. (at Avignon); John XXI.

§ 1. Accession of EDWARD II. His despicable character. Dissatisfaction of his nobles. Banishment of Piers Gaveston. His execution.—§ 2. Renewal of the war with Scotland. Energy and activity of Bruce. Edward's extensive preparations. Signal defeat of the English at Bannockburn.—§ 3. Independence of Scotland. The Scotch pass over into Ireland, and ravage the northern borders of England.—§ 4. The two Spensers, favourites of the king. Their banishment.—§ 5. Edward's cruelties and arbitrary executions. The Spensers recalled. Savage execution of the Earl of Lancaster. His character.—§ 6. National indignation against Edward. His treatment of the queen; her hatred of him, and her attachment to Mortimer. Rebellion of the nobles. Flight of the king.—§ 7. Execution of the Spensers. Deposition of Edward, and his imprisonment at Kenilworth. The nobles renounce all fealty, and his son Edward III. is crowned. His cruel death.

§ 1. EDWARD OF CARNARVON began his reign with every prospect of prosperity. He was three-and-twenty years of age, had distinguished himself by personal courage in the Scottish wars, and married, a short time after his father's death, the princess of the highest birth in Europe, the most beautiful also, according to the descriptions of her admirers, the famous Isabella of France, the daughter of Philip the Fair. But the queen was coldly received, and despised and hated a husband whose baseness she soon discovered. Not

less embittered against him were the knights and nobles, who remembered the rough simplicity and hard fare of the soldiering. There were none but mimics, buffoons, and still more disreputable characters admitted to the Court. In a fury of wrath, the stout old warriors, Warwick, and Surrey, and Pembroke, insisted on the banishment of the most loathed of the foreign parasites to whom Edward was attached. This was Piers Gaveston, a young knight of Gascony, at whose name all honest ears were offended. The king consented to his banishment, but made him his regal representative in Ireland. Again and again the favourite was exiled, and the king recalled him. At last, when the national patience was exhausted, the wretched sycophant was led from Warwick Castle to Blacklow-hill, a small rock nearly opposite Guy's Cliff, on the road to Kenilworth, and executed there in presence of the scowling array of his enemies, Thomas of Lancaster, and Hereford, and Arundel, and the rest. The chroniclers tell us that the saucy wit of the infamous adventurer had not spared the highest English names. Most of the leaders were indebted to him for nicknames which were far from complimentary, such as "The Old Hog," "The Black Dog," "Joseph the Jew," or "The Stage Player." This was in 1312, and the nation knew what it had to expect.

§ 2. First it had to expect an outburst of passionate grief, and then a sullen gathering up of malice till the hour of revenge should come; and it prepared for both. The nobles overawed him in the field, though no actual conflict took place, and at the end of six months came to terms of accommodation—pardon for their deed at Blacklow-hill, and assistance to the king in the Scottish war. For all this time the Scottish war had never entirely died out. Bruce had become a foremost pupil in that noble school of adversity and personal endeavour by which character is formed and strengthened. He had seen the lowest point of his fortunes, just before the

death of Edward, and step by step rose, after that event, till foreign princes recognised him as king ; and even the pope interfered to procure an armistice between the nations. When we remember how dear the castle was to the knightly bosom, and what ideas of grandeur and security were conveyed by the possession of keep and tower, we shall look with more admiration on the policy which led Robert Bruce to destroy those monuments of feudal power the moment they fell into his hands. The English established themselves in the strongholds of the Douglasses, Comyns, Morays, and other chiefs ; and when the advancing army of the king expelled the interlopers from those positions, the pitiless order went forth, and wall and turret were levelled with the ground. Without those points of defence an invader in Scotland had but a poor chance. Every hill was a vantage ground for attack ; towns and villages were of wood and thatch, and were as easily burnt as they could be erected again when the enemy retired. There were no solid buildings in which to store away corn and meat ; and one by one, in the midst of battles, fire, and starvation, the fortresses of Scotland were recovered and destroyed. In a growing inundation the maddened population poured onward even to the English borders, and burst at last into the bishopric of Durham. Edward took the field, and crossed the Tweed ; but the castles were demolished, the hamlets burnt, the farms desolate. Bruce was far in the north gathering new levies, or reducing the disaffected districts of Argyle ; and the English army retired without striking a blow. Bruce increased in audacity as Edward sank in reputation. He fitted out an expedition, and conquered the Isle of Man ; Edinburgh was retaken by surprise, and Linlithgow by the old stratagem of introducing armed men concealed under a load of hay. Merciless slaughter followed the capture of any fortified place. Chivalry was profuse in its demonstrations of respect to knights and earls, but knew no pity for the ordinary soldiers of a garrison.

The only place of importance now held by the English was Stirling Castle. We can form no estimate of the appearance of the country at that time from the view we have of it at the present day. We only know that the great natural features must continue the same:—The grand precipitous rock rising from the level through which the Forth pursues its windings; the noble background of the highland hills; and the graceful outline of the Ochil range upon the north. We know that the hand of man has altered nearly every other component of the scene. The river which now pours its chastened waters between banks of pasture, spread in lawless freedom over all the plain. There must have been an inland sea for many miles on each side of the present channel, and swampy morasses must have emerged at times in the hot summer where the rich acres of the carse of Falkirk now gladden the eyes of the agriculturist. Thomas de Mowbray, the English governor, saw the whole of the practicable ground below him possessed by his Scottish foes. Bruce had seized all the towns and villages within sight of the Abbey Craig; and late in 1313 an agreement was entered into that if the citadel was not relieved by the 24th of June the garrison would yield the place.

The relief was only a tournament on the grandest scale. The spears were to have sharp points, and two nations were to be spectators of the lists. Bruce, though enraged at the treaty which had been entered into by his brother Edward, kept it to the letter. Stirling was left unmolested, and men were summoned from all parts of the land to resist the English army. Edward himself was stirred into exertion by the greatness of the occasion. A hundred thousand men soon waited his command at Berwick; and placing himself at their head on the 11th of June, he kept close to the sea, from which he received supplies carried by his fleet; and following in the same manner the course of the Forth, was seen by the garrison and the besieging army at the same time, as the sun

shone down upon the steel cuirasses of his vanguard of armed cavaliers, who formed the select portion of his cavalry, amounting to forty thousand men. To meet this prodigious array, Robert Bruce had forty thousand soldiers, all on foot, but they were inured to war, and had fought in all parts of the island, from Hexham to Aberdeen. They had the advantage, also, of position—in the absence of cannon, which would now sweep the plain from the castle wall—for they occupied a narrow passage between a marsh and the brook or burn of Bannock. On the most exposed of their flanks they dug concealed pits for the reception of the hostile cavalry, and having made all their dispositions on the day for the appointed combat, the 24th of June, they waited the enemy's attack. The incidents of this great battle are well known:—Robert Bruce, on a small hackney, was assaulted while marshalling his lines by a fierce young cavalier, Henry de Bohun, and, in spite of the inequality of horse and weapon, slew him in sight of both armies.

This was considered an omen on both sides, and the Scots fought with the assurance of success. The English became confused by the unmanageableness of so great a number. The nature of the ground prevented more than half of them from being engaged, and the archers who pointed their arrows from a distance were thrown into inextricable disorder by a sudden charge under Sir Robert Keith. Yet the comparative smallness of the opposing force gave the English courage to persevere; till suddenly a new army presented itself crowning the summit of a distant hill, and a panic seized the assailants. The army consisted, we are told, only of the sutlers of the camp and the old women of the district, in their red cloaks; but they were as effective as if they had been armed men. When the lines were once broken, retreat became a rout. Thousands were drowned in trying to cross the river. Thousands more were slaughtered by the axe of the pursuers. Two hundred knights, seven hundred esquires, and twenty-seven

barons were slain. The more merciful of the combatants were enriched with the payments of the knights and gentlemen they admitted to ransom. While this great struggle was still going on, the English king was led out of the confusion by the brave D'Argentine. "Come with me," said Edward to the knight who held his bridle rein. But D'Argentine was not of such yielding stuff. He bowed for the last time to the son of his old master, and shouting the war-cry of his family, rushed back into the thick of battle, and died. Edward plied whip and spur till he reached the safety of Berwick; and the uneasy lawlessness and savage isolation which bear in history the name of Scottish independence began.

§ 3. The Scots, indeed, by this time were a nation of fighting men. So many years had been spent in preparing to resist their invaders, and in living at free quarters on the possessions of their foes, that they found it impossible all at once to settle down to the spiritless pursuits of agriculture or trade. Edward Bruce led a body of them to Ireland, and found no opposition wherever he appeared. The spears that had pierced the English lines at Bannockburn became so terrible that one of the chroniclers says, a hundred English would at any time take to flight at the sight of two or three armed Scotsmen; and, accordingly, the Irish detachment marched through the whole extent of the Green Isle from north to south, conquering in battles all the summer, and suffering in the winter from the complaint they were too well accustomed to at home—hunger and fatigue. Robert went over to join his brother, and added less to the strength of the assailants by the swords he took with him than to their distress by the additional mouths which were to be filled. However, twenty thousand famished Scotchmen forced their way to Ulster, which had already so associated itself to their cause as to have crowned Edward Bruce its king; but when Robert crossed over to Scotland, his brother tried one battle more, the nineteenth he had fought in the three years of his

occupation, and was defeated and killed near Dundalk. Nothing more was heard of the royal crown of Ulster, and the remaining Scots were glad to find their way to their own land, and carry their arms and courage to the service of their chosen king.

It was high time to leave so barren a land as Ireland, for there were forays for ever going on into the fat fields on the south of the Tweed. Randolph and Douglas, placing some oatmeal in a small bag behind the saddle of each of their troopers, had the audacity to make a dash as far as York, and narrowly missed capturing the queen. Continuing the war in the same piratical spirit which marked all their operations, they burned and devastated the Yorkshire lands, and after a fight with the rapidly raised peasantry, led on by three hundred priests of the cathedral, with surplices over their jerkins, who died, every man of them, in that strange apparel, they joyfully re-entered their own country loaded with booty, and proud of their pitiless achievements. While the reputation of this "raid" was still fresh, and also of the repulse Edward sustained from Berwick at the same time, a truce was concluded between the belligerents, in which we are surprised to see that Robert, who had been crowned at Scone, and had scornfully rejected the interference of the pope on the ground of his not giving him the royal title, was contented to put his name to the treaty as Sir Robert de Brus. He, perhaps, felt that with a lay antagonist, who had experienced the power of his arm, the knightly "sir" was a sufficient title of honour; and it assuredly carried more weight, as applied to its heroic bearer in Scotland, than the highest of earthly denominations in the person of the English Edward.

§ 4. Too weak to stand alone, and too incompetent to select an honourable support, this contemptible prince renewed the disgust the nation had felt at the favouritism of Piers Gaveston, by showing an equally undisguised attachment to a young courtier of the name of Hugh de Spenser.

All the wealth of the royal coffers flowed into this new channel. The Earldom of Glamorgan and the command of the Welsh marches were his marriage portion with the daughter of the great Earl of Gloucester, whom the king forced to become his bride. His father was enriched with vast estates, and established in great charges; and in a short time there was no avenue to promotion or favour, or even justice, except through the hated family who had so recently been the dependents, and almost the menials, of the Earl of Lancaster. That proud noble, who was a cousin of the king, could submit no longer to the insolence of the father and son, and raising as many of the peers as joined in his views, he besieged the De Spencers' castle, and had them justly (though informally) banished from the realm. This was in the August of 1321; and a story is told, in proof of the discredit into which the king's power had fallen at this time, that the queen was refused admission to the castle of Leeds in Kent, and her retinue insulted from the wall.

§ 5. Edward had no great affection for his wife, but a very lofty notion of his own dignity. He therefore gathered a few men, and seized Lord Badlesmere, the owner of the inhospitable tower, and hung him at his own gate. He availed himself of this success to put twelve knights of Lancaster's faction to death, and was farther gratified with the return of the De Spencers in October. Despair added vigour to the counsels of the king and his friends. Lancaster lost the national confidence by applying for the assistance of the Scots, for already the hatred of foreigners was a standing law of the English mind, and the people preferred losing in a quarrel among themselves to being successful with extraneous help. A battle was fought at Boroughbridge, where the Earl of Hereford was slain, and Thomas of Lancaster taken prisoner. And now came the hour of vengeance for Edward and the De Spencers. A trial was held at Pontefract, where the royal captive was of course condemned. He was condemned to the

death of a felon and a traitor. The mob were encouraged to outrage and insult him as he was carried on a barebacked pony to the place of execution; and there, along with fourteen bannerets and an equal number of knights-bachelor, he underwent the fatal sentence.

When the public recovered from its delusion, and remembered the course of this good man's life, and the attempts he had made in favour of the national liberties, it blamed itself for more than mere acquiescence in an illegal execution. It saw all his actions through the beautifying mists of regret and admiration, and considered the brave old man a saint who had only been a patriot. The common people believed that strange cures were operated at his death-place; and even Froissart, the historian of chivalry, says: "He was a wise man, and a holy; and he did afterwards many fine miracles on the spot where he was beheaded."

§ 6. We are now to see what England can do in a fit of virtuous remorse. The king, when he saw the growing indignation of the people, made peace with Scotland, acknowledging its independence; and they were offended at the pusillanimity of a man who persisted in misgoverning his own country, and did not persist in oppressing another. They were in the dangerous state of temper when nothing can soothe their wrath. They pitied the unhappy prisoners of Boroughbridge whom they had helped to take, and Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, one of the king's enemies, became a popular hero from the courage and strangeness of his escape from the Tower. He undermined walls, and climbed chimneys, and let himself down by ropes, after the most approved fashion of romance, and in a short time he was in France, leaving us only to surmise that his keepers were not very devoted to the De Spencers, and probably considered so zealous an adherent of Lancaster a fit object for the miraculous assistance of the newly-made saint. But the fiery indignation of the public burned with fiercer flame in the heart of Isabella, the injured

wife of the detested king. All the Lancastrian party found their way to Paris, and foremost among them in a short time was the still beautiful and always courageous queen, carrying with her the Prince of Wales, and proving her aversion to her husband by too great an attachment to his enemy, the young and handsome Mortimer.

Animated by these sentiments, she professed to be the mediator between the kings of France and England—being wife of one, and sister of the other. When she had obtained the necessary powers, she submitted to many things on Edward's behalf, which added to the disgust of his subjects. In fulfilment of her treaty he resigned Ponthieu and Guienne to his eldest son, who did homage for them to Philip. But, not knowing what more she might yield, he bribed the French King, the pope, and cardinals to order the return of his wife and heir. They pocketed the money, and Philip contented himself with sending them to Hainault;—a fortunate move for all concerned, for Philippa, the heiress of the land, and daughter of William of Holland, was betrothed to Edward of Wales. The death of Thomas of Lancaster was becoming rapidly avenged. There was a gathering of half the great names of England round the queen and the prince in the Low Countries. Bishops and abbots supported the same cause at home, and at last an expedition landed at Orwell, in Suffolk. It was like the march of a returning conqueror. All along the road the troops sent to oppose their progress tossed their caps in the air when they came within sight of their banners, and shouted for the prince and queen. They stopped three days in the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, and received the adhesion of numerous lords and gentlemen, and of the two brothers of the king, the Earls of Kent and Norfolk. In this extremity, the king had nowhere to look for aid. The general remorse had seized on London, and the citizens shut their gates in his face, crying, "God save the king," but adding in a louder voice, "and the queen, and the prince!"

There was nothing further to be hoped, and the dastard fled from the city he had disgraced. He clung to his favourite, young De Spenser, to the last, and embarked with him at Bristol to go to Lundy Isle, or Wales, or Ireland, or France—anywhere, out of the reach of his enemies, who were now the whole of his people. The old De Spenser, in the meantime, tried to defend himself in Bristol, but the townsmen turned their arms against him. When he was taken, the fiendish nature of an oppressed population was shown in the vengeance they took on their oppressor. They heaped every indignity on the body of their foreign tyrant, whose eighty years of life neither gave him protection against their wrath, nor had diminished his own passions of avarice and ambition. But higher objects were still before the queen and her adherents. Edward was reported to be obscurely hiding in the fastnesses of Wales. A fit pursuer was found in the person of Henry, the brother of the martyred Earl of Lancaster; and the avenger of blood was speedily on his track. Young De Spenser and Baldock, the chancellor, were delivered to their enemies by their own attendants, and Edward was now left alone.

§ 7. The queen held high festival at Hereford, and the joys of the feast of All Saints were further enhanced by the execution of the hated favourite on a gallows which, with an evident allusion to the fate of Haman, was fifty feet high. Baldock, the chancellor, was a priest, and safe from the vengeance of the civil law, but he died in prison in a suspiciously short period of time. The greatest was behind. A parliament met in January 1327, and pronounced the king's deposition. He was by this time in the hands of the new Earl of Lancaster, and in safe custody at Kenilworth. The sentence of his dismissal from the throne was received with unanimous approbation. Gentle and humble, noble and serf, were tired out with so much unmanly weakness and so base a life. A deputation of certain lords and bishops went

to him to announce what had been done. He threw himself on the ground at the feet of the prelates, and thanked them for the parliament's leniency, and their loyalty to his son. The Speaker of the Commons was the official organ of making this communication. On the conclusion of his speech, the Lord-Steward broke the white wand of his office—as is done over the graves of kings—and thenceforth Edward of Carnarvon was virtually dead. Edward III. was formally proclaimed on the 24th of January, and on the 29th was solemnly crowned at Westminster, though only in his fourteenth year.

The Castle of Berkeley, in Gloucestershire, has borne the evil fame of being the scene of the deep tragedy which followed the dethronement of the king. For five hundred years its grey walls have been pointed to as having rung with the shrieks of an agonizing king; and the neighbouring peasantry have shuddered as they fancied strange sounds of pain and lamentation were occasionally audible even now. The unhappy man was removed from Kenilworth, and immured in an underground dungeon in this feudal tower. There he was kept from sleep and food for many days, and finally put to a dreadful death, which, however, left no outward mark of violence. He was laid in state, and visited by many of the neighbouring gentry; and the dark story closes with his burial in the Abbey Church of Gloucester, 'unwept, unhonoured, and unsung,' at the age of forty-three.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1307. Accession of Edward II.	1317. The Salic law confirmed in France.
1308. Knights Templars abolished.	1322. The Earl of Lancaster defeated, and barbarously executed.
1313. The war renewed against the Scots.	1325. Free trade by treaty with France.
1314. The Grand Master executed in France.	1326. England invaded by Isabella, Queen of Edward II., and her husband deposed.
— Battle of Bannockburn, in which Bruce defeats the English army.	1327. The king imprisoned in Berkeley Castle, and cruelly murdered.
1316. A great famine and sickness in England, which lasted three years.	

CHAPTER VII.

EDWARD THE THIRD.

A.D. 1327 to A.D. 1377.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Charles IV.(the Fair); Philip VI. (of Valois); John II.; Charles V. (the Wise).

SCOTLAND.—Robert I. (Bruce); David II.; Edward Baliol; Robert II. (Stuart).

POPES.—Peter de Corbario (anti-pope); Benedict XII.; Clement VI.; Innocent VI.; Urban V. (all at Avignon); Gregory XI. (returned to Rome in 1377.)

§ 1. Accession of EDWARD III. During his minority the power of the State usurped by the queen and Mortimer. Execution of the Earl of Kent.—§ 2. Mortimer seized as a traitor, and executed.—§ 3. Ardent qualities of Edward. Characteristics of the age. Military tactics changed.—§ 4. Contests with Scotland. Edward Baliol.—§ 5. War with France.—§ 6. State of the Low Countries. Their assistance to Edward.—§ 7. The French armaments.—§ 8. The Fief of Brittany. The Low Countries, and murder of Van Arteveldt.—§ 9. Edward effects a landing at La Hogue. Battle of Crecy, in which the French are worsted. The Scots defeated by Queen Philippa at Neville's Cross, and King David taken prisoner.—§ 10. Siege of Calais. Its surrender. Generous conduct of Queen Philippa to the prisoners.—§ 11. Prosperous career of the English arms.—§ 12. A great pestilence.—§ 13. "Statute of Labourers." Salutary laws enacted.—§ 14. Position of the English in France. Victory over the French at Poitiers. The French king and his son taken prisoners.—§ 15. Courtesies paid to them.—§ 16. Treaty of Calais, and peace concluded with France. Civil war in France. Invasion of France. Peace of Bretigni.—§ 17. Charles V. of France.—§ 18. Victories over the Spaniards gained by the Black Prince.—§ 19. War with France renewed. Death of the Black Prince.—§ 20. Alice Perrers. Troubles of the king. His death.—§ 21. Reflections on the reign of Edward III. and the spirit of the age.

§ 1. A BOY of fifteen upon the throne, and all the power of the State usurped by Queen Isabella and Mortimer, were temptations too great to be resisted by Robert Bruce. He

made an inroad into England, which gave Edward the opportunity of showing his personal courage, and frightened Mortimer into agreeing to a peace. One of the articles was the marriage of the Prince of Scotland, David Bruce, then in his fifth year, with the Princess Joanna of England, then in her seventh, and about the same time Edward himself was married to Philippa of Hainault, to whom he had been several years betrothed.

Little was known yet of what mettle the young king was made—whether he was selfish and irresolute as his father, or had the fiery blood of his grandfather, Edward I. In this state of doubtfulness his mother and her lover grew regardless of appearances in all their actions. They accused the Earl of Kent, son of the conqueror of Wales and Scotland, of raising, or rather of believing, a report that his brother of Carnarvon had not been buried in Gloucester Abbey, but was alive in Corfe Castle. Letters were found from the pope, which are supposed to have been forged, encouraging this belief, and Kent was tried for treason. It was easier to pack the judgment seat than to find an executioner, and the condemned prince was kept four hours upon a scaffold at Winchester till a headsman could be found. A ruffian under sentence of death was at last discovered, who struck the earl's head off with an axe, on condition of receiving a pardon for his crimes, and people began to look to the king as their natural protector from a tyranny which soared so high.

§ 2. Edward apparently took no heed of the public indignation. He celebrated the birth of his son, afterwards so well known as the Black Prince, and held a tournament in Cheapside, where the youthful father (he was only eighteen) distinguished himself by his knightly prowess. With great appearance of cordiality he accompanied his mother and Mortimer to Nottingham, where a parliament was to be held. The castle was occupied by the royal and noble personages of the court, and if the insane ostentation of the favourite

eclipsed the state of the king, Edward felt that the body-guard of knights and yeomen with which his enemy had surrounded himself were for deeper purposes than show. They were so devoted to the interests of their employer, that no life was safe within reach of their arms; he was therefore ostensibly satisfied with everything he saw; but in the darkness of night he consulted with his friend Lord Montacute, and great things were resolved. Montacute left the castle one day, and Mortimer and the queen were displeased. Mortimer even accused the king at the council-table of having despatched him on a hostile mission, which Edward denied on the faith of knighthood, and received the short and decisive contradiction which his falsehood deserved, but which his knightly honour could not brook. The governor of Nottingham was gained over, and opened certain secret doors which communicated by subterranean passages with the open country. Edward in full armour waited at one of these portals, and admitted Montacute and the chosen men he had gone to collect. He led them up the dark stairs, and at the end of a corridor heard voices in earnest talk: it was Mortimer and his adherents, who were consulting what was to be done, for they felt there was danger coming. Edward burst in upon them sword in hand; two of the councillors were slain, and Mortimer seized with no gentle grasp. The indignation of the king was roused by the next proceeding, which was intended to awake his pity. The queen sprang from her bed, and, dishevelled as she was, clung to her son's arm, beseeching him to let her favourite go—"To spare her Mortimer, her dearest Mortimer." From that moment it was seen there was more of the first Edward than of the second in the son of Isabella. There was no relenting in those terrible eyes, and the "gentle Mortimer" was immured in a dungeon. In a few days he was summoned before a parliament at Westminster, and his acts were so notorious, and his judges so embittered, that they condemned him to death without par-

ticular inquiry into the items of his crimes. He was hanged like a common felon at the Elms at Tyburn. His guilty partner was banished to her manor-house at Risings, with a liberal jointure, and lingered twenty-seven years in obscurity and discontent. So England breathed again from the disgrace and degradation of so contemptible a rule, and Edward felt himself indeed a king.

§ 3. A king as ambitious as Alexander, as brave as a Paladin of Romance, and as politic as Guiscard; this was just the man you might expect to trample on the nation's liberties, and convert his legal throne into a despotism. But many things had occurred of late years to prevent this melancholy consummation. Altogether it was a most beneficent and progressive reign, and that by the very qualities which at first seemed so hostile to the popular cause. His ambition led him into foreign wars, which elevated the public spirit of his subjects; his bravery made him unsuspecting of the advances which were made by classes hitherto considered dangerous to the royal power, and his policy led him to see that the true strength of kingdoms lay in the attachment of the great body of the people. The system strictly called feudalism was nearly at an end; for lands were no longer held on the tenure of personal service, which had been commuted for a payment in money; but the poetry of feudalism was in full force, and gave it the external coating of grace and beauty which is known as "chivalry." This was a vain attempt to reproduce in reality the fanciful pictures which unavailing misery and regret always draw of the past. "The good old times" (which people are so much in the habit of celebrating at the present day), were represented to the subjects of Edward by the condition of their forefathers a hundred years before. All the pains and agonies of that rugged period were forgotten in the discontent excited by their existing condition. Their proverbs and songs related to a time of honesty, peace, mutual kindness, and plenty—all of which, by

implication, were nowhere to be found. So that the descriptions we read of the Golden Age in all countries and languages we must consider as satirical attacks on the time in which they appeared. So far as the theoretical "chivalry" of the fourteenth century was a protest against the brutal savagery of previous warfare, we may hail it with satisfaction; but we must deny that it ever existed as a real state of manners and sentiment. It was in reality the epitaph upon the grave of knighthood, and as true as epitaphs generally are.

Knighthood, or armed feudalism, had passed away. In 1302 a great battle had been fought in Flanders, in which thousands of steel-clad warriors had been defeated and killed by the stout burghers of Ghent and Bruges. The battle of Courtrai was the first instance of the inefficacy of armour, and of the superiority of a strong-limbed infantry to a heavy, lumbering charge of overburthened horse. A mounted cavalier had become an object of derision to a light-armed archer, or possessor of an eighteen-foot spear. The waving plume and flashing sword of the unhappy horseman wrapped up in his iron panoply, and as ungainly and awkward (though nearly as safe), as a turtle in its shell, were received with shouts of laughter by the Low Country weavers and English bowmen when he attempted to caracol upon his broken-kneed charger, enveloped from ears to tail in a coat of mail which it could scarcely carry. And when a thing becomes contemptible, it is time for it to retire. Another thing incompatible with feudalism, or even with chivalry, was the general diffusion of wealth. England had grown very rich, in spite of the troubles of the last reign. Chroniclers are lost in wonder at the fertility of soil and stored-up plenty of the northern counties. "Even an invasion of the Scots," says Froissart, "did not raise the price of wine and corn;" and to the famished inhabitants of the border, where successive destroyers had at last succeeded in converting Roxburghshire and the Lowlands as far north as Edinburgh, into a desert, the fields of Durham and

Yorkshire must have appeared like the congregated treasures of the whole earth. Kent was already famous for its freehold farms. There were market towns all over England, guarded by royal franchise, at which fairs were held, collecting chapmen from all parts of the land, and keeping up a community of national feeling. On market days also, every week, the yeomen had their meetings to buy and sell. They assembled on juries, and met at the county town at the assizes; they had the spectacle also occasionally of a great earl put to death, or the lord of half a county despoiled of his estate. They had not unfrequently a baron of high degree in the pay of the burgh they belonged to, pledged to defend its peace and privileges with sword and spear; and, on the whole, a jolly freeholder, with his holding of ten pounds a year, his horse, his lance, his buff jerkin, and quarter-staff, was not a man to be bullied or despised. He paid his taxes, and wanted to know what became of the money; and Edward III. soon established an excellent relation between himself and the English yeomen, principally by very bad means at first, but which ended in creating a national spirit from which we have incalculably benefited ever since; for it was obtained by requiring their assistance against their greedy, grasping, starving, and unpitying neighbours, the Scotch, and their boastful, outlandish, queer-tongued, foreign-looking rivals, the French. Patriotism consisted as much in hating other countries as in loving their own.

§ 4. The transactions with Scotland may be condensed into a few lines. Edward's sister was wife of David Bruce, and there was no open war between the nations. But Edward Baliol, a son of the wretched John, made claim to the Scottish crown, landed in Fife, defeated the royal army, and was crowned at Scone—all in the space of seven weeks. The Scots seemed disinclined to resist the intrusive king, who had received the underhand assistance of the English monarch, and might have submitted to a change of dynasty as preferable

to a foreign war. But in October appeared a solemn document, acknowledging the subjection of their crown to that of England, and anything was preferable to that degradation. Baliol was expelled as expeditiously as he had landed, and in the following year Edward in person took the field. The Regent Douglas was posted near the town of Berwick, and the king advanced to an eminence in the neighbourhood called Halidon Hill. Here a great battle was fought, in which the young king displayed his skill and courage; Douglas was slain, Berwick was taken. Following the tide of victory, Edward carried his arms across the Forth, and replaced the crown on the head of his dishonoured vassal at a parliament in Perth. Again the poor puppet, untaught by former experience, showed his gratitude in the wrong way. He surrendered the better part of Scotland to his feudal chief, and was immediately chased out of the land he had disgraced. With the succeeding spring (1335), the royal avenger took the field. He appears to have had no hope of any early appropriation of the ceded districts, for he ravaged them with fire and sword. From Berwick to Inverness his course was traced by misery and suffering. Baliol made the name hateful, which in his own and his father's wearing had only been despised. Foreign sympathies were enlisted on behalf of an outraged people and a disinherited king. David Bruce was at the court of France—an honoured guest, as due to his rank and misfortunes—and doubly cherished as likely to be injurious to the English monarch. Edward became aware of this feeling in his friend and suzerain, Philip, while he was establishing his liegeman, Baliol, on the Scottish throne, and returned to England to prepare for operations on a greater scale.

§ 5. The great war of a hundred years, as the French call it, was about to begin, and it was necessary to find a reason for the commencement of hostilities. It seems never very difficult to do this when people are determined to fight, and

Edward put on the airs of an injured man, and appealed to his loving subjects for redress. Philip the Fair had three sons, who all succeeded to the throne, and died without issue. He had also a grand-daughter, Joan of Navarre, and a daughter, Isabella of England. But the law of France excludes females from succession to the throne, though it admits them to the smaller fiefs. "The crown of France," it says, "is too noble a thing to be hung on a distaff;" and accordingly, on the death of Charles IV., Philip of Valois, a cousin of the king's, was acknowledged by all the States. This was in 1328—just a year after Edward's accession—and he advanced a claim through his mother, on the plea that though she could not inherit the French crown herself, she could transmit it to her son; but the public feeling in both nations was so much against this pretension, that he submitted to his fate, and did homage for Gascony and Guienne in a full court at Amiens in 1329. We have seen how he occupied himself in endeavouring to overthrow the independence of Scotland, and how France had continually thwarted him by her support of the national cause. Now we have already said that what Scotland was to England Flanders was to France. When they were not guards of the flanks of the greater nations, they were thorns in their sides. Edward therefore repaid on Flemish ground the courtesies he received from Philip in his Scottish quarrel.

§ 6. It is difficult to over-estimate the prosperity of the Low Countries at that period. Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres were the emporiums of all Europe. Their merchants were the treasurers, manufacturers, and shipowners of the time. They spread abroad in the north the rich productions of Asia which found their way to the Mediterranean by the enterprise of the Italian maritime cities, and clothed their wives and daughters in the stately velvets of Genoa, which created the envy of queens. Their liberties were guarded by charters, wrung or bought from their weak or impoverished princes;

but were perhaps still more secured by the courageous spirit and strong arms of the citizens themselves. Seventeen nations had factories at Bruges, and four-and twenty cities were subject to her jurisdiction. Ghent had forty thousand workmen in wool and flax, and when the bell of Roland gave the tocsin of alarm the guild of dyers alone could send eighteen thousand armed men to the field. So much wealth and prosperity were incompatible with unreasoning submission to their feudal lord, the Earl of Flanders, who was himself bound to be submissive to his feudal lord, the King of France. Quarrels were therefore very frequent between the earl and the burghers. Philip of France was always found on the side of his vassal, and this was reason enough for Edward to join the people.

The leader of the men of Ghent and chief counsellor of the allied cities in their opposition to their lord, was James Van Artevelde, a brewer. Too wise to be turned from his purpose by the theories of feudalism, which would have tied his hands against his liege, he knew how to profit by the most unfounded of them, when they tied the hands of other people. "As long as you assault France merely as King of England," he said to Edward, "the French nobles will resist you as a foreign prince, and our doughty earl will have no scruple in assisting Philip. Revive your old claim, call yourself King of France, and command the country on its allegiance to submit to your authority. The lords will be divided: those who choose to join you will have a legal excuse for their conduct; and our own imperious earl will be puzzled to know where his obedience is due." Edward took the brewer's advice, assumed the royal coat of arms of France, and Philip became a usurper, and his supporters rebels. On the eve of the expedition, a great feast was held by the knights and warriors of Edward's court. They all took the vow of the heron, and swore "by the bird and Our Lady" that they would "ravage and massacre without pity; that they would spare neither mill nor altar, nor pregnant woman, nor old

man, nor relation, nor friend." Philippa was present, and ratified the oath on her own behalf; and in a transport of cruelty and ambition the secular war began.

Let us hope these truculent expressions were only parts of an old formulary, and had lost their meaning; and let us not at the same time believe that all the animosity or all the injustice was only on one side. In this very year a secret treaty was drawn up between Philip of France and the States of Normandy. This old appanage of the Norman kings had long been amalgamated with France. Rouen, in fact, had become more French than Paris, and looked with bitterer enmity on the English, because it entertained towards them almost as much contempt as hatred. Their duke had conquered the contemptible island in 1066; why should not they do it again? Had three hundred years weakened the swords of Caen, or diminished the vessels of the Seine? The favourers of this movement—the nobles, priests, and laity almost without exception—were perfectly certain of another Battle of Hastings, and another appropriation of the land. They drew out a formal division of the spoil. All the estates held in England by lords and earls were to become the heritage of Norman nobles of the same rank; all the estates held by the untitled classes were to belong to the Norman burgesses and towns; and all the bishoprics, deaneries, and other rich things of the Church were to be transferred to Norman priests. All the French king had to do was to give them his moral support, and, in case of the very unlikely event of a repulse, to open his harbours for their return. The document was signed and sealed, and deposited in the church of Caen; and the French county made up its mind to take possession of the English kingdom in a very short space of time.

But Edward, still in ignorance of this magnanimous resolution, landed at Antwerp, and pushed the war across the frontier as far as Cambrai. His allies, however, were not very hearty in the cause; for at first they consisted of tenth-

rate potentates, whose purses were not so long as their pedigrees; and when the Dukes of Gueldres and Brabant, the Marquis of Juliers, the Prince-archbishop of Cologne, and others of the class, had got all that Edward could give, they put the English coins into their military chests, and retired to their estates and dioceses, to make their peace, if they could, with the Earl of Flanders. Edward, foiled in this manner in his warlike plans, betook himself to his "gossip" of Ghent, and had long conversations with Arteveldt. He entered into arrangements about trade; he invited over skilled workmen, and established large colonies of dyers, weavers, and wool-combers at Norwich and other towns. This, in fact, was the only way in which the raw material could be made available at all, for a law had been passed, in the previous year, forbidding the exportation of wool under heavy penalties; and ere many years passed he became so devoted to the protection of native industry, that he made the exportation of wool punishable with death.

✧ § 7. To complete the character we have ever since retained, having made us a nation of manufacturers, his next move was to give us the command of the sea. The French king had an immense fleet collected in the harbour of Sluys, with orders to prevent the approach of an English expedition to Flanders or Hainault. It was manned by Genoese and other Italian sailors, and carried a fighting crew of native French estimated at forty thousand men. Ships in those days had grappling irons, with which they attached themselves to the enemy's prow, and with the help of portable bridges the combatants fought almost as if on dry land. We need not therefore suppose that the French commander was taken by surprise when he saw the hulls of the English squadron advancing to where he lay. He remained in the smooth water on purpose, for it gave him the use of his greatly superior numbers, and preparations were made for battle with all the order and regularity of a military engagement. Edward had not a third of

the enemy's numbers either in vessels or men ; but his anger blinded him to the danger, for he had received not only a loss but a humiliation a few months before, by the capture of his great ship the *Christopher*, and on being told who his opponents were, he replied, " I have for a long time wished to meet with them, and now, please God and St. George, we will fight with them, for in truth they have done me so much damage that I will be avenged on them if it be possible." Archers with their deadly bows were ranged along the English decks, swordsmen and lancers were ready to board, and, as if additional inducement to exertion were still required, the beauty, rank, and fashion of the time, in the persons of many countesses, baronesses, and ladies of honour, who were on their way to wait on the queen at Ghent, were placed at a safe distance, under the charge of three hundred men-at-arms and five hundred bowmen, and became spectatresses of the first great naval victory the English ever obtained. This elder sister of St. Vincent and Trafalgar was more complete than any triumph before or since. The hostile fleet was literally annihilated ; and so undisguisable was the destruction, that for a hundred years or more no effort was made to dispute the command of the Channel and North Sea. They became English lakes, and from that time England must have felt that her home was on the deep. The French king had only one counter move to make in return for this fatal blow. He let loose the enmities of Scotland on the south flank of his adversary, whom this naval victory had made too strong in Flanders, and the young king, David Bruce, was sent home with French supplies. In a few weeks he chased Baliol, the English nominee, from the throne, and carried war across the Border. Edward at the same time found out that the Flemings could make extortionate bargains, and that the nobles of the land were as great huxterers for their pay as the lowest of the shopmen. His funds did not come over in sufficient quantity to please both the grasping weaver and greedy

lord; and the conqueror of Sluys hurried across to London to raise the ways and means, and applied to parliament for a farther grant. Parliament declined to advance a farthing, unless on hard conditions—fresh exemptions from royal oppression, and guarantees of future good government. The national feeling was not yet enlisted in his cause. England did not care for the Earls of Flanders or Hainault. It hated the French in a very exemplary manner, and could scarcely understand the advantages of having them for fellow subjects; but if it could see them subdued, if it could hold France as a subordinate State, and recover its own old possessions along the coast—an object like that might be worth its exertions; but as to subsidizing brewers in Ghent and bishops in Cologne, it was totally against its principles, and it kept an unrelaxing grasp on the strings of its purse.

§ 8. But the heart of England soon changed when it was forced into a more personal interest in the war. The great fief of Brittany became at this time disputed between a nephew of the French king, Charles of Blois, who had married a niece of the late duke, and John de Montfort, who was the late duke's brother. Edward and Philip, of course, took opposite sides in this feudal quarrel, and unfortunately the English competitor, John de Montfort, was taken prisoner, and the French candidate, Charles of Blois, installed in the vacant dukedom. The Plantagenet blood rose to boiling heat. The generous feelings, also, of the country were roused, when it was known that Jane de Montfort, a woman with the courage without the criminality of our Lady Macbeth, had taken up the sword of her imprisoned husband, and was besieged by all the power of France in the Castle of Hennebon. This was a small fortress on the river Blavet, near where the town of Lorient now stands. Day and night, while making their preparations for defence, the devoted garrison looked across St. Louis's bay for the first sight of the English fleet which Edward had promised to send to her aid. But the

ships were slow, or the wind contrary, and Charles of Blois closed in upon the place. Far from bating a jot of heart or hope, Jane, who "had the soul of a man and the courage of a lion," put on her burnished arms, and headed sorties against the enemy. Courage, however, would be of no avail unless the English came. Provisions became scarce—counsellors, either false or cowardly, recommended a surrender, and Jane could only succeed in securing their assistance for three days more. On the very next morning she looked over the sea from the battlements of the tower, and with a great cry of joy announced the long-expected fleet. "The English! the English!" resounded from man to man, and the brave Sir Walter Manny was received with joyous acclamations as he marched with his hardy bowmen into the town. Sir Walter was one of the heroes of the time—foolishly adventurous as a knight-errant, but calm and thoughtful, when occasion required, as a commander of the present day. Perhaps his first achievement after his arrival illustrated both these qualities. "Sirs," he said to his comrades after dinner, "methinks it were a good deed to go and break down that battering engine of the French, if any will follow me." Every man at table was, of course, on horseback in a few minutes. The charge was made while the duchess and her ladies looked on from the rampart; and when the knights rode back in triumph, the noble lady kissed Sir Walter and his companions one after the other; and Hennebon was relieved. The French retired next day. Jane de Montfort was the heroine of the war. She came over to England to get more aid. On her return, she was attacked by a fleet, and stood on the deck clothed in mail, and brandishing a sword. When a storm dispersed both the navies, she got once more into Hennebon; and wherever her presence might be useful, there she was sure to be found. The glory, however, was not limited to her. This was called the "War of the two Janes;" for Jane of Brittany, the wife of Charles of Blois, was as great a heroine

as her rival, and how long the desultory campaigns in Brittany might have lasted no one can tell—the success of one movement being counterbalanced by the failure of the next—but it was now time for greater combatants to appear; Edward himself raised his standard, and the French king prepared to resist his assault (1345).

When the two chief belligerents were exerting all their strength, it is not to be supposed that Scotland and the Low Countries were left at peace. Edward requested the aid of Van Arteveldt to get the Earldom of Flanders conveyed to the Prince of Wales, and a more formal acknowledgment than had yet been given of his title to the crown of France. But Ghent, where Arteveldt resided, was always an unruly place, and at this period happened to be discontented with its leader. Instead of following his advice, the people mutinied, and the mad spirit of a mob broke loose—crowds of furious artisans rushed into his house, and murdered the great citizen who had raised their city to an equality with kings; and Edward resolved to take vengeance of the populace which had deprived him of a friend.

§ 9. In August the great operations of the war began, by the landing of Edward at La Hogue. Already his captains had risen into great reputation, and it boded ill for the enemy when it was reported that the pennons of Salisbury, and Manny, and Talbot were in the host. A march up the Seine as far as Poissy provoked no serious opposition. But Philip in the meantime had gathered all his chivalry to crush the invader by his superior force; Edward therefore burned the town of Beauvais, and resolved to fall back upon the Somme. This, however, was nearly impossible, for the bridges were all destroyed or guarded, the fords were unknown, and the French king was gaining upon him every day. On the evening of the 23rd of August, the English army was near the mouth of the Somme, and their safety depended on getting to the other side before their pursuers arrived. Rewards were promised to

the prisoners if any one could point out a ford. A man came forward, and said that at a place called Blanche taque, still farther down, there was a shallow where men could pass. Edward marched to the spot at midnight; but the tide was in, and escape seemed hopeless. As the day dawned, he perceived the opposite bank guarded by twelve thousand French ready to receive him, and he expected every moment to hear the trumpets of the pursuing army from the heights in his rear. But the tide was going rapidly down. The current showed the position of the ford, and the attempt was made. Up to the middle in water, the front lines were met by the enemy, who waded into the stream. It was a trial of strength, and the English pushed the foe before them. Once on dry land, the combat was very short, and when Edward had seen the last of the retreating guardians of the river, and refreshed his soldiers after their fatigue, he perceived the foremost columns of the royal army dashing downward to the ford, and only prevented from following him by the return of the tide. He retired a little way inland, to an eminence in the neighbourhood of Crecy. "Not a step farther," he said. "This is my own inheritance, being the land of my lady-mother, and I will defend it against Philip of Valois." A bold speech for a man with seven thousand men in sight of an army of more than ten times the number.

The fight has often been described, but the very statement of the numbers shows that it must have been a mass of confusion on one side and dogged resistance on the other. The Genoese bowmen were tired, and could do little execution. The English cloth-yard shafts threw them into disorder, and the haughty knights, who were cased in impenetrable armour, called them traitors, and ordered their followers to ride them down. But in the main battle charge after charge was broken against the English line of spears and the flight of arrows. Horses jarred against horses in the hurried move-

ments, and the glittering army was fatigued with its useless advances, and disheartened with its useless retreats. Edward the Black Prince was in command of the first division, and, after some hours of ever-succeeding attack, Warwick and Chandos, who were his tutors in the art of war, sent to the king for help. On being assured that his son was safe, he answered, "Not a man will I send. Let him win his spurs this day, for the glory of the action shall be his and not mine." Forth from the main body of the enemy galloped an old man between two knights, who each had hold of a bridle rein. It was the blind King of Bohemia, who heard that his son was slain, and wished to revenge or share his death. The old man found the death he sought, and princes and nobles began to encumber the plain. The arrow points had found the fissures in their armour at last, and John of Hainault seized the King of France's rein, "We must retire, your highness; the day is lost;" and Philip, with a sad glance to the scene of his discomfiture, withdrew. That night the King of England feasted in his tent, and taking the prince in his arms kissed him before all the nobles, and said, "You are my true son for loyalty. God give you a good perseverance, for you are worthy of a crown." It was, perhaps, also on this occasion that he assigned him the crest and motto which have been borne by the Princes of Wales ever since. The three ostrich feathers and the words "Ich dien" (I serve) were the cognizance of the unfortunate King of Bohemia, and were a fitting memorial of the fortunes of the field. Next day being Sunday, large divisions went forth all over the land to disperse the gatherings which were advancing to aid the French. Frightful slaughter was done upon the reinforcements, who had not even heard the result of the battle, and Edward sent out on Monday the marshals of his army, with the heralds and clerks, to make an inventory of the slain. They brought him back their lists, verified by the arms and

mottoes of the nobles. There were eleven princes, eighty bannerets, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand common men.

There was no pity excited by this unexampled loss of life when the news reached London, for unfortunately the treaty for the division of England, which had been concluded between the Normans and Philip, and deposited in Caen, had been discovered by the invading army, and sent over to be publicly read, to show the designs of France. The agreement was in French, but we are told it was translated to the multitudes, who were ignorant of the language; and citizens and nobles were equally exasperated with the audacity which considered them so easy a prey that their lands and cities were distributed beforehand. Edward might have obtained any supply to complete his conquest of France; and the national enthusiasm was raised to a still higher point when in the month of October the Scottish king was defeated at Neville's Cross by the Queen Philippa, and brought prisoner to the Tower. It was a compensation to the king for the loss of the brewer of Ghent; and Flanders and Scotland were neutralized in their influence on the war.

§ 10. Leaving her royal captive beside the Thames, Philippa crossed the sea, and presented herself in the camp of Edward, before the beleaguered town of Calais. The conquerors of Crecy had laid siege to this great maritime fortress, which was justly called the key of France, five days after the fight. It was so strong from position and art, that it was deemed impregnable by open force; a blockade, therefore, was established by sea and land, and the Channel was so completely guarded by English ships that no relief was possible. Upwards of seven hundred vessels, great and small, kept watch and ward over the harbour, and crowds of gallant volunteers had hurried over to increase the investing army. There was no hope for Calais, for Philip was so weakened he could not come to the rescue. The provisions of the garrison began to

fail, but still John de Vienne, the governor, held on. Sorties were made from the walls, and repelled from the camp. Many gallant deeds were done in the sight of both nations; the Frenchman showed no sign of surrender, and Edward's patience began to give way. De Vienne sent seventeen hundred unwarlike inhabitants out of the place to save their food. Edward fed them, and let them go. When five hundred more were shortly afterwards driven out from the city, the king's compassion yielded to his policy; he cooped the poor sufferers up between his lines and Calais, and left them miserably to die in the sight of their friends and countrymen.

Then it was reported that Philip was on the move—that the oriflamme of France was displayed, and the whole nation summoned to the rescue. The great array came within sight of the doomed town, but the marshes over which the road lay were strongly guarded, and the shoreway was commanded by the ships. Philip saw the hopelessness of the position, and retired. According even to modern ideas the governor ought now to have surrendered. There was no doubt of the final result, and every day's persistence in defence was a useless waste of life. Negotiations, therefore, were at last proposed by the garrison, but the king would grant no terms. They were to yield, and abide the conqueror's will. Sir Walter Manny and the other chiefs knew too well what that will would be, and interceded for a mitigation of his anger. All that their entreaties could procure was the pardon of the inhabitants if six of the principal citizens were delivered into his hands. John de Vienne summoned a meeting of all the town. When the hard terms were proposed, there was great grief and silence, till Eustace de Saint Pierre stepped forward, and said he would willingly be one of the victims, and in generous emulation of his conduct, John D'Aire and four others joined him on his way to the camp. They were clothed in their shirts, barefooted, with halters about their necks, and disgraceful death the unavoidable fate before them.

It happened that just at this time Queen Philippa had joined her husband, being fresh from the field of Neville's Cross, and the glory of having captured a crowned king. No sooner had the stern Edward, in unrelenting mood, received the melancholy procession of the six burghers of Calais, and ordered them for execution, than Philippa threw herself at his feet, and with joined hands entreated him to have pity. "Ah, gentle sire," she said, "since I have crossed the sea with great danger to see you, I have never asked you one favour: now I most humbly ask as a gift, for the sake of the Son of the blessed Mary and your love of me, that you will be merciful to these six men." If the scene was got up to give a theatrical triumph to the queen, the spectators were now bound to applaud, for the king said, "Ah, lady, I wish you had been somewhere else than here. You have entreated in such a manner that I cannot refuse you; I therefore give them to you to do as you please with them!" The halters were instantly taken from their necks; they were clothed in fitting raiment, and honourably dismissed with a present from the queen. So Calais fell into the hands of the English on the 4th of August, 1347.

This is too beautiful a story to be omitted, even though it owes its embellishment, or perhaps its existence, to the fancy of the poetical Froissart. It shows, at all events, the appreciation of self-devotion and feminine tenderness which were characteristic of the ideal state of society called chivalry. The harsher outlines of the real occurrence, as recorded in more matter-of-fact authors, recal us to the actual course of conduct characteristic of the knightly times. If there was a St. Pierre at all, he was neglected equally by French and English, and his name is heard no more. If there was another wealthy and self-sacrificing citizen of the name of John D'Aire, all we authentically hear of him is that Philippa petitioned to be put in possession of his estate; so the heroic queen enjoyed the double advantage of being celebrated for

saving the townsmen's lives and enriched by pillaging their goods.

§ 11. Successes came quick upon each other in those prosperous years of Edward's reign. David of Scotland was a captive; Charles of Blois, the rival of the De Montfort of Brittany, was also made prisoner; and nothing apparently lay between the triumphant king and the professed object of his expedition. French chivalry was so thinned by Crecy, that little opposition could have been made to a march upon Paris. The French peasantry were so trampled on by priest and layman, that they had neither physical strength nor courage to form free battalions in defence of the land. The English nobility, on the other hand, was never so strong and flourishing, and the English yeomen were proverbially rich and independent. Yet no movement was made in advance. Edward left the scene of his triumphs, and came over to meet his parliament, and give an account of his future plans; but parliament had paid too dearly for the glories of the previous years, and thought as before that the crown of France would be a dear bargain at an increase of English taxes. So when the king asked its advice as to the prosecution of the war, it obstinately held its tongue; and when he descended to the usual cry when fleets and armies require to be reconstructed, that there was danger of a French invasion, the imperturbable parliament would only advance a very small subsidy, and spread the payment of it over three years. A truce in the meantime had been established, by the mediation of the pope, and had been received with languid acquiescence by both countries. Both were tired of fighting, and Edward perhaps never seriously contemplated the possession of the throne of France. He was willing, indeed, to resign all his pretension to it in favour of his vanquished enemy, on condition of being recognised as lord in full sovereignty of Guienne and some of the other English States, and above all of Calais. Meantime he showed he was not reduced to these peaceful thoughts by

lack of power or dislike of combat, for he attacked a Spanish fleet off the coast of Kent, and caught it so near the shore that the queen's ladies are reported to have seen the whole engagement from the hills beside Winchelsea. The day must have been very calm, for the battle was hand to hand in full armour, as if in a listed field. A stumble overboard in these circumstances was of course fatal, and many of the knights were drowned. Edward himself and the Black Prince were on the eve of sinking with their sinking ship, when Henry, Earl of Derby, rowed to the rescue, and took the king and the Black Prince on board. A great assault was then given, and the English remained masters of the sea. Spain was beginning to be a maritime power, and was serving the usual apprenticeship to naval pre-eminence as a pirate. In this capacity she had seized the English transports employed in the French war, and now paid for her insolence by the loss of all her fleet. 1350.

§ 12. This naval exploit, and several other circumstances, showing undiminished wealth and power, are somewhat irreconcilable with the accounts of an affliction called the First, or Great Pestilence, with which not England alone, but all Europe had been visited in the previous year. In the absence of statistical information, and writing in the midst of the dreadful scenes they describe, the contemporary historians set no limits to their account of the ravages of this plague. They tell us of the fields being utterly neglected, and of the survivors not being numerous enough to bury the deceased. A calculation is made that half the population perished in the four months from the end of May to the end of September, 1349. Yet while the whole country lay under the shadow of this exterminating grief, we read of spirited combats like the assault on the Spanish ships, and applications to parliament for authority to resist a still more formidable enemy.

At this time the Papedom was held by Clement VI., who resided at Avignon, and was therefore under the direct influence

of France. Whatever the merely religious view of the English Parliament may have been, it was easy for Edward to persuade the Commons to pass an act prohibiting his holiness from filling up the livings and dignities of England as they fell vacant, and to give the presentation into his hands. While the Church was gratified with this protection from the intrusion of foreigners, the favourites of an Italian sovereign, the nobles were equally soothed by a stricter definition of the crime of treason, which up to this time had been so vague an accusation that an ambitious king might stretch it over almost all the independent actions of any of his powerful subjects. It was now rigidly confined to certain specified cases, all of which were to be capable of proof by overt act. The chief of these were "compassing or imagining the king's death; levying war against him in the realm; aiding his enemies; counterfeiting his Great Seal; forging his coin, and slaying his chancellor or other officers, while representing his person." It was left for later reigns, and ostensibly more cultivated times, to extend the penalties of treason to numerous other actions, and even to spoken words. In the days of the warlike Plantagenets no man could be involved in the highest of crimes while believing himself only guilty of the lightest of misdemeanours.

§ 13. But the most characteristic and suggestive of the statutes passed immediately after the plague of 1349, is that called the "Statute of Labourers." At first sight this appears a harsh and tyrannical enactment, for it bound the working-class to reside in their own parishes, and to accept a specified sum for the labour done. Some authors, perceiving only these restrictive clauses, lose sight of the immense progress which must have been made by the industrious poor, before they required a positive statute to keep them in their subordinate rank. We saw the slender provision made by Magna Charta in favour of the serf or bondman. If these unhappy persons had remained in their debased position, it

would have needed nothing but the order of their lord to make them toil and sow and reap for his benefit. But the spirit of independence had permeated the mass. Without any special ordinance serfdom or villeiny had nearly died out. And now when, as it is stated in the preamble of the Act, the deaths caused by the Black Plague had so thinned the population, that labour became of excessive value, the emancipated workers determined to avail themselves of their improved circumstances, and had the effrontery to demand a sum equal to fifteen shillings a day of our money, and the faculty of carrying their thews and sinews into the dearest market. Legislation vainly stepped in to resist these exorbitant requirements, and confine them to the wages they had been in the habit of receiving, and to the districts where their cottages were placed. A great advance on the slavish period of their ancestors—an advance shown by the very law which, though it was directed against their freedom, proves that they were no longer the living chattels of an owner, but the recognised proprietors of the sweat of their own brows. The regulation of prices and wages was long considered one of the most beneficial attributes of the governing power, and it was only in our own day that the Law of Settlement received such modifications as to throw the labour-market of the country open to all her sons.

When we see concessions made by the Crown to the liberties of the people, we may be sure a war is at hand, in which the Crown will require the people's aid. We accordingly see an unmistakeable sign of hostility to France in the next move, which is apparently only directed against the pope. A law was passed against appealing from the English tribunals to any foreign court, and by this means a stop was put to the expense and trouble of obtaining a final judgment from the supreme court of Avignon. A stop was put at the same time to the extortions practised on the unfortunate appellants by the harpies of the ecclesiastical law ; and England began to feel already as

if she were in possession of a national Church. When the staple was regulated for the benefit of trade, and the great corporations of the staple towns, London, Bristol, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, Lincoln, and others, were bound over to see to the quality and measure of the goods sold within their jurisdiction, by which light weights and adulteration were prevented, Edward looked over all the land, and found it contented with his rule, and rapidly recovering from the depression caused by war and pestilence. He therefore considered himself in a fit condition to renew his designs upon France, and sent reinforcements to his son, the Black Prince, who was established in Languedoc.

§ 14. But John, the French king, was a more chivalrous personage than either of his rivals, though not so fortunate. He prepared himself for a campaign by jousts and festivals, and seemed, indeed, to the jaundiced eyes of his suffering people, to be a poor protector of their lives and properties by means of knightly shows at his royal residences, while the black armour of the man of Crecy was shining in the open field. A "foray," on a scale of grandeur which the British borderers would have envied, started from Bordeaux under the Prince of Wales, and returned loaded with booty, after carrying fire and sword among all the beautiful cities of the south which resisted his arms. Edward the king was not to be left behind, in pillaging and fighting, by Edward the prince, and hurried over to the north of the kingdom, while its opposite extremity was still black with the flames of Narbonne and Carcassonne. But the late pestilence was a better general than John, and left such devastated fields and ruined villages, that the English found themselves in a land where there was nothing to eat and nobody to fight. Meanwhile John, armed cap-à pie, and emulous of the heroes of the "Table Round," sent pursuivants and heralds, offering a battle to his invaders, to be arranged according to the strictest rules of chivalry. But Edward was not a believer in the Round Table, and betook

himself to his own more plentiful country without fixing the preliminaries of a fight.

It was time for him to go home; for the sound of a French war had roused, as usual, the pugnacious feelings of the Scots. They had seized Berwick, and were meditating an onslaught on the richer land beyond, when Edward appeared at the head of a large army, and carried it in the midst of flames and slaughter as far north as Edinburgh. That most beautiful and majestic of cities consisted at that time of a few wooden huts, crowning the rough ridge of a slight elevation—a city which it was easy for men to build in a few days, and burn in half-an-hour, equally unconscious—the builders and the burners—of the charms of its romantic situation, and of the far distant splendours of its intellectual fame. The advance had been made through an enemy's country, and now the retreat was to be achieved through the solitude which the invasion had made. The return to England was disastrous. The infuriated peasantry lurked in the neighbourhood of the march for stragglers, and no pity was shown on either side. An evil seed of mutual hatred, which it took hundreds of years to uproot, was sown in these useless aggressions and acts of hideous revenge; and, true to the national compact, John of France took the field to work a diversion in favour of his Scottish allies.

Radiant in steel and feathers, the French host of knights and gentlemen came on as if Crecy had never been heard of. They heard that the Black Prince, encouraged by his predatory success of the year before, had begun his freebooting excursion with a small band of his Gascons, and a considerable body of English archers. With these, all lightly armed, he moved with the rapidity of an Arab host. He overran all the provinces in the neighbourhood of his own domain, and got to the very centre of France. Undecided as to his next move, and kept in ignorance, by the universal hostility of the people, of the proceedings of his enemies, he directed his course,

after burning a few towns on the upper part of the Loire, to the city of Poitiers. But John and all his glittering array had already arrived at the same place, and the invaders found themselves hemmed in by an army it seemed madness to fight and hopeless to escape from. All the great names of the old nobility were in the following of John. Every tent had the blazoned standard of knight or prince whose ancestors were devoutly believed to have fought at Roncesvalles, or even at the siege of Troy; and Edward had nothing but a few yeomen, a few spearmen, and very few personages of rank or name. But every man felt that his life was in his hand, and that if he failed in battle, there was nothing to expect from the mercy of the outraged inhabitants. A legate from the Pope made his way to Edward's tent, and offered to mediate for terms. "Save my honour," replied the prince, "and the lives of my soldiers, and I will agree to anything." He offered all his booty, all the towns he had seized, all the ransom he had exacted, and undertook to bear no arms against the French for seven years. John would hear of nothing but his surrendering himself and a hundred of his companions prisoners of war. "Then God defend the right!" replied the prince, and ranged his array to receive the charge. The crowded lines of the assailants were pierced with arrows; their leader was shot down; and a pause ensued in the assault. "Advance banners, in the name of God and St. George!" cried Edward, and led his men to the attack. "Let us apply ourselves to the battle where the King of France is," cried Sir John Chandos, at the prince's side; "well I know his valiancy will not permit him to flee, and he will remain in our hands, please God and St. George." Meantime the mounted warriors of France had fled in confusion, pursued by the unerring shaft, and Edward and Chandos and all the horsemen of the English force dashed furiously into the struggle, where John the chivalrous was rejoicing in the excitement of actual battle. He was on foot, wielding his

battle-axe, and shouting the war-cry of France; but he was wounded in the face, and struck down in the confusion of the assault. "Yield, or you are a dead man!" cried the assailants; and John, seeing the hopelessness of his position, said, "Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales? I will surrender to him." "He is not here," cried a young cavalier; "but yield yourself to me, and I will take you to the prince." "And who are you?" "I am Sir Denis de Morbecque, a knight of Artois." "Then, here is my glove," said the king; "I am your prisoner." But a quarrel arose between English and Gascons for the possession of such a captive, which might have been fatal to the captive himself. Lord Cobham and the Earl of Warwick therefore came up, and conducted him in great courtesy to where the Prince of Wales was standing, and left him and his youngest son Philip to the care of the triumphant conqueror.

§ 15. But Edward seems to have read books of chivalry as well as John, and the treatment he bestowed on the unfortunate king is too well known to be dwelt on at any length. He carried all the ideas of feudal obligation to their utmost limits. He who was merely the heir-apparent of a kingdom could not presume to sit at the same board with a crowned king, over whose sacred head still hovered the blessing of the Church and the glories of Clovis and Charlemagne. He waited on his prisoner at table, knelt to him when he made any formal address, but kept him as securely guarded as if he had been in an iron cage. And yet, while this exaggeration of knightly notions was carried on with such an appearance of reality, the solid structure of feudalism was nodding to its fall. In its military aspect it was doomed to an early end, for cannon were already introduced as instruments of war, and ten years before this date had made their appearance in the field of Crecy. In its social aspect it was no less doomed to extinction, for Wickliffe was already preparing his translation of the Bible, which was to spread all over England the light of Divine

truth. It was impossible that so artificial a mode of thought and code of manners could co-exist with a knowledge of the Gospel, and we are told that one of the greatest subjects of surprise with the knights and gentlemen, who for the first time made acquaintance with the sacred volume for themselves, was the lowliness of the birth of our Lord, and the doctrines he inculcated of humility and peace. And yet it was at the very opening of the new condition of affairs, and the end of the old system of mailed knighthood, that the greatest efforts were made to imitate its palmy state. John was received according to the strictest routine prescribed in chivalric romance, and made his entrance into London with the appearance of a triumphal procession, followed by pages and standard-bearers, and attended on a humble hackney by the Prince of Wales, in the character of his squire.

§ 16. The supposed nobleness and generosity of the feudal warrior were strangely omitted in this masque of chivalry. No harder bargain was ever offered by an extortionate creditor to his imprisoned debtor than Edward of England now tendered to John of France. He was to resign all that the English Crown had ever held in right of any of its wearers; Normandy in right of William; Anjou in right of Henry II.; Aquitaine in right of Eleanor; and other places by right of more recent conquest. In return for this, Edward was willing to renounce his claim to the French throne, so great was his anxiety for peace and good neighbourhood! But the French throne was in the extremity of danger from other causes. The noble survivors of Crecy and Poitiers would not surrender a tittle of their powers and privileges, though they had been proved incapable of defending their country against its foe. Instinct told the wretched peasantry that obedience was conditional on protection, and they had submitted to their chiefs as long as they were protected from foreign spoil. But at last, when the nobility were found able to

trample on their countrymen but not to repel the English, the bounds of human endurance were reached, and the populace rose in insurrection. This was called the Jacquery, from the contemptuous name, Jacques Bonhomme, or Goodman James, which the nobles had given to the lower classes. The hut revenged itself on the mansion, and castles were everywhere set on fire. Gentlemen were waylaid and murdered, and law and property were at an end. The common danger quelled the animosities of the nobles for a while. Against the unarmed multitudes rode the steel-clad knights. They smote, and crushed, and followed them in their hopeless flight. They left no man alive who met them on their way, whether rebellious or not. In all parts of the land the same scene was going on. The destruction was so total that the very elements of a future middle-class were done away with. Poverty, weakness, and the depopulation of whole districts sank the survivors into despair. They gave up even the desire of opposition, and the sentiment of self-respect was impossible for many generations. This dreadful civil commotion lasted till the end of 1358; and John, determining to introduce order into his distracted realm, agreed to the terms of his most ungenerous detainers. But the blood of the gentlemen of France was too madly inflamed with pride and cruelty to submit tamely to what they thought disgrace, and they disavowed the treaty. Edward crossed over to punish what he called their breach of faith. He led an immense army into France, and marched upon Paris; but the land was too poor to sustain even an unopposed expedition. His men died of hunger in sight of the towers of Notre Dame, or were led back dispirited and exhausted to Brittany.

The sight of the actual condition of France contributed to Edward's desire for rest. Let us hope the knowledge of such unheard-of misery touched his heart. A peace was concluded between the rivals at Bretigni, which gave a pause to the national war. Many of the old English possessions were

restored to Edward, who contented himself with the title of King of England and Lord of Aquitaine; but three millions of golden crowns were to be paid as John's ransom, and many noble prisoners detained as hostages for the fulfilment of this clause. John trod the ground of his realm once more; but finding it impossible to raise the enormous sum required for his deliverance, and otherwise sickened and distressed with the sufferings he could not diminish, he returned to his honourable imprisonment in the Savoy, not without other inducement, we are told, than a mere fulfilment of his knightly promise, for he had fallen in love with an English lady; and in the midst of the courteous festivals with which his captors surrounded him, he died in the spring of 1364.

§ 17. Affairs after this date become very uninteresting, and are only so far connected with English history that the hero of them was the Prince of Wales. Charles V. of France was a different character from his father John. Instead of a rash warrior he was the most cautious of politicians, and was even suspected of a want of personal courage. But his wisdom was more powerful than his father's sword. He submitted, though with an ill grace, to the conditions of the peace of Bretigni, and heard of the lofty proceedings of the Prince of Wales, who assumed more than royal state in the ceded provinces, with malicious pleasure. The nobles of Aquitaine and Poitou, he learned, were displeased with the change in their position, which made them the dependents of a foreign crown instead of the honoured vassals of France. He tried at the same time to pacify his own dominions by directing the famous Bertrand du Guesclin to deliver the land from the innumerable bands of freebooters whom the civil war had produced, and who wrought more devastation on their countrymen than had ever been inflicted by the English. Bertrand, instead of attacking them with his regular army, wisely conducted them out of the way of mischief, and let them loose on the plains of Spain. It little mattered to Charles which

side of the Spanish civil war, that was then raging, they espoused, provided they quitted France.

§ 18. The King of Castile was Peter the Cruel, and the nation was so offended with his severities that it rallied to the cause of his half-brother, Henry de Trastamar. Proclamations of the deliverance of Spain and the liberty of the people were probably issued by the French; for they took the liberal side, and opposed the cruel Peter. Against Du Guesclin no Spanish forces could stand for a moment. The tyrant was expelled, and France had the honour of freeing an afflicted population, and raising a dependent to the throne. But Edward of Wales was holding his court at Bordeaux. The fugitive monarch presented himself before him, claiming his aid as knight and gentleman, and orders were at once given for an advance beyond the Pyrenees.

§ 19. What Spaniards had been in presence of the Free Companions, the Free Companions now were in presence of the men of Aquitaine and the English bowmen. A great victory at Navaretta gave a new lustre to the name of the conqueror of Crecy and Poitiers, and Peter, resuming his crown, thanked his restorer for his services, and did nothing more. He paid no expenses, he furnished no provisions, and the wrath of Edward could not have been very great when he learned, in a few months after his return to Gascony, that Henry, the pretender, had slain his brother with his own hand, and was recognised the legitimate wearer of the crown. Bad health fell upon the victor of Navaretta. His subjects were discontented with the burdens he was forced to lay on them to pay the debts which the Spanish tyrant had declined to discharge, and all this time the watchful eye of Charles was fixed upon his acts, and gloating over the increasing weakness both of his body and his position. He saw his time in 1368, and assuming all the airs of superiority which had become absurd after his concessions at Bretigni, he summoned his vassal, Edward, to appear before him in Paris, to answer the complaints of his

good subjects of Aquitaine. The prince replied that he would appear in his place, with sixty thousand armed witnesses on his behalf. The war spirit was roused once more, both in England and in the continental states, and once more Edward of England revived his old claim, and proclaimed himself King of France. But the old energy was gone. Edward was advanced in years, and the prince was feeble. Yet a spark of the ancient spirit blazed forth at last, and the worn-out warrior was carried in a litter from point to point while an assault was made on the town and fortress of Limoges. The assault was successful, and the gentlemen in mail, who defended themselves according to the rules of heroic warfare, were received into favour; but the great heart of the bravest prince and truest knight in Christendom had no room for compassion to the lowly born, and he issued the pitiless order that every inhabitant was to be put to the sword. The last appearance in war of the hero of English story was amid the groans and shrieks of three thousand men, women, and children, who had done no harm and now could offer no resistance. 1370.

With his return to England to recruit his exhausted strength, the prosperity of the English arms was at an end. Even on the sea, they did not sustain their old superiority, having suffered a great defeat from a Spanish fleet near Rochelle. Du Guesclin, adopting the tactics which had been so successful in the case of Robert Bruce, gave the warriors of Poitiers no opportunity of renewing their laurels by an open fight. He retreated, clearing the country of its corn, and denuding it of its castles, so that a march through France on the part of John of Gaunt, the king's second son, who traversed the whole country from Calais to Bordeaux, became a useless boast. Everywhere a sombre opposition, nowhere an actual battle, but his stragglers cut off, his supplies intercepted, and the sword of Du Guesclin ready drawn, if by any inadvertence an opportunity of attack was left. The men died of fatigue, and their countrymen at home had even then

so far attained a characteristic which they have never lost since, that they could see no triumph that was not accompanied with a regular hard-fought engagement. The soldiers, who were tired of marching, and the people, who were disappointed of fighting, were equally worn out with an unprofitable war, and a truce was concluded in 1374. Under cover of this truce, the sagacious Charles of France stimulated the disaffection of the English provinces, so that Gascony was nearly re-united to the crown without a stroke being struck. No help came from Windsor, for heavy grief had fallen on the royal house. The Black Prince (by which name he was better known than by his title of Prince of Wales) died, after a wasting illness, in 1376, and the failing king saw the sceptre about to leave his weary hand for that of a boy of ten or eleven years old.

§ 20. Worse things than advancing age had fallen on the king. He had sunk into the tutelage of a selfish and ambitious woman of the name of Alice Perrers, and allowed her to usurp all the authority of the State. Edward, the prince, had protested in vain against this debasing influence. Parliament itself denounced her by name, but the doating old man would believe no insinuation against his idol, and rumours became rife that John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, was caballing to secure the crown to himself. The rightful heir was demanded by the House of Lords, and created Prince of Wales. Religious animosities were also excited against the duke. Wickliffe, the reformer, had been seized by the Church, and was to be tried in St. Paul's. Lancaster and Earl Percy stood by the side of the poor parson of Lutterworth, and threatened to drag the Bishop of London from his judicial chair by the hair of his head. The Londoners were roused by this insult to their prelate, and heretical assault on the true and Catholic faith. They proved their orthodoxy by assailing the Savoy, where Lancaster lived, and forcing him to flee for his life in a small boat across the Thames. Foreign unsuccess

embittered the domestic disunion which these conflicting causes produced, and in clouds and great darkness the king, whose reign comprehended within its fifty-one years the greatest incidents in the annals of England—the battles of Neville's Cross, and of Crecy and Poitiers—who had held in his prison at one time the crowned Kings of Scotland and France, and exercised more than kingly authority over the greater portion of both those realms, closed his agitated and tempestuous life, amid the scorn of his enemies and the dislike of his people, on the 21st of June, 1377.

When people entered the chamber of death they found that he had died deserted and alone. Alice Perrers had stripped the rings from his fingers, and left him to his fate. The domestics had disappeared with all the trinkets and furniture they could remove. One solitary priest had held the crucifix before the eyes of the dying man; but the great and powerful had gone far from the sombre apartment of Shene. They were presenting themselves in the antechambers of Richard or of the Duke of Lancaster; for suspicion was still very widely diffused that that ambitious prince would not long content himself with the titular crown of Castile, which he had claimed in right of his wife, but aspire to a higher dignity, to the prejudice of his youthful nephew.

§ 21. The reign of Edward III. is to be looked on as one of the transition periods of European history, during which new ideas were gradually establishing themselves as the guides of human action. The influence of the Church was greatly weakened, and it had begun to lose its hold on the belief even of the ignorant and superstitious by the almost universal depravity of the clergy. As a political engine, however, it was still powerful, for it was the greatest of landowners, and had prescriptive rights which had not yet begun to be questioned. We shall therefore see it courted by the successive parties who strove for the mastery. Yet, however dazzling appeared for a time the success of the Church—however honoured by

kings and propitiated by nobles—the foundation of its authority was undermined, for it had lost the reverence and affection of the people. There were friars and clergymen, as well as lay gentlemen, and noble poets, and village ballad-singers—all engaged in the exposure of its exorbitant pretensions and corrupted morals. Society had outgrown the circumstances which gave the Church its preponderating influence; and ignorance and knowledge became united in course of time in perceiving the incongruity of its professions and conduct—ignorance perceiving the enormous extent of its possessions, which amounted to more than a third of all England, combined with declarations in favour of poverty; and knowledge, gathering fresh light every day from the increasing diffusion of the Scriptures, and perceiving more and more the folly of some of its doctrines, and the demoralizing nature of its practices. Edward's reign is therefore the turning-point of the fortunes in England of the Roman Catholic Church; but it was the turning-point also of literature and the administration of justice. In this reign the forms of procedure and principles of equity had attained such excellence that some legal authorities have fixed upon it as the period of the perfection of the English law. The causes were now pleaded in our native tongue, instead of the barbarous French in which they had hitherto been conducted. The Parliament was divided into two Houses: the upper, of the Lords; the lower, of the knights of shires and representatives of the boroughs; and so many statutes were passed conducing to the freedom and safety of the subject, that the fame of Crecy and Poitiers was second in the eyes of his people to that of his wise and liberal enactments. Passing over the disgraceful reign of the middle Edward, it is strange to find that the two great warriors of that name were the introducers of popular laws and promoters of the common benefit. In order to subdue Scotland, and trample on France, it was indispensable to have

a united and contented England. The foreign quarrels of those two monarchs, therefore, were productive of domestic good. The Constitution grew not only on the contributions of the grudging and bargain-making House of Commons, but on the blood of the soldiers who died in the Lothians and Guienne; and for this succeeding generations have to praise equally the home policy of the Edwards and the courage of our countrymen. But literature felt the impulse of the spirit of freedom as much as jurisprudence. In this reign appeared Chaucer, the first in point of date, and nearly the first in point of genius, of all our poets. The hitherto unsuspected powers of the English tongue found their development in the unmatched descriptions of the "Canterbury Tales." Little change has taken place in the material portions of our language, or even in the form of our heroic verse; for, with a little adaptation, the lines of Chaucer are as musical as those of Pope. If we add the institution of the Order of the Garter, where knighthood put on its modern garb as the ornament of the gilded hall, and not the impersonation of rough-visaged war, we shall find, in the continued existence of that "goodliest fellowship," how unbroken is the chain in law, language, freedom, and gentle chivalry from the days of this, the wisest of the Plantagenets.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1327. Accession of Edward III. during the lifetime of his father.	Durham, and King David taken prisoner.
— Cruel death of Edward II.	1347. Calais surrenders to the English.
1330. Mortimer, the queen's favourite, condemned as a traitor, and executed.	1349. A virulent plague carries off one half the nation.
1333. Baliol crowned king of Scotland.	1356. Edward, the Black Prince, obtains a great victory over the French at Poitiers, where King John and his son are taken prisoners.
1340. Edward assumes the title of king of France, and first uses the motto, "Dieu et mon droit."	1367. The Black Prince restores Peter of Castile to his kingdom.
— Naval victory over the French.	1369. The tenets of Wickliffe, the reformer, first promulgated.
1346. The Battle of Crecy, in which the French are signally defeated.	1376. Death of the Black Prince.
— The Scots defeated by Queen Philippa at Neville's Cross, near	1377. Death of Edward III.

CHAPTER VIII.

RICHARD THE SECOND.

A.D. 1377 TO A.D. 1399.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Charles V. (the Wise); Charles VI. (the Beloved).

SCOTLAND.—Robert II. (Stuart); Robert III.

POPES.—Gregory XI.; Urban VI. (at Rome); Clement VII. (at Avignon); Boniface IX.; Benedict XIII. (at Avignon).

§ 1. Accession of Richard II. State of society and of parties.—§ 2. John of Gaunt, next surviving brother of the Black Prince. War with France, Spain, and Scotland.—§ 3. Squabbles of the court. The obnoxious poll-tax. Brutal collectors employed to enforce it. General dissatisfaction. Rebellion of Jack Straw, Wat Tyler, and others, caused by the rigours of the poll-tax.—§ 4. Popular violence. All laws set at defiance. Conference of the mob with the king. Death of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw.—§ 5. Social position of the people. Weighty armour worn by the cavaliers.—§ 6. The king's evil advisers and associates. Ascendancy of the Duke of Lancaster.—§ 7. Richard deprived of authority.—§ 8. The Duke of Gloucester. His dismissal.—§ 9. Richard's extravagant and reckless habits. Seizure and murder of the Duke of Gloucester.—§ 10. Quarrel between the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Derby. Their banishment.—§ 11. The king's despicable character and tyrannical conduct. Revolt of the nobles, and execution of some of the king's ministers during the absence of Richard in Ireland.—§ 12. Deposition and imprisonment of Richard. Claims of Henry Duke of Lancaster to the throne.

§ 1. DURING the later years of Edward's reign the contending parties were hardly kept in subjection by the awe of the king's name. The firmness of his original nature had deserted him, and even against the conqueror and lawgiver the complaints were daily growing more bitter. When his grandson came to the throne, a boy of ten years of age, there

was no longer any restraint on the cabals and divisions of an ambitious and selfish nobility anxious to recover its hereditary pre-eminence, or on the complaints of the injured and over-taxed commons. Religious innovation took its usual appearance, in the eyes of the established authority, of revolution no less than heresy ; and before a year of the new king was past, there was confusion in Church and State, in hamlet and castle. While the attention of the great was occupied by the chances of rank and fortune thrown open to them by the change of masters, the French landed on the Isle of Wight, and burnt and ravaged the Garden of England as far as Carisbrook. The Spaniards, ever ready to unite with our enemies, joined them in an attempt on Southampton ; Rye and Hastings were burnt, and all this time the energies of the magnates and statesmen in London were directed to the selection of a council of government from which there was a prospect of greatest advantage to themselves.

§ 2. John of Gaunt, the next surviving brother of the Black Prince, was suspected, rightly or wrongly, of having designs upon the throne of the fair-haired stripling, who was endeared to the general heart by his resemblance to his father. He was suspected, with more certain proof, of a leaning towards the new doctrines advocated by the party called the Lollards. He was therefore unpopular with all classes—with the nobles as an encourager of the commons in their claims to greater freedom ; with the Church as supporting their enemies, the readers of Wickliffe's Bible and gainsayers of priestly power ; and with the people at large, as a suspected enemy of their idol, the pretty-faced boy, whom they fondly expected to inherit his father's genius as well as his right to the crown. He therefore retired in sulky dignity to his Castle of Kenilworth, and consoled himself with the grand-sounding title he had assumed on the death of Pedro, his father-in-law, of King of Castile.

The House of Commons met to consider the best means

of resisting the combined efforts of France and Spain, and did not require to be told by the noblemen in power that the best means of effecting that object was a grant of money. The money was accordingly granted, but a strange condition was attached to the grant, that the proceeds of the tax should be paid into the hands of two citizens of London, John Philpot and William Walworth—both very remarkable names, as we shall see in a few pages—who should apply every farthing to the object for which it was raised. This was a bold interference with the executive government; but John of Gaunt seems to have given his countenance to the popular pretension, for we find him in command of the fleet which the commissioners prepared, and which was successful in punishing the allies for their aggression on our shores. He obtained two fresh landing-places on the shores of France, by treating with the King of Navarre and the Duke of Brittany; and England took peaceable possession of Cherbourg and Brest. The English, however, could not understand how a treaty could be concluded without bribery and corruption, and accused the duke of wasting the subsidy on foreign potentates instead of building vessels enough to take the two harbours by main force. Another proof of his inefficiency was found in the audacity of the Scotch. That furious population was of course in arms the moment the war was renewed with France. But not only across the Border, this time, was the torrent of Blue Bonnets directed. Besides burning Berwick as usual, they tried a new sort of hostility, and cruised against the English trade. John Mercer, a Scottish adventurer, attacked Scarborough with a mixed fleet of Scotch and French and Spaniards, while John of Gaunt was flaunting his useless squadron in front of his purchased towns on the coast of Brittany.

In this extremity John Philpot, whom we saw appointed parliamentary treasurer, came to the rescue. He fitted out a

fleet at his own expense, and took the sea, determined to try conclusions with the vain-glorious Scot. He gained a victory that left the country safe. Mercer was a prisoner, the Spanish ships were captured, and their prizes all recovered. Great rejoicings of the commonalty celebrated the triumphal return of John Philpot as he sailed up the Thames. But the jealousies of the nobility were excited. Philpot had fought without a royal commission; he had sailed without orders; he had won a victory which it would have required an earl at least to accomplish in a worthy manner; and the avenger of the disaster of Scarborough, so far from being rewarded for his exploit, very nearly lost his head for the presumption of his success.

§ 3. The squabbles of the Court were conducted by the three royal uncles of the king. These were Lancaster, Gloucester, and York. Nearer still to the throne stood Philippa, the daughter of their elder brother, Lionel of Clarence, who was wife of Mortimer, Earl of March. She took no part in public affairs, and nothing stood between a state of anarchy or civil war but the life of the youthful king. The same state of affairs existed in France. There also were a childish king and ambitious uncles—increased taxes were required in both countries to maintain the extravagance of so many grasping princes, and wars were got up between the countries to furnish an excuse for additional imposts. Parliament was persuaded to grant a poll-tax to vindicate our injured honour, while France was equally burdened to chastise the insults of the English. The amount of the poll-tax was fixed at three groats a poll (or head), and every person above fifteen years of age was liable for this amount. Where a village or district was very poor, the richer neighbours had to make up the aggregate sum, so that every inhabitant was interested in seeing that no one escaped. If there were two millions of persons of the specified age, the

tax would be equal to a million and a half of our present coin, and this was too good a prize to be allowed to be diminished by any undue leniency in the execution.

Brutal collectors were spread over the land. The limits of the taxable age were easily evaded; the parents pretended their children were still too young; the commissioners insisted the really exempt were past the required age. Riots broke out in many places; for as the demand was made equally on rich and poor, the popular instinct told the still legally unenfranchised masses that if they contributed to the expenses of the State, they were entitled to all its privileges. The fact of paying a shilling gave a man a right to see to the application of the money. Stories were told of how the funds were wasted—how the great folks at London did nothing but plunder the poor—and perhaps in vague and exaggerated terms there spread among them reports of the recent Jacquerie in France, how stoutly Jacques Bonhomme had protested against injustice, and how shamefully he had been ridden down, tortured, and killed. A hatred of his superiors for the first and last time in our history became almost universal with the English labourer. Perverted texts of Scripture were quoted from Wickliffe's Bible; bitter attacks on the hierarchy from Chaucer's poems; and a verse by John Ball, a priest of Kent, flew from mouth to mouth in support of their disregard of all the boasts of heraldry, the pomp of power—

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?

Still, in spite of ominous warnings in many quarters; of an uproar attended with loss of life at Brentwood; of the sacking and burning of an unpopular officer's house in Essex; the un pitying gatherers of the poll-tax were hounded on the peasantry, for the princes and courtiers were in want of money. At Dartford, in Kent, one of them insulted a little maiden of fourteen, on pretence of proving that she was of

the taxable age. Her father saw or heard of the insult, and struck the insulter dead with his hammer. He was a man of the name of Walter, a tyler by trade, and Wat Tyler became the leader of a national movement. London was the centre of all their hopes. There lived the son of their friend and champion the Black Prince; there sat the Parliament in which their voices might be heard; and there they could give utterance to their miserable complaints, and throw themselves on the tenderness of the king. Farther down in Kent greater excitement still had been produced by the intemperate conduct of one of the nobles in claiming a runaway bondsman. The man was delivered from his hands by force, and Rochester Castle, where he had been confined, was taken. Wat the Tyler, the hero of the cause, representing in the people's eyes the freedom of their sons and the purity of their daughters, was appointed leader, and the great march began. Multitudes joined them on the road, and when they reached Blackheath their numbers had risen to a hundred thousand men.

§ 4. It was necessary for them to carry matters with a high hand, for if they failed in their object, after the violence they had committed, their doom was sealed. They had tarnished their cause with useless cruelty. They had slaughtered peaceful magistrates in some of the towns, and everywhere uttered denunciations on the priests. Richard, with his chief counsellors, threw himself into the Tower. His mother was with him, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the eldest son of John of Gaunt, Henry of Bolingbroke, whom we shall soon see in a more prominent place. From none of these advisers was Richard likely to receive conciliatory counsels, though some of the more obscure members were in favour of gentle measures. His Grace of Canterbury was indignant that anything but force should be used to the rascal rabble, and his Christian exhortation was rewarded with the gutting of his palace at Lambeth, and the burning

of all his books. Wat and his attendants obtained an entrance into the heart of the city, and the cowardice of the richer citizens did the rest. They tried to propitiate the mob by making it drunk, and in a frenzy of uncontrolled excitement the intoxicated multitude proceeded to the Strand, and gave the Savoy palace, the town residence of John of Gaunt, to the flames. A ludicrous assumption of magnanimity accompanied those Bacchanalian patriots, of which we have seen a repetition in a neighbouring capital in more recent times. They were ready to destroy, to mutilate, to murder, but they would not steal. They ruined the finest and most tastefully fitted-up house at that time in England out of enmity to the Duke of Lancaster; but they drowned a man in the Thames who was detected in filching a silver cup. Other parallels might be found besides this Roman abnegation of self, if we searched for them. Indiscriminate slaughter was practised in the street. The blade of a swordsman did the work of the guillotine; the possession of wealth was a reason for execution; prisons were broken open, and foreigners put to death. It was a reign of terror, and all other government seemed at an end.

A bold measure was taken when this state of affairs had lasted three days. The king sent a message to the leaders that he would meet them at Mile End, and take their grievances into consideration. Some of his friends were alarmed at the danger of such a meeting, and fled. When he left the Tower gate, a furious mob broke in and murdered the inmates, including their enemy the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several other great officers. Richard pursued his way, and met the men of Essex at Mile End, as had been arranged. They presented their requests—very simple and unmistakeable most of them—and Richard read them with care. They required the formal abolition of serfdom, the freedom of market for their commodities, and a general pardon for offences. They asked, also, a law to fix the yearly value of land; but this is only

valuable as showing that they were recognised as tenants, and therefore not in the condition of absolute slaves. To all their complaints he gave a favourable reply, and the men of Essex, who had never faltered in their affection to the crown, departed well pleased.

But the men of Kent were made of sterner stuff. On the following day they rejected a charter containing the franchises with which their brethren had been contented, and Richard rode down to soothe them. Wat the Tyler spurred forward, and met the king at the door of St. Bartholomew's Abbey, in Smithfield. Something in the impetuous manner of the rioter alarmed the royal attendants. William Walworth, the mayor, struck him down with a blow of his mace, and a young squire of the name of Philpot dispatched him with his sword. Richard walked his horse quietly forward, and said to the multitude who had witnessed the action, "Do not be afraid at the death of your captain and guide. He was a traitor. I am your king, and will be your captain and guide myself." And setting himself at their head, he conducted the awed and astonished assembly to the fields above Islington. While they were still uncertain what to do, the gates of London poured forth a large force of mounted men-at-arms, who had been preparing within the walls, and now dashed with irresistible impetuosity on the confused mass. They were only prevented by the king, who however joined in the first charge, from making an indiscriminate slaughter of the whole. Richard took them into his grace, and all might have been well if he had only kept his word.

§ 5. But the conduct of the congregated serfs had alarmed the upper classes, and in these last we perceive a great admixture of the lately enfranchised members of the lower order; for Parliament, representing the towns and counties, was as much embittered against them as the nobles. The law was let loose on those whom the sword had spared, and some thousands fell a sacrifice to the executioner, in spite of the

solemn granting of the king's pardon, which was as solemnly withdrawn. This is not an unimportant or inconclusive incident in English history, merely because it was ineffective, like an obscure riot in a country town. We dwell upon it at some length as a painful illustration of the state of society at the time. After all the elevating efforts of Edward, and after the value which the foreign wars had given to the thews and sinews of the men who could draw the bow and handle the flail, we perceive a permanent line drawn between the rich and poor which it took centuries of slow improvement to efface. The emancipation of the bondman was proceeding by imperceptible degrees. Many ways were opened for his admission to the privileges of freedom. If he resided for a year and a day in a borough town, he could not be reclaimed by his lord; and when we remember the difficulty of communication between different parts of the country, and the natural inclination of the lower portion of the citizens to connive at the self-liberation of their rural brethren, we shall not wonder that when the serf obtained his master's permission to go to Canterbury or Lincoln, on a pilgrimage to a favourite shrine, he was allowed to linger long enough within the precincts of the city of refuge to secure his liberty for ever. Death-bed repentance, and the exhortations of the clergy (who, however, never bestowed manumission on any of their own), had contributed greatly to strike off the labourer's disabilities; but now these things were changed. Wat Tyler, and John Ball, and Jack Straw all died as felons or traitors, and the populations which had only been despised and treated with contemptuous benevolence, in their abject and helpless condition, were now considered enemies to be feared. They were allowed to go on no holy pilgrimage to St. Thomas. They were allowed to follow no hares in the field. They were not allowed free access to fairs or markets, and were left to the tender mercies of their alienated superiors, who, in addition to the value of their forced labour on their roads and farms, had

now the gratification of revenge. The continuance of the Game Laws and the Law of Settlement, and the apathy, only now beginning to be removed, with regard to the education and comfort of the people, may, perhaps, be traced to the failure of Wat Tyler's violent and injudicious attempt.

But the condition even of the lowest order was not so widely discriminated from that of the others as it would appear at the present day. In fact, no person seems to have been absolutely free; for the multiplicity of laws, which is always a sign of their inadequacy or injustice, embraced the whole nation within one or other of their pettifogging and irritating enactments. There were laws for rich people's dress and dinners, as well as for the pauper's work and residence. Nobody below a certain rank could wear the stuff or habit he chose—a little rise in position called for a change of garment; doctors, burgesses, magistrates of towns, small country squires, and knights of landed estate, were all compelled by statute to wear the apparel befitting their degree; and if we look at the pictures of the costume of the period, we shall find that law-makers were prodigiously bad tailors, and that a more unbecoming style of dress has seldom been forced on a senseless generation by the tyranny of fashion. Men and women wore long lappets hanging from their shoulders, tight-fitting, wide-sleeved gowns, and shoes of enormous length. A short time before this, the rage for large feet was so furious that a dandy who wished to astonish his admirers was forced to tie up the toes of his boots to his knees by a silver chain, and walk as if he were encased in a ludicrously exaggerated pair of skates. The dress of a well-known stage character probably took its origin from the taste of those leaders of the ton, for their pantaloons were generally of variegated colours, sometimes one leg being red and the other blue, or ornamented with perpendicular stripes of every size and shade. The head-gear was in strict accordance with the other portions of the dress. The ladies appear to have had several layers of heavy cloth

tied round their chins and fixed at the back of their heads, while the men disguised themselves in thick and shapeless hats, which looked like turbans more than half unrolled. Others had merely fillets across the brow, and some had turned-up round beavers, with a rose on the front of the rim. Things like linen coronets were used by damsels of high degree, and the upper garment was exceedingly like a night-gown, extending to the knees. One picture presents us with the portrait of a gentleman in a spotted reading gown, down to the ground, an arrangement which prevents us from seeing the long, thin elongation of his feet, projecting like canoes nearly a yard before him. How they could dance or ride in such fantastic apparel it is not for us to say. They must have done both with exceeding awkwardness, and as those extremes are only observable in persons of the highest station, we may conclude that they adopted the fashion (on the principle that leads the Chinese ladies, by the smallness of their feet and length of their finger nails to incapacitate themselves from walking or working with the needle) for the purpose of showing that they were above the ordinary requirements of mortality, and required to make no kind of personal exertion. Walking quickly and moving with ease must be left to people who were too poor to do without them. The serfs are therefore not so much to be pitied after all, for they had at least the use of all their limbs, and did not disguise their humanity in so many yards of velvet and brocade.

The armour also, in which the knights encased themselves, had reached the extremity of clumsiness and weight. The graceful flexibility of the chain-armour had given place to the solid plates which imprisoned their wearer in their unyielding mould. Lumps of steel were plastered upon all parts of the body; little bits over the knuckles and larger pieces projecting from the knee. Their toes had a double lining of metal, while legs, and thighs, and breast, and back were completely enveloped in iron. The great helmet had been found useless,

and a lighter covering, called the bassinet, with a visor which could be fitted on or taken off, as required, was now the protection of the head. When the visor was down, there was no access for air, except through the breathing-holes left open for the mouth and nose; and, as if all this mass of integument were not sufficient, the unhappy cavalier was compelled to cover his defensive armour with thick carpets, embroidered with his arms, and richly wrought velvet aprons from his hip to his knee; and as his horse was equally loaded with these cumbersome devices, we may imagine what a waste of strength this quarter of a ton weight of safety entailed. And it was not safety after all. No battle-axe, to be sure, could make much impression, nor could the sword of any other horseman do much damage to the strong harness; but if by any accident the horse fell down, or the knight was overthrown, vain were all his attempts to rise. He was as helpless as a turtle on its back; and the foot-soldiers of the enemy ran up to him as an easy prey, undid the strings of his bassinet to give him a little air, and either stabbed him in the throat for the sake of his armour, or forced him to pay an exorbitant ransom on condition of being lifted on his feet. And at this very time, when the ingenuity of cutlers and blacksmiths had made chivalric war as innocuous to the parties engaged as a tournament with blunted spears, there were heard at remote intervals the thunders of those "cracks of war" which were destined to send chivalry and tournaments, with their heavy shields and glittering plates, into the region of romance; for after cannon were fairly introduced, and the arquebus was an ordinary weapon, it was evident that steel was as glaring an anachronism in actual battle as the flint celts of our ancestors would have been, or the cross-bow in the days of the Minié rifle.

§ 6. This slight description of the outward appearance of the subjects of Richard II. seems a fitting introduction to the reign of that frivolous and superficial king; for there was nothing in his aims or character but external show. The

great rejoicings which celebrated his marriage with Anne of Bohemia, in the year 1382, had scarcely subsided before the troubles of his career began. He was but sixteen at the period of his wedding, and might have been moulded to all the virtues of his place, if his counsellors had been judiciously chosen. But whether the suspicion of the Duke of Lancaster's ambition was well or ill-founded, it, at all events, had the bad effect of throwing the youthful monarch into the hands of persons of a lower class, who used him for their own advantage. Unable to confide in either of his uncles, and sighing for some companionship which might be indulged in without danger, he soon surrounded himself with a whole circle of favourites and flatterers, among whom he feasted, and hawked, and gambled, while his authority was seriously imperilled by the rising discontent of a great part of the people. It is probable that the imputations thrown on Lancaster were invented, or at least supported, by the malice of the more bigoted churchmen, who never forgave him his patronage of the Lollards, as the disciples of Wickliffe were called, nor his intimacy with the free-tongued and irreverent-minded poet, Geoffrey Chaucer. A man who defended the followers of the new faith—the faith that spread with wonderful rapidity all over Europe in a very few years after the English Bible appeared—could not be a true friend to the Church, or consequently a safe adviser of the Crown. Accusations were made and withdrawn again. Plots were formed against John of Gaunt, which drove him for safety into Scotland. Plots were also formed in his favour, which put him to the necessity of disavowing his supporters, and submitting to see them punished. Monks were busy everywhere in stirring these unholy fires, and one of them gave into Parliament a formal demand for the Duke's arrest as guilty of high treason. The paper was taken into consideration, and the accuser committed to the charge of Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother. Matters might have come to a legal

clearing if this case had been persevered in. But the monk was found dead next morning in his room, and nobody had the audacity to be very loud in wondering at the coincidence. Lancaster retired to his strong Castle of Pontefract, and in a short time was apparently reconciled to his nephew. The next move of the king, however, or rather of his secret committee of advisers, was no great proof of the sincerity of the reconciliation, for it consisted in a formal declaration that the king's cousin, Roger, Earl of March, grandson of Lionel of Clarence, was presumptive heir to the throne. A presumptive heirship did not seem of much value while a king and queen like Richard and Anne were so likely to have children; but the challenge was openly given, and it was thus that both parties construed the proclamation.

There were strong symptoms of discontent over the whole land. The court was divided into sets and parties who hated each other; the laws became relaxed in the general dissolution of manners; and while persons of sober minds and deeper religious sentiments gave attentive ear to the new doctrines, in which they saw a correction for the faults of Church and State, Richard was the gayest of kings and most luxurious of livers, and wasted the revenues of the country on his buffoons and favourites. Of these the two chief were Michael de la Pole, whom in this year he created Earl of Suffolk, and Robert de Vere, whom he created Marquis of Dublin and Duke of Ireland. The balance was kept apparently even by the nomination of the king's uncles to the Dukedoms of Gloucester and York, and of his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, to the Earldom of Derby. But these royal kinsmen were offended at the elevation of their upstart rivals, and the country was kept uneasy with the reports which came from all quarters of violence and bloodshed. Sir John Holland, whom we saw so grievously suspected of getting quit of the inconvenient monk who accused the Duke of Lancaster, had openly murdered Sir Ralph Clifford, one of

the court favourites, and seating himself on the *Friedstuhl*, or chair of peace, in the church of St. John of Beverley, was pardoned by the king without a word of rebuke.

§ 7. The Scots were up in arms in eager expectation of a foray into the south; a great French fleet was at Sluys, preparing for invasion; and while these unhappy circumstances were rankling in men's minds, a parliament met in October, and a constitutional revolution was effected. Michael de la Pole, the newly-created Earl of Suffolk, was ordered into custody on the charge of robbing the revenue and extorting great gifts from the king. A council of regency was then named, of which the Duke of Gloucester was at the head, and by this one act Richard was virtually as powerless as if he had been formally dethroned. But he did not yield without a struggle. He had meetings and consultations with his friends; he succeeded in procuring a declaration from some of the judges that the patent for the formation of the regency was illegal; and finally, De Vere, the Duke of Ireland, escaped from custody, and fought an unsuccessful battle at Radcot Bridge, near Oxford. The king's last hope seemed vanished, and any one else would have given way to despair. But the frivolity which does not see a danger is sometimes as useful as the courage which meets it.

§ 8. He submitted to the exile of his favourite, and even to the execution of the complaisant judge, Tresilian, who had pronounced the illegality of the regency. The people saw in this late retribution a punishment for the harshness with which this legal tool of the court had treated the sharers in Tyler's rebellion. But the king saw in his fate only another proof of the vindictive hatred of his uncle Gloucester, who had discovered a royal plot by which he was to be assassinated and the sycophants restored to power. The only person involved in this destruction who excited the popular sympathy was Sir Simon Burley, tutor of the king and companion of the Black Prince. The king and queen, and even the

stern Henry of Bolingbroke interceded for his life; but in vain. Gloucester was insatiate of blood, and the king saw another of his supporters removed, and yet did not despond. He awaited patiently till the dissensions of his enemies should open the way to his return. In a sort of honourable imprisonment, surrounded with show and grandeur, and treated outwardly with respect, the vain young man consoled himself for the disappointment of his hopes of absolute power. A great skirmish on the borders, afterwards famous in tale and history as the Battle of Otterbourne, which gave the subject to the noble ballad of Chevy Chace, was fought between the Scottish Douglas and Percy of Northumberland, while the government was in this unsettled condition. Nobles everywhere provisioned their castles and summoned their retainers. Private wars raged with as much fierceness as in the days of Stephen and Matilda; and the weary population turned their eyes in all quarters in search of a protector from the local tyranny by which they were oppressed.

One day in the council the king suddenly asked his uncle how old he thought he was, and when Gloucester answered in surprise, "You are twenty-two." "Then," said Richard, "I am old enough to take the reins in my own hands. I thank you for your past services, but require them no more." Matters had been so arranged that no resistance was made. Gloucester and the counsellors retired, and Richard, who occasionally had gleams of his father's spirit, published a proclamation to the people that he had dismissed his servants, and had assumed the government himself. But the flash of courage was instantly extinguished. He confided all to the management of the men from whom he had in reality most to dread; one being the brother of the very Gloucester he had wronged, and the other the calm and far-seeing Henry of Bolingbroke, who had acquired the reputation of a zealous Christian by fighting against the heathen in Lithuania, and of a good soldier by his conduct in the defeat of De Vere at

Radcot Bridge. A new plot, with fresh characters, seemed to thicken the moment the old performers were removed. John of Gaunt came home from Spain, where he had gone to support his claim to the crown in right of his wife, and had ended by marrying his daughter to the King of Portugal. He used his influence to produce a reconciliation between his dear brother and his loving nephew. Richard received Gloucester into his favour. They embraced and swore eternal friendship, and separated to plot against each other's lives as usual.

§ 9. Richard did not care how long this state of things went on, for he had all the enjoyment of which he was capable. He had a household consisting of ten thousand persons, of whom three hundred were cooks. The expenses of his table were defrayed by Parliament; and when Parliament was niggard of supplies, he sent out his purveyors, and collected provisions and money as if in an enemy's land. Robbery and pillage walked abroad unopposed except by some powerless acts and proclamations. Despair seemed to possess men's hearts, and render them careless of life and liberty. And in the midst of this universal dissolution of manners and public apathy, the gay and voluptuous monarch established as tyrannical and unquestioned a power as if he had been the wisest and most calculating of rulers. He strengthened his hands at home by an alliance with the French king, whose daughter he married when he was left a widower by the death of the good Queen Anne. Isabella was only seven years old, but she brought him the solid benefit of a dowry of two hundred thousand crowns, and a treaty of peace for twenty-five years. Relying on this foreign ally, he could afford to take vengeance of his domestic foes. Gloucester, first in his hatred, was seized at his own castle gate, where he had come out with wife and children to receive the king. With hawk on his wrist, and surrounded by a glittering company of young and boisterous cavaliers, Richard gave the signal for the earl-marshal to lay hands on the hospitable

duke. He was hurried into a boat, and sent off to Calais, where, in a few weeks, he was infamously murdered; and the word of vengeance was spoken which made no man feel sure of his life. Parliament was packed or intimidated. The king attended its meetings with armed followers, and it attainted and executed the greatest men in the kingdom. It was only by an apparent participation in these acts that Lancaster and Derby themselves escaped the fate of their kinsman Gloucester. But the fiery rage of the weak-minded sovereign was no match for the imperturbable temper of the Earl of Derby. He watched the conduct, which he must have felt it impossible to amend, and knew that it could not last long. While he and his father were personally untouched, he was quiescent; and Richard, in a glow of gratitude at his silence, made him Duke of Hereford. But already the Duke of Hereford had higher aims.

Whether Richard perceived his latent ambition, or whether so light a nature finds it impossible to forgive an insult to its pride, the opposition Henry had made to the favourites still rankled in Richard's mind. Henry tried to protect himself by every means in his power—pardons under the Great Seal and declarations of Parliament in his favour. But Parliament had been discovered to be the fittest instrument of tyranny when it is no longer in the service of freedom, and powers and privileges were voted to Richard to which no absolute sovereign could have aspired. An income was settled on him for life, and, during the prorogation, all the authority of the State was to be exercised by a council of the king's nomination. He had a bodyguard of ten thousand archers, and there was no man in all the land "who durst blame anything that he did."

§ 10. Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, was riding one day with Henry of Hereford. These nobles were not friends, though they were both forced to dissemble. Their conversation, which Mowbray began, was on public affairs and the danger to be apprehended from the king. Henry answered cautiously; and then suspecting perhaps that Norfolk had spoken to lead

him into danger, resolved to be beforehand with him, and accused him of disloyalty and treason. Mowbray denied the impeachment, which Hereford threw down his gauntlet to maintain. Mowbray picked it up in presence of the Court, and the duel was fixed to take place at Coventry, where lists were ordered to be prepared.

Whether the accusations were true or false, whatever the result of the combat might be, Richard knew that he had now the two greatest nobles of England in his power—both opponents of his policy, and causers of the ruin of De la Pole and De Vere. The combatants appeared at Coventry on the appointed day. Banners were hung up and trumpets were blown, oaths were sworn against treachery and witchcraft, and the king on a raised seat saw before him the two men he feared and disliked the most. If one dies, he may have thought, the other will remain with an increase of power. Either without a rival will be more dangerous than while their interests are opposed. He threw down the baton before the first course was run, and so put an end to the encounter. He then summoned the foes before his chair, and passed sentence of banishment on them both; on Norfolk for life, on Hereford for ten years. The meeting broke up in confusion and surprise; but Richard rode back to London, conscious that his irresponsible authority was more firmly established than ever, for he had nothing further to fear from a broken-spirited fanatic like Mowbray, who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or an impoverished gentleman like Hereford, who had carried his poverty and disappointment into France.

§ 11. The events of this reign show that a nation's liberties are in as much danger from a self-willed, weak-minded sovereign, if he is only unprincipled enough to plot and cunning enough to deceive, as from the overbearing ambition of a bold, bad man. This most frivolous and puerile of English kings had now a bribed and obsequious parliament, a divided and depressed nobility, and an overpowered and apathetic

people. He pushed his good fortune to its utmost limits. When John of Gaunt died, he arbitrarily seized his estates, to the exclusion of the banished Hereford. Enriched with those vast possessions, and lavishing his new wealth on fresh crowds of flatterers and buffoons, he prepared for a royal visit to Ireland, where some opposition had been made to his officials, and Roger, Earl of March, the Lord Lieutenant, had been slain. This was in the spring of 1399, and in spite of the quiescence of all classes under what appeared his irresistible power, there were signs of an approaching storm, which a clearer eye could not have failed to perceive. The counties were gloomily discontented at his exactions and tyranny; all the smaller barons trembled within their little castles when they saw the royal hand crush with such apparent ease the great dignitaries of Hereford and Norfolk. The people had had time to forget their attachment to the memory of the Black Prince, and only remembered the sufferings inflicted on them by the followers and abettors of his degenerate son. Serf and citizen were now united in their hatred of the double-faced tyrant who had cheated the followers of Wat Tyler into submission, and then decimated them with tortures and executions; and the overbearing extortioner who ruined the cities with forced loans, and treated their rights and franchises with contempt.

While Richard was feasting in Dublin, a party of fifteen knights and an archbishop landed secretly at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, with Henry, now Duke of Lancaster. He was meek and humble in his demands. He only claimed the succession to his father's lands, of which he had been unjustly deprived, and a slight reform of the government by which the country was oppressed. In a very short time he was joined by all orders in the State. His march was a triumphal procession. The Duke of York, his uncle, who had been left regent, made no opposition, and even joined him with all the forces under his command in a summons to Bristol Castle. The fortress surrendered, and the bitterness of civil war had its first victims

in the execution of three of the chief supporters of Richard's extravagance and members of his council. After this no truce was possible; Henry of Bolingbroke or Richard of Bordeaux must cease to live.

§ 12. Richard came over from Ireland, and found that the kingdom had melted from his hand. Towns would not rise, nobles would not fight, even priests would not pray in his defence. Church and State were tired of the oppressor whom they despised. With bated breath and whispering humbleness he presented himself to his cousin in the Castle of Flint, having yielded himself prisoner to the Earl of Northumberland. But Henry was not to be outdone in the externals of politeness; he bent his knee, and kissed his master's hand, and said, "My lord, your people complain that you have used them harshly for two-and-twenty years; but, if it please God, I will help you to rule them better." "Fair cousin," said the king, "since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me well."

The helper of the weak in this case, as in every other, was the true chief. A Parliament, glad to escape the insolence of Richard, proclaimed the late exile king, while Richard in his prison in the Tower made a formal renunciation of the crown, and conveyed his royal signet to his kinsman. But abdication was not enough; he was formally deposed by a vote of Peers and Commons, on an impeachment of thirty-three articles containing a list of his crimes and shortcomings. Crowds on the outside of the building shouted when the news reached them. Henry rose from his chair, and crossing himself in the name of the Holy Trinity, made a claim upon the realm of England in right of his descent—though Roger of March had left a son seven years old; in right of conquest—though he was a rebellious subject supported by English friends; and finally, in right of his services in freeing the land from a master it disliked. He was at the head of a large army; almost all the nobility had compromised themselves by adopting his cause; he had secured the friendship of the Bishops, and

the people were greedy of change. It was of no consequence, therefore, whether his claims were well-founded or not; the throne was vacant, and there was no one to fill it but himself.

A retrospect of this reign fills us with surprise. For some years this was a strictly despotic kingdom. By voluntary resignation, or want of courage to resist the crown, the liberties of the nation which had stood up victoriously against the greatest of the Edwards, were placed beneath the feet of their most unworthy descendant; and yet, though he had appropriated all the authority of Lords and Commons, he could not defend his people from the aggressions of the Pope. Almost at the beginning of his personal supremacy, the great schism which tore Christendom in pieces had broken forth, and a still greater source of papal weakness had appeared in the translated Bible. Wickliffe, that gentler Luther, had completed his noble task, and enforced his doctrines with the eloquence of conviction and the captivating simplicity of his godly life. He was now dead; but the people who sat in darkness had seen a great light; and the spectacle was presented, at the end of the fourteenth century, of the degradation of the kingly office, the disruption of the Roman Church, and the rise of that true and undefiled religion which, after yielding for many years to the power of the axe and faggot, brightened into the glorious day of the Reformation.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

- 1377.** Accession of Richard II.
- 1381.** An obnoxious poll-tax levied on all above the age of fifteen.
- Rebellion of Jack Straw, Wat Tyler, and others, occasioned by the rigours of the poll-tax.
- Outrageous violence of the mob, and death of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw.
- 1384-5.** War with Scotland and France.
- 1387-8.** Civil contests between the king and the confederate lords.

A.D.

- 1392.** Richard's exactions on the citizens of London.
- 1397.** Captivity and murder of the Duke of Gloucester.
- 1399.** Invasion and rebellion of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, during the absence of Richard in Ireland.
- Richard committed as a prisoner to the Tower. He resigns his crown, which is claimed by the Duke of Lancaster.

THE LANCASTER BRANCH OF THE PLANTAGENET LINE.

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY THE FOURTH.

A.D. 1399 TO A.D. 1413.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Charles VI. (the Beloved); Henry VI. of England till 1436.

SCOTLAND.—Robert III.; James I.

POPES.—Benedict XIII. (at Avignon); Innocent VII.; Gregory XII.; Alexander V.; John XXII.

§ 1. Accession and coronation of Henry IV. King Richard murdered in Pontefract Castle. Romantic stories respecting his pretended escape.—§ 2. Insurrections and struggles between the Houses of York and Lancaster. The Red and White Roses.—§ 3. Character of Henry IV.—§ 4. Conspiracy to murder him defeated. His object to please the people and weaken the nobles. His expedition to Scotland.—§ 5. Insurrections in the North, headed by Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Owen Glendower. Fierce civil contests.—§ 6. Wickliffe, and his doctrines.—§ 7. Henry's victories over the Welsh, and defeat of Owen Glendower.—§ 8. Seizure and captivity of James of Scotland.—§ 9. Civil commotion and anarchy in France. Interference of the English, and march of troops through France.—§ 10. Henry's liberal concessions to the people. Peacefulness of this period.—§ 11. Comparison of the state of affairs at the beginning and end of Henry's reign.—§ 12. His death.

§ 1. WHILE the coronation of the new king was conducted with extraordinary pomp, as if to conceal the weakness of his claims, Richard lingered for a short time in the strong donjon of Pontefract, one of the possessions of the Lancasters. An impostor made his appearance, pretending to be the unhappy

monarch who had effected his escape, and Henry was driven into a crime to which he had probably no inclination. Sir Piers Exton, a yeoman of the guard, and several halberdiers entered the prison where Richard lay. The blood of the conqueror at Poitiers was roused by the sight of personal wrong. He seized a poleaxe from one of the assailants, and laid four of them dead at his feet. A short struggle, however, subdued his resistance, and the misguided king lay lifeless on the floor. Foreign policy as well as domestic safety demanded this sacrifice at the hands of the unscrupulous usurper. The French king was gathering an armament for the restoration of his son-in-law; the population of Guienne were discontented at the treatment of their countryman, whose birth they remembered in Bordeaux. His murder made armament and discontent equally unavailing; peace, therefore, was concluded with France, and Guienne returned to its obedience. 1400.

A fate so strange following a reign so remarkable needs no embellishment from romance or fancy; but the natural love of the marvellous has tempted some historians to continue the adventures of Richard, and to present him to us as a pensioner on the Scottish crown, having escaped from Pontefract, and leading a quiet life, with shattered intellect and neglected fortunes, in the neighbourhood of Stirling. But in spite of the ingenuity which constructs a reasonable tale out of vague rumours inserted in some of the contemporary chronicles, and entries in the books of Scottish accounts for the maintenance of some person called "the late King of England," the value of such a personage, if he had been alive, was too great both to the monarchs abroad and the rebellious nobles at home, to have allowed him to be kept from public view. He would have been brought forward in all the wars and rebellions which immediately occurred; he would have weakened the power of Henry far more than the guilt attributed to him of his death. The Scottish people would have

revenged the sack of Edinburgh and the defeat of Homildon-hill with the production of the rightful king; and Isabella of France, the widow of the murdered man, would not have ventured to give her hand to the Duke of Orleans if her husband was still surviving. Very few kings have met with secret or mysterious deaths without the unreasoning credulity of the multitude investing them with a continuation of their lives; even notorious malefactors are popularly believed to survive their legal executions; and this post-mortem existence of Richard must be classed with the fables which renewed the days of Barbarossa and Sebastian, and in our own time have described a poisoned swindler, whom a coroner's jury pronounced a felonious suicide, as alive and comfortable in New York; and a forging banker, who was publicly hanged at Newgate, as occupying a chateau in France.

§ 2. This great revolution at the end of 1399 commenced the long struggle of the houses of York and Lancaster. We shall remember the emblematic badge of the two sides in this momentous quarrel if we indulge our fancy with the thought that the red rose of Lancaster derived its hue from the bloody deed at Pontefract. The white flower of York, however, was as fertile in human suffering, for that "pale and angry rose," also, was turned into "a cognizance of men's blood-drinking hate." There is no other party cry which stands in such contrast to its aims and actions. The wars of the Roses did not break out for many years; but it is well to recollect that the usurpation of Henry is the point at which the separation of the families took place.

§ 3. A new king, and very different from the last, was now upon the throne. Stern, cold, and taciturn, he listened to everything that was said, but kept his resolution to himself. When the proper time came, he acted with decision, and the supporters of his claims found that they had elevated their confederate into their master. The family which had befriended him most was that of the Percies of Northumber-

land. Immense possessions and great offices in Church and State made them the most powerful clan in England ; but their influence was at that period more enhanced by the spirit and energy of the heir of the earldom, who is still popularly known as Hotspur, from the impetuosity of his character, than from all their wealth and titles. Unbounded in their ambition and unscrupulous in their designs, it was impossible to satisfy the demands they made in consideration of their services in securing the throne for their ally. Henry granted as much as was in his power, and prepared to resist their farther aggressions. His first effort was to lower the nobility which had adhered to Richard. He stripped them of the honours his predecessor had bestowed ; he resumed the estates which had been given them by the crown ; and, in order to strengthen himself in the general love, and counterbalance the hatred of the outraged aristocracy, he passed many good laws for the protection of the people, and tried to win over the Church.

§ 4. The Church, however, at first was hostile. The Abbot of Westminster gathered a number of the lords in his apartments, and there it was resolved to put the usurper to death. Time and place were fixed. A tournament was to be held at Oxford, and in the midst of the show the king was to be slain. But there was a traitor in the camp : the Earl of Rutland, who had been engaged in every plot for many years, and had also heartily joined in this, missed the appointment at Oxford, and betrayed the conspirators. His own father, the Duke of York, the uncle of the king, was one, and, perhaps to punish the traitorous heir, the aged duke was spared. Vengeance, however, was let loose on all the rest. Encouraged by the crown, the populace rose against the oppressors, and slew them as they fled to their respective homes ; lords and priests were equally the object of detestation, and many of both orders were executed without trial ; it was only when sufficient had been done to awe the boldest, that the sword was sheathed.

Henry was feared as much as hated, and fixed on another

means of pleasing the people and weakening the nobles, which was his policy throughout his reign. He summoned a great array of the feudal landholders, and forcing them to equip their retainers at their own expense, led a large force into Scotland, where he tried to increase the national glory without increasing the public burdens. But victories in Scotland were of no use, for there were no rich cities to reward the victors. The wild northmen came to resist the invasion, and fought with desperation; but hunger and want were more potent still, and Henry retreated with the utmost expedition, having impoverished his barons, and won the good opinion of his people by protecting even the Scotch peasantry whom he called his enemies, from the violence and robbery of his aristocratic friends.

§ 5. The Welsh were emulous of the Scottish success, and were anxious to starve an English army as perfectly in Radnor as had been done in Midlothian. Owen Glendower, a man of high descent but small patrimony, headed the discontented Britons. He had studied at an English university, and had even kept some terms in one of the inns of court. He was learned, courteous, and politic, and for some years kept up his opposition to the whole power of England, fighting great battles, and taking prisoners, and settling ransoms according to the recognised laws of war. He aspired to be more than a rebel, and proclaimed himself the leader of a great national cause; and a very unexpected event gave him so powerful an auxiliary, that for a time the issue of the contest was doubtful. This was a brilliant victory gained by Hotspur over an invading army of the Scots, under the Earl of Douglas. The struggle took place at Homildon Hill, in Northumberland, and half the Scottish chieftains were either taken or slain. Among the former, was the doughty Douglas himself; and we may conclude that during the settlement of the ransom a friendship sprang up between the two, for we see them firmly united in a very short time.

Owen Glendower had many prisoners in his hands; among others, Sir Edmund Mortimer, the uncle of the young Earl of March, who, according to legitimate descent, was Richard's heir to the crown. Percy, who had married the sister of Mortimer, insisted on his being ransomed by the king. But the king was by no means anxious for the freedom of so great a noble. Percy stormed and threatened, boasted of his services, and taunted Henry with ingratitude. Finally, we read that the fiery Percy, and the gallant Douglas, and the learned Glendower joined their causes together, and bade defiance to the royal arms. They proclaimed the king traitor and usurper, to the loss and detriment of the Earl of March; and the fate of the whole realm was cast on the decision of a battle.

This was the battle of Shrewsbury, in which the confederates were defeated with enormous loss. Douglas was taken prisoner; Hotspur was killed; Glendower had not come up in time, and received the tidings with dismay. With wise self-denial, the king allowed the principal fame of the achievement to be bestowed on Henry Prince of Wales, though only in his fifteenth year. In spite of the stories which represent the light-hearted prince as one of the wildest gallants of the day, the frequenter of taverns, and consorter with loose and disreputable characters, they must be founded on incidents long after the fight at Shrewsbury, and the sagacious Henry must always have known, after that event, of what metal his son was made. But whether those stories are founded on fact or not it is of no use to inquire; for Shakspeare having adopted the tradition, has invested it with such life and truth, that it would be as easy to persuade our countrymen of the non-existence of the friends they have known all their lives, as of the jolly, witty, wicked, and irresistible Sir John Falstaff, the boastful Pistol, the red-nosed Bardolf, and the other wondrous companions of young Hal's debauches. Henry, who had grudged his enemy Northumberland the possession of so brave and celebrated a son as Hotspur, looked on the con-

queror with the pride of a father no less than of a king. He felt that an heir so gifted was the surest guarantee of the continuance of his line.

But never was reign more troubled by treason, domestic and foreign levy, than this of the unhappy Lancaster. Glendower continued in arms, and was supported by the French king. The Isle of Wight was again ravaged by an invasion, which was quelled by the gallantry of the natives. Plymouth was burned by another expedition, and all this time reprisals were carried on on the opposite coast. The maritime towns were burned, and the inhabitants slain. There was misery on both shores, from Boulogne to Brest, and from Dover to the Land's End; for war had degenerated into piracy, and neither navy was powerful enough to protect its own domains. Both realms, too, were torn asunder by factious quarrels; the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy striving for the supremacy in France, and insurrections against the intruder springing up every now and then in England.

Old Northumberland, the father of Hotspur, joined in an attempt to establish the young Earl of March, who had escaped from his honourable captivity in Windsor. The king and princes were active and prepared. An engagement took place at Shipton-on-the-Moor, where ruin befel the insurgents' cause, and Northumberland was slain. Scrope, Archbishop of York, was one of their leaders—a fighting prelate, who relied on his priestly immunities to bear him safe out of his treasonable attempts. In this instance his expectations were disappointed. He was executed along with the other chiefs, in spite of his clerical rank and sacred privileges—the first instance in which the civil sword fell on an ecclesiastical wrong-doer. Henry found it easy, by the usual methods of bribery and submission, to turn aside the anger of the Pope, who fulminated a sentence of excommunication against the workers of this sacrilege against the Church. The archbishop declared upon the scaffold that his only object was to obtain

a reform of abuses, and that he had no wish for any personal evil to the king; but as his confederates, Nottingham, the son of Henry's old enemy, Mowbray of Norfolk, and Falconbridge, and the other allies of the Percies, had almost fixed a price upon his head, and considered him the greatest abuse which could possibly be reformed, we can scarcely give so sagacious a man as the Archbishop of York credit for much regard for the safety of Henry's person.

§ 6. The public feeling with reference to the Church had greatly changed since the more public diffusion of Wickliffe's opinions. In the parliament held this year the extraordinary proposition was made by the Commons that the king should seize the temporalities of the bishops and other dignitaries for the maintenance of his royal state and the defence of the realm, while the lower clergy were to be remunerated with the humble salary of seven marks a-year. Henry rejected the tempting proposal, for the hierarchy was still of great political power, and, so far from weakening the only body in the State in whose appointment he had a direct voice, he determined to bind the bishops for ever to his side, and oppose them, in case of necessity, to the aggressions of the lay nobility. With this view, he gave up the followers of the new doctrines to the vengeance of the clergy, and withdrew the protection of English law from the Lollards and other sectaries who differed from the Church of Rome. Many were burned from the very commencement of his reign, and the papacy had its strongest support in the usurper.

It is strange how uniformly the old maxim has been proved true, that Rome grows strong at the extremities in proportion as she is weak at the heart. While the pontiff is chased from his states, or insulted in the streets of his capital, the more distant adherents to his cause seem to increase in their zeal. At this very time, when excommunications were thundered forth, sometimes on the king and nobles of England, sometimes on the royal princes of France, the chair of St. Peter

was disputed by two infuriated rivals, who mutually anathematized each other under the names of Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. They were united, however, in their hatred of dissent, and Henry, by the execution of a heretic, gained equally the good opinion of Avignon and Rome.

§ 7. Henry was rewarded for these good works by fresh successes against his enemies. He had the satisfaction of securing the quiet, if not the obedience, of Wales, by a crowning victory gained by his son over Glendower; and that strange combination of the educated London lawyer, the hereditary prince, and patriotic soldier, disappears from history altogether. It is a proof of the nobleness and purity of his character in other respects, and of the reverence entertained for his acquirements, that the greatest accusation brought against him was that he was a magician. The politicians of that age did not know the "mighty magic" of a national cause and an untarnished name. The defeated Welsh chieftain would have scorned the next action by which the unscrupulous Lancaster disarmed one of his neighbours.

§ 8. There was peace between him and old Robert III. of Scotland. But domestic dissensions induced the aged king to send his eldest son, prince James, for safety and education, to the court of France. An English ship arrested the vessel in which he sailed, and the heir of Scotland was too valuable a prize to be sent back on any qualm of conscience. He was taken to the Tower, and kept in pleasant custody for nineteen years—pleasant from the kindness personally shown him, and the attention paid to his learning and improvement in all the arts and exercises of the time, but still a custody which humiliated his people and broke his father's heart.

§ 9. Protected on the west by the defeat of Glendower, and on the north by the possession of the rightful and acknowledged king, he was no less fortunate in being delivered from the ambition and enmity of France by the state of anarchy and confusion into which that nation fell. The parties of the

Orleanists and Burgundians depopulated the land with their mutual slaughters, and offended heaven and earth with the reciprocity of foul and unnatural murders. Alternately they offered terms to Henry, and one after another promised to support him in his claims to all the ancient possessions of the English crown, on condition of a little aid in men and money. Unfortunately the English became accustomed to the idea of a campaign in France. The king was mad, the dauphin luxurious and careless, the princes ambitious and divided, and Harry of Monmouth, the youthful combatant at Shrewsbury and firm pacificator of Wales, must already have cast his eye on the weak and exposed dominion as a fitting field for the display of his military skill and his vigour in settling national discontent. The troops, indeed, which Clarence, the second son of Henry, had carried over to aid one of the factions made no secret of their wish to return on their own account. They had marched unopposed from end to end of France, receiving money from both parties, and already felt themselves victors whenever they drew the sword.

§ 10. The rest of Henry's reign was peaceful, and his subjects, on looking back on the course of his legislation, had no reason to be dissatisfied. Like all monarchs, whose title does not rest on a strong hereditary right, he was forced to compensate for the method of his accession by the popular use he made of his power. The authority of parliament was greatly enlarged, because it was on parliamentary sanction that the king's possession of the crown was founded. No attempt was made to impose taxes without its consent, or without a previous promise of a redress of grievances. A permanent council was named, by whose advice the king was to govern, and who took an oath to defend the liberties already secured.

§ 11. A comparison of the state of affairs at the beginning of this reign and the end will show the progress which those fourteen years had made. The feeble and tumultuous period

of Richard II. had encouraged the wildest excesses. Every noble had his castle and retainers ; his personal enemies to punish, and the tenants of his neighbours to ransom or ruin. Wars were constant between the smallest potentates ; and as appeals to the civil courts, whose judges were appointed from the worst motives, gave satisfaction to nobody, the system of duelling became universal. Earls, barons, squires, priests, and even ladies—everybody must fight instead of going to law. And as in the legal process it was allowable to employ a barrister or attorney to represent the principal in the cause, it was allowable also in the judicial duel to employ gentlemen learned in cut and thrust to do battle in the litigants' behalf. We saw how solemn lists were established at Coventry to void the quarrel between Bolingbroke and Mowbray. A thousand meetings of the same kind were held between disputants every year ; and we ought perhaps here to take notice that a duel was not the mere outbreak of evil feeling, or the craving for revenge which it would be considered in our time. There was something almost religious in the appeal to arms. It was carrying the cause for the decision of heaven ; and so certain were the judges of the lists of the justice of the sentence, as revealed by the result of the single combat, that the victor was established in all his claims, while the unhappy vanquished was pitilessly hanged. When Henry met his first Parliament, in 1400, the House of Lords, composed, as we have said, of the uncurbed barons who had run riot since the death of Edward, was so violent and so divided, that forty gloves of challenge were flung down upon the floor. This shows two things—the unruliness and exasperation of the lords, and the custom they had of coming to that deliberative assembly fully armed ; for the gauntlet was no part of the civil dress, but was a steel-scaled glove which guarded the hand up to above the wrist, and could only have been worn with the other portions of the suit.

§ 12. Henry became gradually weaker in body and more suspicious in mind. Yet the laws were now so assured that no man's life was in danger from the enmity of the king. He talked of salving over his conscience by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and even of raising an army to renew the exploded fanaticism of the Crusades. But death came too rapidly to allow the sincerity either of his repentance or his designs to be proved. One day he was kneeling before the shrine of Edward the Confessor—the last of the legitimate line which his ancestor the Norman had overthrown—and was suddenly struck with illness. He was carried into the chamber called “Jerusalem,” and fondly hoped his vow to die in the capital of the Christian faith was fulfilled. When his strength was nearly gone, the attendants reported his death. The Prince of Wales went in, and placed the crown upon his head. “My fair son,” said Henry, “what right have you to it? You know I have none.” “With your sword,” replied the martial heir, “you won it, and with the sword I will hold it while I live.” The king answered with a deep sigh, “I leave all in God's hands, and pray for his mercy.” He died on the 20th of March, one of the coldest, harshest, most unamiable, but most energetic and useful of our kings.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1399. Accession of Henry IV. (surnamed Bolingbroke.)	Mowbray, Earl-Marshal, and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.
1400. The ex-king Richard murdered in Pontefract Castle.	1405. The French landed in Wales, when many of their ships were destroyed in Milford Haven, and they were compelled to re-embark.
1401. William Sawtry burnt in London for Lollardism.	1407. A terrible plague raged in London.
1403. Rebellion of the Earl of Northumberland, Owen Glendower, Earl of Northumberland, and others, defeated by the king at Shrewsbury, and Percy, surnamed Hotspur, killed.	1409. British troops sent to France, in order to aid one of the contending factions.
1405. A new insurrection in the north against Henry by Thomas	1413. Death of Henry IV.

CHAPTER X.

HENRY THE FIFTH.

A.D. 1413 TO A.D. 1422.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Henry VI. of England till 1436; Charles VII. (the Victorious).

SCOTLAND.—James I.

POPES.—John XXII.; Martin V.

§ 1. Accession of Henry V. His favourable position.—§ 2. Peculiar state of the Church. Increasing contempt for the priesthood.—§ 3. Statute for the burning of heretics. Fires of Smithfield. Execution of Sir John Oldcastle for Lollardism.—§ 4. Distracted state of France, and Henry's claims to the sovereignty.—§ 5. Henry invades the country with a large force. Battle of Agincourt, in which the English are victorious against treble their number. Great slaughter.—§ 6. Pay of the soldiers. The king mortgages his crown jewels to satisfy their claims and push his conquests.—§ 7. Henry's second invasion of France, and conquest of Normandy. His marriage to Catherine, daughter of Charles VI. of France, and his claims to the French crown.—§ 8. Death and character of Henry V.

§ 1. No opposition was made to the accession of the Prince of Wales. The Earl of March, the legitimate heir, was still alive; but, so far from making any objection to his cousin's elevation, was happy to remain under his guardianship, and found a continuance of the same safety and kindness he had experienced since the deposition of Richard II. Henry V. was very fortunate in all the circumstances of his position. The taint of personal usurpation was washed out by the fourteen years' reign of his father. He was the next in blood to a king who had been acknowledged by every State in

Europe. He had secured the attachment of the family of the Percies, who had been so perilous to his two predecessors. He was five-and-twenty years of age, "comely and tall," with the reputation of military skill, and the glory of heroic courage. Every knight looked to his arms, and the gallant archers feathered their arrows and new strung their bows, for it was instantly seen that, with an ambitious warrior on the throne, and France in weakness and confusion, there could be but one outlet for the national spirit, and Crecy and Poitiers would be triumphantly renewed.

The nobles were subdued by the stern severity of his father. The towns were reconciled by the prosperity resulting from the firmness of his rule. The commons were satisfied with the increased influence which it had been his policy to bestow upon their order, and there wanted only a little more favour lavished on the clergy to unite all conditions of men in obedience to the son, and attachment to his person.

§ 2. A strange state of feeling existed at this time with respect to the Church in almost all the States of Europe. It was evident everywhere that the higher ranks of the priesthood had departed from their original principles of conduct, not more in a religious than a civil and political point of view. Instead of being the protectors of the weak and the comforters of the lowly, they had thrown in their lot along with kings and nobles, and become the supporters of the great and powerful. Kings and nobles in return had accepted the Church as one of the greatest institutions of the feudal system, and surrounded it with their shields and spears when the surer panoply of the popular affection was withdrawn. The general population, indeed, in spite of the efforts of the disciples of Wickliffe, and the more jocular assaults of ballads and epigrams, had no faltering yet in their belief of all the traditions retailed to them by monks and friars, or of the miracles which were daily invented for their wonder and delight. Yet they hated their

deans and bishops, and had no great reverence, in his individual character, for their blustering, revelling, ignorant, and sensual parish priest. The monks, also, had lost the respect of the people by their departure from the original rules of their orders. The Dominicans and Franciscans having made their appearance in the character of mendicant friars, dependent for support on the voluntary contributions of the faithful, had become, in the course of a hundred and fifty years, the richest corporations in the country. Their monasteries were endowed with immense domains, and yet the individual brothers continued their system of begging at cottage doors, and receiving their supplies at the buttery hatch of the noble's castle. Of convents and monasteries the number is nearly incredible. It is known that almost a half of the land of England was in possession of the Church; but this was not the greatest source of its emoluments. It had its fees and offerings—its gifts for masses and thanksgivings for recovered health—its price for absolution, and tithes of the properties still in the hands of laymen. There were at this time upwards of ten thousand Franciscan monasteries, with an average of a hundred and sixty brethren in each; the nuns were equally numerous, and had nunneries to the same extent. In spite also of statutes against the export of tribute to Rome, a large sum still found its way into the coffers of the pope, in the shape of first-fruits and consecration fees; and the wretched peasantry were ill repaid for all these exactions by the doles they received at the monastery doors. But while these feelings of discontent were limited to the poor, and doubts and denials of their doctrines did not spread beyond a few fanatics, as they were thought, like Wickliffe and his disciples, the fabric of ecclesiastical authority was considered safe. The peasant might despise or dislike the curate; but he was a good and valuable churchman as long as he paid his parochial dues, and purchased miraculous water and veritable relics at a reasonable price.

§ 3. Henry IV., in order to ingratiate himself with the prelates, passed an Act of Parliament, the most remarkable of all our statutes, "For the burning of heretics." A few humble clergymen had been cross-examined and browbeaten by the bigoted Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, for the first time since the period of the ancient Britons, had polluted our English air with the smoke of human sacrifice: but the infection of heresy had spread. Torches of gospel light had been lighted at those Smithfield fires, which showers of blood could not extinguish; and shortly after his coronation, the new and youthful monarch was reminded that one of his most famous soldiers and most-cherished counsellors did not believe in the real presence, in the efficacy of pilgrimages, in the necessity of auricular confession, or in the superiority of an unmarried clergy. This was Sir John Oldcastle, who had obtained by marriage the barony of Cobham, and all the influence of the Church was put forth at once to silence so dangerous and distinguished an adversary. Henry saw him, spoke to him, argued with him, and commanded him to repent. But Cobham's part was chosen. He was tried and condemned by an ecclesiastical tribunal. Uniting the rebel with the heretic, he escaped from prison, and was captured with arms in his hands. No cruelty was considered too great for such an offender. He was suspended over a slow fire by a chain round his middle, and perished amid the hootings of a rabble of infuriated priests, who saw the triumph of their cause in the punishment of one of the nobles. His adherents were marched against as enemies of the Crown, and many Lollards were hanged and quartered as traitors; and Henry, having purified his kingdom as much as possible from erroneous doctrine, and secured the attachment of a grateful and bloodthirsty hierarchy, announced to parliament that it was his intention to go over to France, and vindicate his pretensions to the throne of that kingdom.

There must have been some grim smiles among the mailed

warriors who listened to this preposterous speech. Henry, the usurping son of a usurping father, with the heir of Edward III. resident in his court, and the fantastic nature of the original claims of the Plantagenets recognised by every lawyer in Europe—Henry, who had no hereditary rights whatever derived from Isabella, the wife of Edward II., even if that most unhonoured ancestress had had any rights to convey,—it was so thin and transparent a veil to the designs of ambition, which were the real cause of the war, that it was scarcely worth while to advance it at all, or even to render it a little less ridiculous by maintaining that the right to France was inherent in the Crown of England, and was conveyed from dynasty to dynasty by the mere occupancy of the English throne.

§ 4. France at this time was a very worthless prize to fight for. Never had civil war attained such a height of atrocity, or a population been so brutalized and debased. Round the grinning and fatuous puppet who wore the crown of Clovis and Charlemagne were gathered the wickedest and most unprincipled personages who were ever collected in one realm. The wife hating her son, and dishonouring her husband; the brothers grasping all the honours and wealth of the State; raising the populace in insurrection, or riding it down in more malevolent union; the Fraternity of Butchers deluging the streets of Paris with the blood of peaceful citizens; the luxury at the same time of the princes—Orleanses, Burgundies, and others—exceeding all previous example; rich festivals celebrated in the palace of the adulterous and incestuous queen, while the poor king was left in hungry and “unkemt, unshorn” neglect—it was no wonder that the multitudes heard of the English preparation for a descent with a sort of acquiescent despair. “We cannot be worse off than now,” said poor Jacques Bonhomme, “for we seem to have no friend either in heaven or on earth.”

It is surely time to attach a little more importance to the

aims and objects of a war, and see if the glories of courage and skill are consecrated by the justice of the cause in which they are shown. Making every allowance for the lax notions of the period, and the total forgetfulness of all Christian obligation in the intercourse of nations which characterized the whole feudal system, there is no denying that our English hero had the moral feeling of a pirate and buccaneer more than of a prince or gentleman. France was weak; Henry required a renewal of military fame to consolidate his recently-erected throne, and a hundred thousand lives must be sacrificed, and the prosperity of a whole generation be destroyed that two utterly irreconcilable peoples might submit to the same yoke.

§ 5. Agincourt, however, is never to be passed over, as an instance of English valour. The expedition sailed from Southampton on the 11th of August; and a noble spectacle it must have presented, as fourteen hundred transports dropped down the beautiful water amid the cheers of thirty thousand men. Six thousand horse and twenty-four thousand foot-soldiers landed at the mouth of the Seine on the 13th, and commenced the siege of Harfleur. Meanwhile the French nobility began to move. The princes themselves were shamed into a patriotic demonstration. They called out their array, and knights and armed retainers were soon gathering from all quarters to draw sword beneath the oriflamme of France.

But fiercer enemies than banneret and baron had risen up against the invader. By the time he had succeeded in the capture of Harfleur, disease had struck down a full half of his force, and after sending off the sick and wounded by sea, he sent a vain-glorious message to the Dauphin, that he would march through the provinces lying between his towns of Harfleur and Calais, and defied him to stop his progress. The Dauphin, who had declined an invitation to meet him in personal combat, accepted this last challenge; and while Henry, on the 6th of October, began his foolhardy expedition,

at the head of nine thousand men, the French princes poured in from all parts of the country, and flooded Normandy and Artois with their jubilant troops. They broke down bridges, and fortified the banks of rivers, and finally, when the English with indomitable energy had pushed their way across the Somme, the Constable of France fell back to the narrow gorge through which the road passed, guarded on one side by the height and castle of Agincourt, and on the other by the hamlet of Tramecourt, and drawing their long lines from hillock to hillock, presented a barrier of horse and man, such as it seemed impossible for any "mortal mixture of earth's mould" to break through.

Princes of the blood, chiefs of conflicting parties, great officers of State, and old warriors who had gained reputation in former engagements, brought discord and uneasiness among the French. The weather also had for some days been unpropitious to cavalry movements, by saturating the heavy ground with rain; and Henry, seeing his advantage in both these respects, gave the word, "Advance banners!" and his compact array moved forward under one undivided command, and all on foot. How different a battle of that time was from one of the present day we may easily imagine, if we do away with the smoke and thunder of the hundred guns which give such sublimity, but indistinctness at the same time, to a modern field. Here the whole scene lay before a spectator in the clearness of an October day, with neither sound nor war-cloud to interfere with the understanding of every movement. Nine thousand men pressed on, and then paused a little, while the first line, advancing the left leg, drew the arrow to the ear, and sent it whirring with inevitable aim at the armed warriors in front. When the wounds of horses and men had thrown the crowded van into confusion, the archers, seizing the hatchets which hung from their necks, hurried forward with loud hurras, and, supported by the steadier attack of disciplined spearmen, who

went on with dogged resolution, completed the disorder of the knights and gentlemen. Those unfortunate cavaliers, sitting on their heavy and overweighted horses, had sunk in many cases up to the saddle-girths in the marshy soil, and could offer no defence.

Forcing their way through the first line, the same manœuvre was practised on the second, which was already rendered unsteady by the runaway horses and wounded soldiers of the broken vanguard. Again the terrible pause was made while the "yeomen good" fitted their shafts to the string, and again the deathful shower pursued its noiseless way, and found out every crevice of the best made mail. Nor are we to look disdainfully on the achievements of those bows of flexible yew, and six feet in length, even in comparison with the rifles of the present day. The range at which the butts were planted in every parish at home, was two hundred and twenty yards for grown-up men. At this distance an arrow could pierce a target of wood and bull's-hide; and in actual war he was thought a poor representative of the championship of the village-green who could not send his arrow through buff jerkin, flesh, and bone, till the grey-goose feathers which steadied its flight was dyed in the blood of the slain.

Everything was lost when the third line was reached in a great and irresistible torrent of friends and foes. Doubt and uncertainty, and at last even fear, took possession of those gallant Frenchmen's hearts, and the whole field was covered with a mixed multitude, fighting, flying, gathering into little groups of resistance, and then shattered by a new assault. One of those momentary oppositions was made at the end of the engagement. Henry gave orders in a moment of irritation, believing, let us hope, that the battle was still uncertain, for the slaughter of all the prisoners, and saw with indignation that his command was not obeyed. No archer would lift his hand against the captive who had given him his sword; not entirely perhaps from an unwillingness to shed blood without

necessity, but from a selfish regard to the chance of ransom. A wealthy knight would pay more for his liberty than the Warwick or Suffolk yeoman had ever possessed in his life; and therefore we may enter into the feeling of anger and disappointment with which they saw a body of infantry, two hundred strong, carrying out the ferocious order of the king, by the indiscriminate murder of the disarmed and powerless prisoners.

The battle ended in the midst of this unpardonable scene; and when the marshals of the camp took their ride over the field of battle, the bodies of ten thousand gentlemen were found in that narrow space. The noblest names known to heraldry and romance were comprised in this dreadful list; and this, the crowning victory of the three, which for a long time established the superiority of the English arms, completed the thinning out of the old families and hereditary chieftains which Crecy and Poitiers had begun. The nobility, in fact, were exterminated. There were henceforth no feudatories who traced back, in proud emulation with the Capets themselves, their uninterrupted descent from the warriors of Charlemagne, and even the companions of Clovis. There might still here and there be heard the names of the old historic houses, but they were sunk into the second place. Henceforth the creations of royal favour gave a more glittering ornamentation to the courts of kings; and the great battles of the French and English—the last combats of chivalry in resistance to a new order of things—were but the involuntary self-sacrifice of feudalism to monarchy. This great change had been perceived by the Edwards and Henry IV. While the Dukes of Bar and Lorraine therefore led forth their vassals according to their military tenure, as their ancestors would have done in the days of Philip Augustus, Henry raised taxes with the consent of Parliament, as he might have done in the days of Queen Victoria; and the Earl of Dorset, or Thomas of Erpingham, took command of the

stout artisans and peasantry of England, who received pay like our modern soldiers, and were subject to military law.

§ 6. This pay was a very useful arrangement for curbing the ambition of our kings. It was very great, and almost incredible in amount, if we take the common statement that money was sixteen times more valuable than now; for the daily wages of the higher officers varied from thirteen and fourpence to two shillings; and the ordinary archer (whose arrows, however, were found him by the king) received a sum equal to eight shillings of our present coin. The result, therefore, was that Henry was covered with glory and buried in debt. He had to mortgage some of his jewels to satisfy the claims of his troops, and for this, or some more unaccountable reason, instead of pursuing his advantage in the dismayed and powerless condition of the enemy, he hastened across from Calais, and after being received with triumphal arches and speeches at the gate of every town, he remained quietly at home, and took no apparent interest in the proceedings of his discomfited foes. The only warlike operation was the relief of Harfleur, which was besieged by its late possessors. The Duke of Bedford, the king's brother, raised a fleet, and defeated the allied Spanish, Genoese, and French squadrons with enormous slaughter, establishing the naval prowess of his country as firmly as its military pre-eminence. (August, 1416.)

§ 7. The distress which at this time afflicted both the nations is made manifest by the poverty of the crowns. The sovereign of France, we have seen, was shamefully neglected; but even in the case of the heroic Plantagenet the royal receipts were on the humblest scale. The whole revenue of England amounted to little more than fifty-five thousand pounds. If we add all the aids and subsidies specially granted by Parliament during the whole of his reign, it will not raise his annual income to more than eighty thousand, and out of this the defence of the nation, and its foreign possessions by fleets

and armies, the administration of the law, the expenses of collection, the repairs of royal buildings, and all the outgoings of the privy purse were to be paid. He was either the most economical of princes, or the value of money has been understated. When three years of repose had enabled Henry, by secret negotiations with the discontented subjects of the unhappy Charles, to secure the assistance of those who had hitherto opposed his pretensions, he led a fresh army into France with the assurance of success, and concluded a treaty at Troyes, which gave him the highest object of his ambition. He was acknowledged heir to the crown on the death of its present wearer, and in the meantime wielded all the power of the State. Foremost in his cause was the young Duke of Burgundy, who joined the English in revenge for his father's murder by the Dauphin. Little regret was felt in other quarters for this man's assassination, for he had treacherously slain the Duke of Orleans twelve years before; but in addition to the filial feelings of the Duke of Burgundy, there were the commercial interests of his States of Flanders to be advanced; and Henry skilfully gained over the weavers and artisans of Ghent and Bruges by concessions to their trade. It was always easy to win the attachment of the Low Countries to the cause of England by a lowering of the duty on cloth. To give some hereditary colour to his position, Henry married Catherine, the daughter of the French king, and fortunately, before the discontent of the English—who feared that their country would become a mere province of the larger realm—was roused by fresh exactions, the conqueror of Agincourt was taken ill, and died at the Castle of Vincennes.

§ 8. As if in proof of his double royalty, he was carried to St. Denys, the burial-place of the kings of France, and then with solemnity and grandeur befitting so great a potentate conveyed to the mausoleum of the English monarchs at Westminster, and deposited near the shrine of Edward the

Confessor. But all the magnificence of the procession, with banner and with trumpet, with soldier and with priest, could not conceal that his personal ambition had been hurtful to his people. In the first glare of his achievements, some parts of his character were obscured which calm reflection has pointed out for the reprobation of succeeding times. He was harsh and cruel beyond even the limits of the harsh and cruel code under which he professed to act. He bought over the Church by giving up innovators to its vengeance; he compelled his prisoner, James I. of Scotland, to accompany him in his last expedition to France, to avenge a great defeat his arms sustained at Beaugè, at the hands of the Scotch auxiliaries, and availed himself of this royal sanction to execute as traitors all the Scottish prisoners who fell into his hands. His massacre of the French captives has already been related, and we shall see how injuriously the temporary glory of so victorious a career acted on the moral feelings of his people when it blunted their perception of those great and manifest crimes, and inspired the nobles with a spirit of war and conquest which cost innumerable lives, and retarded the progress of the country in wealth and freedom for many years.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1413. Accession of Henry V.	jewels to pay his troops and push his conquests in France.
— A proclamation issued against the Wickliffites, or Lollards.	1417. Henry's second expedition to France, and capture of Calais, Caen, Bayeux, and various other places.
— Persecution of Sir John Oldcastle for Lollardism.	— Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) burnt alive for heresy.
1414. Slaughter and execution of the Lollards, when several of them were burnt alive.	1419. Treaty of Troyes, by which Henry married Catherine, daughter of Charles V. of France, and was made heir to the French crown.
1415. Henry invades France with a large army.	1422. Death of Henry V.
— The battle of Agincourt, in which the English were victorious against treble the number of French.	
1416. The king pawns his crown	

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY THE SIXTH.

A.D. 1422 TO A.D. 1461

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Charles VII.; Louis XI.

SCOTLAND.—James I.; James II.; James III.

POPES.—Martin V.; Clement VII. (at Avignon); Eugenius IV.; Amadeus VIII., Duke of Savoy (elected under the name of Felix V.); Nicholas V.; Calixtus III.; Pius II.

§ 1. Accession of Henry VI. Unsettled state of society.—§ 2. Henry proclaimed king of France. Charles VII. crowned king of France in opposition to the English sovereign. Hostilities between the French and English.—§ 3. Release of James I. of Scotland, after nineteen years' imprisonment. English alliances.—§ 4. Battle of Verneuil. French and English nobility.—§ 5. Siege of Orleans. Joan of Arc relieves the place, and compels the English to raise the siege. The tide of victory everywhere turns against the English.—§ 6. Capture, trial, and execution of Joan of Arc. Decline of English affairs after this period. Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. His priestly tyranny.—§ 7. The English driven out of France. Execution of the Minister Suffolk.—§ 8. Jack Cade's rebellion instigated by the Duke of York.—§ 9. Claim of the Duke of York to the crown. Civil contests. The Duke of Somerset slain, and the Yorkists victorious.—§ 10. Utter incapacity of the king. Battle of St. Albans.—§ 11. The Earl of Warwick, the "king-maker."—§ 12. System of warfare. The king's forces defeated. The Duke of York slain.—§ 13. Edward of March, son of the Duke of York, defeats the Earl of Pembroke at the battle of Mortimer Cross. Young Henry Tudor.—§ 14. Edward Duke of York declared king under the title of Edward IV.

§ 1. A KING of nine months old, a nobility shorn of some of its privileges, but anxious to recover its old authority, a middle class without recognised importance, but powerful from wealth and enterprise, and a people beginning to be con-

scious of their numerical strength, and also of the wrongs which they were still subject, held out no very agreeable prospect at the opening of this reign. The worst element, however, in calculating the chances of the future was the disunion and rivalry existing in the royal family itself. The woes which the quarrels of the French princes had brought upon their country were too likely to be reproduced at home, and sagacious observers kept their eyes on the movements of Bedford and Gloucester, the uncles of the infant sovereign—the first governing in Paris, the other in London, as the representatives of their nephew in his double capacity of monarch of both the realms.

§ 2. No longer “heir” of the wretched Charles, as his father had been, but by the death of that unhappy personage, admitted to the full benefits of the Treaty of Troyes, the English infant was solemnly recognised as king. But all the solemnities in the world could not persuade the French people that an Englishman could possibly wear their crown; and Charles VII. throwing off from time to time the carelessness and apathy of his usual life, addressed himself to the great task of winning back his inheritance, and driving the insolent invaders from his polluted soil. Warriors gathered round him, instead of the fiddlers and worse companions who had composed his court, and Bedford soon found that the state of public feeling was changed, and that even the false and venal nobility was ashamed of fighting under the flag of a foreigner. Battles now took place, in which French gallantry carried off the prize as often as English strength. A great victory by Salisbury over the French and their Scotch auxiliaries, at Crevant, was replied to by an equally brilliant victory of the French over the English under Sir John de la Pole, at Gravelle.

§ 3. Alliances became unsteady under this alternation of success and failure. James I. of Scotland was relieved by Bedford from the ungenerous imprisonment under which he had languished for nineteen years. He was escorted to his

own kingdom with great magnificence, and carried with him, as pledge of his attachment to England, the beautiful Joanna Beaufort, to whom he had become romantically devoted during his captivity, and who, perhaps, was compensation enough for the injustice of his confinement; for he seems to have entertained no feeling of revenge against the destroyers of his freedom for so many years. The Duke of Brittany, also, was won over to the English cause, and Burgundy continued true to the alliance by which his malice against the Orleanists was gratified, and his revenue augmented by commercial privileges granted to his Flemish towns. With Scotland and the Low Countries on his side, Bedford might have proceeded to what he considered the easy conquest of the kingdom and expulsion of the rival king. But wiser and kinder thoughts entered the hearts of the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy. Gloucester invaded Hainault, which he claimed as the dower of his wife, Jaqueline of Holland; and Burgundy took arms to defend the province which lay so near his States. Brittany at the same time renounced the English cause, and James was so busy in Scotland hanging and slaughtering the opponents of his return, that he could give no assistance to either side. He could not withdraw his subjects who were serving the French king, but he bound himself not to increase their number.

§ 4. The great battle of Verneuil, in which Bedford overthrew the French army, and nearly exterminated the Scottish mercenaries, reduced Charles VII. to his native levies. Those levies had great names among them, of which the sound is unfamiliar to us now. But nobody in those days could hear unmoved of La Hire, and Xaintrilles, and Dunois, and Gaucourt. They and a few more were the representatives of French courage and loyalty at a time when those qualities were very scarce, and the time was coming when they were to display their merits on an arena to which every eye in both nations was turned, and where, as in a tourney in the court-yard of a peaceful castle, they were to hold the lists

against the equally celebrated names of England,—Talbot of Shrewsbury, Montague of Salisbury, Beauchamp of Warwick, and De la Pole of Suffolk. Verneuil, in the meantime, formed a brilliant termination to one of the acts of this war-like tragedy; and when the curtain draws up again, the scene is entirely changed, and the actors are in new positions.

§ 5. The English army, few in number but elevated with the memory of their past exploits, laid siege to Orleans in the September of 1428, a beautiful city even then, for it saw its towers and pinnacles reflected in the silver waters of the Loire, and looked across on the rich vineyards that clothed the plains of Olivet. The inhabitants were worthy of the town which they had sworn to defend; they sacrificed their suburbs down to the water's edge, and laid in a store of provisions, and sent summonses to all the gentlemen of France to come and fight for the good cause. The gentlemen of France, however, were slow in answering the appeal. Charles amused himself in one of his fits of carelessness and luxury among his lords and ladies at Chinon, and heard with an equanimity which would have been praiseworthy, if it had sprung from anything but an epicurean neglect of duty, the daily reports of the enemy's advance. Towers were raised all round the devoted city, connected by earthwork walls. Closer and closer the circle drew upon the few combatants who formed the garrison, and no impression was made upon the besiegers' steady lines, though La Hire and Dunois threw themselves within the entrenchments, and hung out the royal standard from the steeples and walls.

A maiden of eighteen years of age, now known as Joan of Arc, took an enthusiastic interest in the fortunes of her youthful sovereign. She persuaded herself that she had a divine mission for the delivery of France, and in a short time persuaded others also. The governor of Vaucouleurs, in the neighbourhood of Domremy, where she was born, listened to her appeal, and presented her to the king. Charles, it is said,

disguised himself at the first audience, and ordered one of his friends to receive her in his stead. But she walked straight up to where he stood, and calling him "gentle dauphin," assured him of the deliverance of Orleans and the undisturbed possession of the crown. Whether believing her heavenly vocation or not, he relied, at all events, on the efficacy of so strange a supporter; and mounted on a war-horse and attended by crowds of cavaliers, she bore the standard of her patron saint in her right hand, and conducted a reinforcement of six thousand men to the almost exhausted defenders of the town.

From the 29th of April, when her solemn entry was made, the tide of victory completely turned. The English were repulsed in all their assaults; their entrenchments were stormed; their military engines were burnt; and everywhere a superstitious terror took possession of archer and spearman the moment her white horse made its appearance, and they saw the shining armour of the Maid. There was no use in fighting any more against the will of Heaven; and though the priests endeavoured to persuade the dispirited soldiery that she was only a witch, and therefore to be resisted to the death, it seemed to make no difference to the progress of her arms. Witchcraft or inspiration, it was all the same. The siege was raised in great haste on Sunday, the 8th of May, and the conquerors of Agincourt, and Crevant, and Verneuil quailed before their supernatural opponent. She led the astonished and only partially persuaded king through the dangerous land which lay between Orleans and Rheims; and seeing the holy oil poured upon his head, and the sceptre placed in his hand, she knelt to him, and said, "Gentle king, my task is finished. Let me go home to feed my father's sheep. I shall be happier there than here."

§ 6. Happy for the noble maiden if this had been the end of her story. But she was too valuable to be parted with so easily. She was retained against her will, and compelled to

mingled in war long after the voices which had summoned her from her solitude had died away from her ears, and when she had sunk again into the peasant girl who was the favourite and the wonder of her native village. In one of those involuntary engagements she was taken prisoner, and all the knightly and manly feelings of the Regent Bedford disappeared in the mean gratification of his hatred of so dangerous a foe. A mixed commission of French and English ecclesiastics sat for her trial. Unable to comprehend the great thoughts which elevate the simplest minds when a nation is reduced to the last extremity, they were perfectly competent to convict her of sorcery, witchcraft, and diabolic possession; and after an interval, in which they entrapped her into a renewal of her patriotic aspirations, they gave her over to the secular arm, and she perished by fire in the marketplace of Rouen on the 30th of May, 1431.

It is almost as a judgment on this disgraceful murder that we look on the downward course of English affairs from this time. Personal courage was still shown on various fields, and the progress of Charles, in clearing the realm from its invaders, was so slow and yet so steady, that the change effected in ten years almost escaped observation; but it was of the most complete and durable kind. Paris by that time was in possession of the French king; Burgundy was on his side; Scotland also was in his pay; Bedford, the wise duke, was dead, and the Court of England was the scene of a bitter and unappeasable struggle between the ambitious, bold, and unprincipled Cardinal Beaufort, the brother of Henry IV., and Gloucester, proud and grasping, the uncle of the king. Beaufort, who was Bishop of Winchester, was nearly eighty years of age, but seemed persuaded that wealth and dignity could buy an exemption from the approach of death. He was the haughtiest of priests and the busiest of intriguers. He tried to stretch the authority of English ecclesiastical courts over the clergy of France, to establish the power of the Pope

whom England had chosen to obey, and to overthrow the rival pontiff whom Charles had supported. When his nephew Gloucester led an expedition into France, the cardinal thwarted all his plans, in the fear of his gaining popularity by success; and an opportunity soon offered of wounding him on a still tenderer point.

Jaqueline of Hainault, the Lady of Holland and Zealand, had been forced into a marriage with a boy of fifteen, and deprived of her estates by her kinsman, the Bishop of Liege, who bore the unepiscopal title of John the Merciless. She had fled from her kinsman and her husband to England, and Gloucester, getting a dispensation from the anti-pope, whom Beaufort opposed, had married the forlorn and beautiful exile, and made great efforts to recover her lands. He only did enough to weaken the English endeavours in France, without making any progress on his own behalf. Jaqueline at last was taken prisoner, and being tired of the persecutions her greatness entailed on her, she submitted to a dissolution of her English marriage, and the loss of her great inheritance, and contented herself with a life of obscurity as the wife of one of the less lordly of her attendants, and in all probability never regretted the change. The baffled husband of the unambitious Jaqueline followed his late wife's matrimonial example, but not with the same success. He married Eleanor Cobham, a person of inferior degree, who had lived with him as his mistress, and who therefore had been thrown into relations with people of a rank far below her present position. The cardinal saw his chance. To strike terror into the princes of the blood, and show the authority of the Church, he accused the new duchess of crimes which took her out of the protection of the civil courts, where her husband's name would have had weight, and brought her, helpless and undefended, before the ecclesiastical tribunals, where he himself was all-powerful. He accused her of witchcraft and sorcery. Two of her low companions who con-

fessed to these crimes, a priest of the name of Bolingbroke, and a woman called the Witch of Eye, were put to death. Gloucester, in impotent wrath, saw his wife condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and vowed vengeance against the cardinal. He accused that haughty churchman of treason, and was condemned to reside at one of his country houses. Quarrels arose among their partisans, and the royal family were divided in hostile camps. No campaign could prosper in France while such incidents were taking place in England. The public had forgotten the glories which at one time had blinded them to the wickedness of a war begun on such pretences, and probably hailed the marriage of Henry with a French princess, Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Renè, titular King of Sicily and Jerusalem, as a prelude and guarantee of more peaceful times. (1445.)

But the changed position of the king only brought new complications into the public affairs. De la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, a descendant of the favourite of the unfortunate Richard II., held the same place in the confidence of Henry VI. He negotiated the peace with France and the marriage with Margaret. It was not long before suspicions arose as to the influence he exercised over the new queen. It was found that he had agreed to give up many of the possessions of the Crown, and great opposition was expected when it became known that Anjou and Maine were included in the surrender.

A little national pride was still to be found among the men who had won so many battles over the now triumphant enemy, and the guilty pair were alarmed that Gloucester might emerge from his forced obscurity, and protest against the intrigues of the Court, and the disgraceful conditions of the peace. He was invited to attend a parliament at Bury St. Edmunds, near which the estates of the favourite lay, and left his strong Castle of Devizes for the last time. He was arrested on his arrival, and in a week or ten days after-

wards was reported to have died. His body was shown to the inhabitants of the town, and they were too politic to discover any marks of violence on the corpse, which was watched by the king's archers and the retainers of their own earl. The "good Duke Humphrey," as he was called, found no vindicator among all the crowds of shopkeepers and yeomen who had taken him for their peculiar chief. A short time after this obscure ending of the nephew, the uncle, the still grasping and unpitying Beaufort, was called to his account. The great line of John of Gaunt was now represented by the feeble puppet who sat upon the throne, and was domineered over by the imperious Margaret and her minion, De la Pole.

§ 7. The men of Agincourt were few and feeble; the heroes of the French were still in the prime of life. The moment they were put in peaceable possession of Anjou and Maine, they proceeded to the conquest of Normandy. Talbot in vain sustained the glory of his ancient name, and was taken prisoner in Rouen. When Cherbourg surrendered to the Bastard of Orleans, the old territory of the English kings acknowledged their rule no more. Guienne and Aquitaine were now completely separated from the English in language and interest, and hated them as only the southern nations can hate a foreign ruler whom they are unable to expel. Bayonne and Bordeaux finally followed the example set them by Caen and the north; and from sea to sea the English flag was banished from French soil, except in the small district of Calais. (1453.) Ill-judged and insufficient expeditions occasionally recovered some of the maritime towns; but they could only be held by force, and reunited themselves to Charles whenever they had the power.

Signs of approaching change had been visible for some time. The fatuity of the king and dissolute behaviour of the queen weakened the royal authority, while the popular indignation, caused by the reverses in France, grew louder from

day to day. The lower negotiators of the surrender of Anjou were torn in pieces by the mob. A kind of pity mingled with the contempt which was felt for the son of Henry V., but the wrath against Margaret and Suffolk had no compunctious visitings, and the cry became so strong against the overweening minister, that the king, to save him from an impeachment of the Commons, banished him for five years. The citizens of London, however, would not be balked of their prey. As Suffolk was sailing for the Continent, a great vessel, called the Nicholas of the Tower, waylaid him near Dover, and ordered him to come on board. For two days he was kept a prisoner, while messages were exchanged with the land. On the third, a little boat rowed alongside, and Suffolk knew his fate when he perceived in it a block, an axe, and an executioner. His head was cut off over the gunwale of the boat, and no inquiry was made as to the owners or employers of the Nicholas, or the mysterious headsman who made his appearance so opportunely.

§ 8. Executions without law, and massacres without punishment, were the precursors of rebellion and revolution. A pretender, whose real name was John Cade, gave himself out as a member of the house of Mortimer, and thousands flocked to his standard for the restoration of the rightful line. This was represented by the Duke of York, through his mother, Anne, sister of that Mortimer, Earl of March, who had been declared by Richard presumptive heir to the crown. The utter exhaustion of all the good qualities of the Lancastrian family made people turn their eyes to the excluded branch, and York must have been well pleased with the sympathy shown for Cade. That adventurer advanced to London, put some nobles of the court to death, became intoxicated apparently with the success of his expedition, and finally was slain, for the sake of the price set on his head, after the pardon or dispersion of his followers. What York did not venture to seize on openly fell into his hands almost as a

matter of course. Henry's illness degenerated into stolid madness, and a Protector was required. The nearest relation of the Lancaster line was the Duke of Somerset, supported by all the interest of the queen, and animated with hereditary and personal hatred to the Duke of York. Quarrels, challenges, and reconciliations had taken place between these two, and at the present moment Somerset was in the minority. Richard of York therefore was solemnly nominated to the guardianship of the king and government of the realm.

§ 9. A change in the degree of the king's malady let loose the parties once more. Assuming the apparent management of affairs, Henry relieved York of his high office, and, as Somerset was immediately recalled to council, he retired for safety to his castle of Ludlow. There all the disaffected joined him fully armed. Norfolk, and Warwick, and Salisbury were there; and Edward of March (the son of York, who afterwards became king), was busy summoning aid. Somerset, Northumberland, Clifford, Sudely, and many more went up, in equally fighting trim, to swell the ranks of Margaret and the king. On the 23rd of May the town of St. Albans was garrisoned by the royal party. The contest was still in its infancy, and the combatants on both sides were few. Two thousand of the king's followers within the walls were threatened by three thousand, commanded by York, in the fields outside. The question to be settled was still one which principally concerned the nobility, and they wished to decide it with their own right hands. York sent a peremptory demand for the surrender of the Duke of Somerset; but a message was sent back, in Henry's name, that he would defend his friend. The fatal order was then given—an assault was made on the town; great struggles took place in all the streets; Somerset was slain, the king himself was wounded, and when the strife was over, the Yorkists found themselves victorious over their sovereign and countrymen; and the first

blood in the Wars of the Roses excited the passions of the partisans of both sides to the wildest pitch.

§ 10. Yet it was not for nearly five years that the contest was renewed in actual arms. The dispute was still for the supremacy under the nominal kingship of the almost unconscious Henry. So sunk in apathetic dulness was this unfortunate sovereign, that he gazed with no glances of joy or recognition when his infant son was presented to him to receive his blessing. The same incapacity distinguished him in all things; yet in the momentary intervals of his disease there were glimpses of such kind and generous feelings, his feeble intellect finding its only elevation in the practice of charity and religion, that the popular heart was moved; and all through the dark days of the civil war the meek figure of the gentle king was looked on with compassion, and his faults dwelt on with forbearance. He was little above forty years old when the first sword was drawn at St. Albans, but even then he was looked on with the reverence and consideration usually bestowed on age. The Wars of the Roses were, in fact, the death-struggle of the feudal system. The time was come when the pre-eminence of monarchy or aristocracy was to be finally decided; and it is strange that the crowned representative of the successful cause should have been the weakest and least adventurous of kings, and that the defeated side should have been led by nobles with all the courage, skill, and energy which the practices of chivalry were so calculated to call forth.

§ 11. Foremost on the other side, in fierce and evident contrast with the king, was the stalwart figure and determined character of the Earl of Warwick. This man has obtained in English history the name of "the King-maker," and was the last of the great barons who held their lands on the tenure of military service, and considered the coronet of their ranks as sacred as the monarch's crown. Richard Neville,

second son of the Earl of Salisbury, had married the heiress of the Beauchamps, and acquired the earldom of Warwick. He was in his twenty-seventh year when he led the van of the Yorkist army at the battle of St. Albans, and was rewarded for his zeal by the captain-generalship of Calais.

§ 12. While the struggle was raging between the leaders of the feudal families, and the plains of England were covered with the corpses of their military retainers, the body of the people pursued their way in peace. The towns were little disturbed, except when they lay in the line of march. At other times, when hostilities ceased, as they sometimes did for long periods, the policy of the conflicting parties was equally shown in consideration for the interests of the general population. It was like a hostile invasion, conducted on all the rules of honourable warfare as regarded the non-combatants; property was spared; even trade was protected, and no contributions were levied on unresisting parishes; but in their treatment of each other, the cruelties which characterize all civil dissensions were carried to their utmost limits. Prisoners were slain, enemies' houses were burnt, and their lands destroyed. The aim of both the factions appeared to be to exterminate the order to which they belonged; and the slaughter of so many lords, and the ruin of so many estates, in what they thought the support of the power of the nobility, were the circumstances which laid them all at the feet of the first sagacious and courageous monarch who perceived the opening left for the kingly power. The great barons who destroyed the authority of Henry VI. and made the tenure of Edward IV. precarious, built up the tyranny of Henry VII., from which it took two hundred years to set us completely free.

The rapidity of the changes of fortune shows that neither cause had the broad foundation of national favour to rest upon. If the nation had been equally divided, the struggle would have been more obstinate and the progress of

events more steady ; but the fate of a battle decided for a while the position of the rival chiefs. If defeated, their followers dispersed, and the opposite faction got the custody of the king's person and the confiscation of their estates. Suddenly a lucky engagement restored them to their former power, Henry changed his keepers, and the Lancastrian lands were forfeited to the Yorkists. After a skirmish, for instance, on the 23rd September of this year, at Blore Heath, in Staffordshire, wherein Salisbury, the father of Warwick, was triumphant, the Yorkists proceeded to Ludlow in search of the king. York himself was in command, and Warwick and Salisbury were beside him. But the Lancastrians appeared in greater force than they expected ; one of their lieutenants went over to the enemy, and in a moment the expedition was at an end. York fled for safety to Dublin ; Warwick escaped to Calais, where he gave an asylum to his father and Edward of March ; and no time was lost by the triumphant kingmen in getting bills of attainder passed through parliament, and legal forfeitures of their enemies' estates.

The ink of the attainders was scarcely dry when Warwick, Salisbury, and Edward landed in Kent. London opened its gates, and issuing from the great city where their forces had been gathering, they marched to Northampton, and so completely defeated the royal army, commanded by the Duke of Buckingham and the queen, that no spot of English ground was safe for the lately ruling party. Henry was taken prisoner, and Margaret and her unfortunate son took refuge across the Tweed. Things seemed so settled by this decisive action, that the mask of moderation was thrown off, and the throne was formally claimed by the Duke of York. An arrangement was come to, founded on that between Henry II. and Stephen, that Henry should continue king for life, and York should be his successor. But Margaret had not been consulted on this forcible exclusion of the Prince of

Wales. Collecting followers in the north, she advanced to Sandal Castle, near Wakefield, into which York, who had gone down to oppose her, was forced to retire. Nobody in those days seems ever to have known beforehand the number of the enemy's troops. York, therefore, kept his position within the walls, believing he was overmatched, but venturing on a sally, was repulsed and killed. His son, young Rutland, was slain in cold blood after capture, by the ferocious Clifford; and Warwick's father, the brave old Salisbury, was executed without trial on the following day. These butcheries left legacies of revenge which were too faithfully paid. For the passions which might have lain dormant under ordinary defeat were stirred to madness by the mockeries heaped upon the prisoners and the slain. Margaret received the bleeding head of York with an outbreak of triumphant malice. Some chroniclers of the losing party go so far as to say that those indignities were lavished upon him alive; that he was seated on an ant-hill, with a crown of grass upon his brows, and tauntingly addressed as king. The same brutal Clifford who slaughtered the youthful Rutland was loud in his derision of the father; and the queen, gratifying her imperious nature, concluded the dismal tragedy, so un-English in all its circumstances, by fixing the unhappy Duke's head upon the gate of York, surmounted by a paper coronet. The nobles on the other side were as unpitying when their turn came;

"Implacable resentment was their crime,
And grievous has the expiation been."

§ 13. Edward of March was now Duke of York, and successor to all his father's rights and prospects. At this time he was twenty years of age, and, making every allowance for the flatteries of the court, we may believe he was the handsomest prince of his time. Courageous and skilful he had already shown himself, and he had not yet had an opportunity of revealing the darker shades of his character. Popular favour,

therefore, followed the gracious manners and majestic beauty of the youthful candidate, which had been denied to the more mature experience of his father. He revenged that father's death in a great battle at Mortimer's Cross, near Wigmore, where he defeated the Earl of Pembroke, and put the prisoners to death; among these was Pembroke's father, Owen Tudor, who had married Catherine of France, the widow of Henry V. Pembroke himself escaped, and carried with him into his long and dreary exile his brother Richmond's son, young Henry Tudor, who was afterwards Henry VII.

§ 14. In spite of a rally in favour of the queen, and the defeat sustained by Warwick in the second battle of St. Albans, the game was near an end. York carried his army to London, and strengthening himself with as great an appearance of constitutional support as he could obtain, gathered all the peers, bishops, and burgesses within his reach in the great hall at Westminster, and having laid his claims before them, received a parliamentary sanction to his demands, and was declared king, as next in blood to our late lord, King Edward III.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A D.
1422. Accession of Henry VI. — Henry proclaimed King of France.	1455. Rebellion of the Duke of York, and commencement of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster.
1424-29. Continued hostilities with the French, when the English are everywhere victorious	— First battle of St. Albans, in which the Yorkists are victorious, and the king is taken prisoner.
1429. Siege of Orleans. Joan of Arc obliges the English to raise the siege.	1459. The Earl of Warwick styled "the King-maker."
— Battle of Patay.	1460. The king's forces defeated at Northampton by the Yorkists.
430. Joan of Arc taken by the English, and afterwards burnt for a witch at Rouen.	— The Duke of York proclaimed heir-apparent to the crown, and Protector of the realm
— Henry crowned King of France at Paris.	— Battle of Wakefield, and death of Richard, Duke of York.
1445. Henry marries Margaret, daughter of Renè, Duke of Anjou.	— Second battle of St. Albans.
1450. Jack Cade's rebellion fomented by the Duke of York.	1461. Edward, Duke of York, declared king, under the title of Edward IV.
— The French become masters of all Normandy, and the English are driven from France.	

YORKIST BRANCH OF THE PLANTAGENET LINE.

CHAPTER XII.

EDWARD THE FOURTH.

A.D. 1461 TO A.D. 1483.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XI.

SCOTLAND.—James III.

POPES.—Pius II.; Paul II.; Sixtus IV.

§ 1. EDWARD IV. assumes the crown during the lifetime of Henry VI. Claims of the rival houses of York and Lancaster.—§ 2. Means adopted by Edward to consolidate his power.—§ 3. Queen Margaret.—§ 4. Battle of Hexham, and defeat of the Lancastrians. Contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, commonly known as the Wars of the Roses. Earl of Warwick; his dissatisfaction at the king's marriage.—§ 5. Warwick returns from France, and invades England. Edward flies to Flanders, but returns and fights the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury. Death of Henry VI. and of his only son. § 6. Despotism and tyrannical proceedings of Edward. Execution of the Duke of Clarence.—§ 7. Edward's depravity of character. His death.

§ 1. THE three last kings were declared usurpers and intruders, though they had filled the English throne for sixty years; but the meeting which made this declaration was summoned by the successful Edward, and passed whatever resolutions he pleased. In no sense could the line of Lancaster, at all events from the death of Henry IV., be considered either usurping or intrusive. It had received the sanction of Church and

State by their legally constituted organs, and after a possession of so many years, its hereditary right had been ratified by the absence of opposition. The Yorkists were now the usurpers and intruders, and in a short time the nation seemed to feel remorse for its behaviour to the meek representative of a father and grandfather who had given such dignity to the English crown. In the very month of his accession Edward had to fight for the throne, and there was soon visible the fatally expanding nature of a civil war. The skirmishes of the beginning of this period were now succeeded by great and important battles. At Towton (March 29, 1461) there were a hundred and ten thousand combatants in the field, all English, and forming, if united, a force three times greater than that which under Wellington delivered the peninsula of Spain, and more than twice the number of those who fought at Waterloo; and such was the obstinacy of the engagement that upwards of thirty thousand lay dead.

§ 2. Edward consolidated his power by gaining over the towns; but his other method of strengthening his cause was perhaps more successful still: it was to weaken the nobility, first by indiscriminate slaughter in the field—"Spare the common men," he used to shout, galloping from rank to rank when the pursuit began, "and slay the gentlemen,"—and then by an equally indiscriminate seizure of their goods. Strange stories are told of the helpless misery to which the greatest families were reduced by these pitiless forfeitures. The Duke of Exeter, next in rank to the Lancasters, and brother-in-law of the king, was so impoverished that he was recognised as a humble menial in the service of the Duke of Burgundy. The heir of the Cliffords was brought up for many years in the disguise of a poor shepherd among the hills of Westmoreland; and with all their wealth, and lordly castles, and well-stocked farms, Edward rewarded the fidelity of his followers, and fed his own extravagance; for a more voluptuous, self-indulgent epicure, in the intervals of peace, was nowhere to be found.

His feasts, and tournaments, and wilder excesses were the wonder of the time, and it was only when "wild war's deadly blast was blown" that the sensualist threw aside his enjoyments, and faced his enemies like a man.

§ 3. Margaret marshalled the forces on the other side. Everywhere, where a friend was to be made, or foe to be won over, that vengeful wife and mother was to be found. In 1462 she raised a trouble in the north, and, while flying with her son towards Scotland, fell into the hands of an outlaw in a forest. The robber considered them of course his legal prey; but Margaret, stepping forward, enlisted the manly sympathies of the robber in her favour by saying, "This is the son of your king,—I commit him to your charge; I am your queen." But it was easier to soften the successor of Robin Hood in Yorkshire, than the successor of her husband in Windsor.

§ 4. Another battle at Hexham was as much against her as Towton itself. The defeat of the Lancastrians was so complete that the contest seemed really at an end; dukes and marquises were beheaded after the fight, and the king's coffers filled with forfeitures. Encouraged by the prosperous state of his affairs, he ventured to acknowledge a secret marriage he had contracted with the widow of Sir John Grey and daughter of Sir Richard Woodville. But a negotiation for his alliance with a French princess had unluckily been entrusted to the great Earl of Warwick, and bitter was his wrath and disappointment at being balked of the opportunity of adding queen-maker as well as king-maker to his name. The new queen, moreover, had brothers and other kin. Edward married them into such noble houses, and loaded them with such wealth and honours, that Warwick perceived there was a new influence in the State which did not arise from him.

Clarence, the king's brother, who had married Warwick's daughter, shared in his father-in-law's indignation, and the two discontented magnates retired to Calais to mature their plans, while orders were left with Warwick's retainers to

make as great a disturbance in the country as they could. A goodly number of retainers they must have been, for at one of his castles six oxen were roasted whole for breakfast; and the men-at-arms he could summon to the standard of the Ragged Staff were reckoned at thirty thousand. Disturbances, however, were put down. Henry, the deposed king, was in safe custody in the Tower; many of the nobles effected a reconciliation with the Woodvilles, and Edward got up more sumptuous feasts and more majestic hunting parties than ever. He endeared himself to the people by the freedom and joviality of his manners; he became the theme of ballad and story,—a far nearer approach to the fancy picture given us by Shakspeare of Henry V. than was made by the original, and it was only when the danger could no longer be concealed, and when Warwick—having married his younger daughter to the Prince of Wales, the son of Henry—had renewed his alliance with Margaret, and landed at Dartmouth, that the luxurious king buckled on his armour.

§ 5. It was too late; there was disaffection and treason in his camp, and he left the ungrateful country behind him, and fled to Flanders to his sister, the Duchess of Burgundy. Warwick entered London, restored the mock King Henry, and got a resolution of Parliament fixing the succession on the Prince of Wales, and, failing him, on Clarence. Whatever happened, the ambitious earl was sure to be father-in-law of a king. But before people had time to look about them, Edward landed at Ravenspur, a place of good omen for a pretender to the throne, for Henry of Bolingbroke had disembarked there in 1399, and the ordeal of battle was to be tried again. York gave its adhesion to the winsome king. Clarence perceiving the chances to have changed, rejoined his brother; crowds flocked to him on his march, and London at last opened its gates to the popular, merry, and yet politic monarch, who, in the midst of his festivals, never forgot the interests of trade, and while beheading peers and knights

without form of trial, confirmed all the privileges of the burgesses, and passed many benevolent and useful laws.

Warwick's name was still very powerful. He was awaiting the king at Barnet, and near that town was fought one of the fiercest of the fights which brought discredit by their cruelty and rancour on the English name. Again the war-cries of the different houses were heard on the contending sides ; but the noble houses by this time were exhausted, while the towns were full of life. On Warwick's side many proud pennons still "flouted the air," but on the side of Edward were the flags of guilds and corporations, stout archers in the pay of flourishing cities, and the militia of the country, raised by the king's writ. Warwick, in this last effort, lost life and fame. He died at Barnet, a harsh, proud, self-willed man, but who, at the same time, must have had qualities that won attachment and respect, for mere riches, or courage, or even wisdom will never enable a person to wield such wide authority without the more endearing attributes which convert a great proprietor's dependents into his friends.

In less than a month the battle of Tewkesbury finally closed the list of the battles of the Roses, of which we will only say that they cost the lives, by sword or executioner, of twelve princes of the blood, two hundred nobles, and a hundred thousand of the people. This was fought on the 4th of May, and early in June it was announced that Henry's body had been found lifeless in the Tower. Who did the deed—if deed of man it was—was never known. The animosity of party has cast the blame on the evil-famed Duke of Gloucester, the crook-backed brother of the king. But he has enough of accusations to rebut without this, which was never attempted to be proved ; and we may safely suppose that the worn-out old king—old before the time, for he was only in his fiftieth year—laid down well-pleased the burden of a dignity for which he was never fitted, and of a life which had been a series of griefs and disappointments from the cradle to the

grave. His death was now, indeed, of no consequence to either party, for while the blood was still hot after the battle of Barnet, the Prince of Wales had been brought before Edward. "How dare you come into this realm," cried Edward; and the youth is said to have replied, "I have come into my father's kingdom, which is mine by lineal descent." A bold speech, and perhaps insultingly uttered; for the irritated conqueror pushed the lad aside with his gauntlet, and Gloucester, and Clarence, and others of the spectators hacked him to pieces with their swords. Edward's throne was now rendered secure by the absence of a competitor.

§ 6. Margaret had no further object for exertion. She retired to France, when Louis XI. had paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom. Henry of Richmond, whose claim to the throne was founded on his descent through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, the last in direct line from John of Gaunt, sought safety with the Duke of Brittany, and a full loose was given to the vices of the triumphant king. Wars were entered into with France for the express purpose, first, of raising subsidies from parliament, and, secondly, of selling a peace to the politic Louis XI. That potentate found it far easier to supply the lavish and grasping Edward with money for his feasts and favourites than to fight the troops he sometimes took over to Calais. He bribed the lords who professed to be the ministers of the Crown, and from the Treasurer of England to a sergeant of archers, there was no man who was not tempted with a purse of French crowns. But the love of blood was as strong a passion with Edward as the love of pleasure; no man's life was safe; spies were in all families, and the noblest in the land were as merrily given over to the scaffold as the lowest of the people. The king was hunting in the grounds of a gentleman near Harrow, and killed a favourite buck. In the first feeling of his sorrow, the owner wished the slaughterer on the horns of the deer. He was hanged for treason. A certain publican, who kept the Crown

inn, displayed his wit by saying, among his companions in the tap, that his son was heir to the Crown. He was hanged for treason. And at last the Duke of Clarence, bitterly complaining of the harshness of his brother in having put the proprietor of the deer to death for idle words, became guilty of treason too. He was tried, and as the king appeared in person as his prosecutor, the sentence was exactly what he wished; but as the public might not yet be prepared for the spectacle of a prince's execution for so slight a cause, the jovial monarch ordered him to be immersed in a butt of malmsey, as if to his tipsy fancy there was something enjoyable in being drowned in wine. The size and coarse splendour of the entertainments interchanged among the nobles contrasts in a painful manner with the accounts of scarcity among the people. One prodigious festival may be quoted as a specimen of the reckless expenditure characteristic of this reign. George Neville, Archbishop of York, celebrated his taking possession of the see with a feast, of which the bill of fare is preserved. For this there were one hundred and four oxen and six bulls, one thousand sheep, and three hundred and four calves, and an equal number of porkers, and two thousand pigs. Fowls followed in equal profusion, among which were four hundred swans, one hundred and four peacocks, two hundred and four cranes, and four thousand chickens and pigeons; two hundred pheasants, five hundred partridges, and one hundred curlews. Four thousand pasties of venison prepared the way for a dessert of one thousand dishes of jelly, four thousand cold tarts, and three thousand cold custards. These are not half the articles named; but last of all came the list of fish, in which we see three hundred and eight pikes, and twelve porpoises and seals! This solid fare was washed down with three hundred tuns of ale, one hundred pipes of wine, and one pipe of hypocras. The bread, however, bore a very fair proportion to all this sack, for there were three hundred quarters of wheat consumed.

§ 7. A court composed of the needy and avaricious pensioners of a foreign power, presided over by the most coarse-minded and sensual of voluptuaries, soon created feelings of disgust among all classes of the people, except those who from their neighbourhood to the palace shared in the easy gaieties of the king. He drank and feasted with the shopkeepers of London, and carried dishonour into their families, to the great increase of his popularity with the city. Fortunately, however, for himself and his country, he had not the opportunity of degrading both for any length of time. A fit of disappointment, at finding he was deceived by Louis, in a negotiation for the marriage of the Dauphin with his daughter, was the dignified cause of his death assigned by the court physicians. A truer explanation of it was found in the excesses of drunkenness and gluttony in which he had indulged. With the sole redeeming virtue of personal courage, this Nero in cruelty and Vitellius in debauchery left a disgraced throne and discontented people on the 9th of April; his chroniclers, with malicious particularity, informing us that every trace of his personal comeliness had disappeared, and that he was bloated and revolting in body as he was hateful and depraved in mind.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1461. Edward IV. succeeds to the crown, by virtue of his descent from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III.	1470. The Earl of Warwick takes arms against Edward, and releases Henry from the Tower. Edward takes refuge in Flanders.
— Civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster continued. Edward obtains a great victory over King Henry's forces at Towton, in Yorkshire, when 36,776 were slain.	1471. Printing introduced by Caxton.
— Parliament confirms Edward's election to the crown, and passes an act of attainder against King Henry and his queen.	— Return of Edward, when he obtains a great victory over the Earl of Warwick at Barnet.
1464. King Henry taken in disguise, and imprisoned in the Tower.	— Battle of Tewkesbury, and death of King Henry's only son.
	— Death of King Henry in the Tower.
	1478. The Duke of Clarence drowned in a butt of malmsey wine.
	1483. Death of Edward IV.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDWARD THE FIFTH AND RICHARD THE THIRD.

A.D. 1483 TO A.D. 1485.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Charles VIII.

SCOTLAND.—James III.

POPES.—Sixtus IV.; Innocent VIII.

§ 1. EDWARD V. succeeds to the throne, but is never crowned. Richard of York, his young brother. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of the two princes, appointed Protector. His violent proceedings. His execution of Lord Hastings, and others.—§ 2. Usurpation of RICHARD III.—§ 3. Murder of the two young princes, Edward V. and the Duke of York.—§ 4. Vindictive conduct of Richard. Conspiracy in favour of the Earl of Richmond.—§ 5. The Duke of Buckingham betrayed, and afterwards beheaded.—§ 6. Richard solicits the hand of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.—§ 7. Richmond obtains the aid of France, and effects a landing at Milford Haven.—§ 8. Battle of Bosworth Field. Lord Stanley declares for Richmond.—§ 9. Richard is defeated and slain. Richmond is crowned on the field of battle as "Henry VII."

§ 1. AN innocent boy of thirteen filling a nominal throne for three months, and then ending his short life with a dark and violent death, furnishes no material for the historian, except the meagre details of his pitiful fate. Sole surviving brother of Edward was the aspiring Gloucester, whose nearness of relationship pointed him out as guardian of the young king and his brother, the Duke of York. Nominating himself Protector of the kingdom, he lost no time in getting the youthful Edward out of the hands of his maternal relations, the Woodvilles, and the younger son, Prince Richard, from the custody of his mother, who had fled with him for safety

to the sanctuary at Westminster; and with a superfluity of care lodged the orphans, for the protection of their persons, in the Tower. Suspicions were quickly roused as to his ulterior designs, and the mask was thrown off very soon. A council was held to settle the coronation. Many lords were there, and the conversation at first was gay and friendly. But Gloucester went out for an hour. When he came back, after his arrangements had been made, he wore a scowling countenance, and suddenly asked Lord Hastings "what they deserved who compassed the death of the Protector?" "To be punished as traitors," was the reply; whereupon Gloucester exclaimed, "I will make good your answer on your body, traitor," and clapped his hands. At the signal, a man at the door shouted "Treason!" Armed men rushed into the room. The other nobles were sent into various dungeons; but to Hastings, who was attached to the young princes, he said, "Confess thyself at once, for by St. Paul I will not dine till I see thy head off." The words were too true. Hastings was hurried into the court-yard, and laid across a beam of timber which happened to be there; his head was cut off with an axe, and the Lord Protector dined.

§ 2. There was little attempt at concealment after this. The Duke of Buckingham went and canvassed the city, descending to the meanness of describing the princes as illegitimate. Armed retainers of the Protector paraded the town. Others proceeded to the North and murdered Lord Rivers, and several members of the Woodville family, without any form of law. Preachers were employed to use their bad eloquence in the praise of Gloucester; and to mark the contrast between his exemplary virtues and the vices of his brother, Jane Shore, a mistress of the late king, was led in penance through the streets of London, but excited more pity by the patience with which she bore her degradation, than favour towards the hypocritical enforcer of her exposure. A bishop was found base enough to bear false witness against a noble

lady, to whom he swore he had married Edward before his espousals with the queen; and a pretended parliament was bribed or coerced into a declaration that, owing to this pre-contract of Edward IV., "Richard of Gloucester is very and undoubted king of the realm of England."

§ 3. At this time the princes disappeared from the Tower—murdered, according to all reasonable belief, by their unscrupulous uncle. The lower names in this atrocious action are Brackenbury, keeper of the Tower, who admitted the assassins; Sir James Tyrrel, a bolder villain, who accompanied them to the place; and Dighton and Forest, who performed the fatal deed themselves. It is said they smothered the boys in bed; and rewards rich and numerous were showered upon all concerned. In a case of this kind, where inquiry was so difficult, the people were strengthened in their surmises by the sudden elevation of persons who had no other claim to favour; and even now it would require a great amount of positive disproof to do away with the evidence of so many manors, pensions, and offices of trust bestowed on Forest and Dighton. Brackenbury and Tyrrel. We shall bear this in mind when we come, in a succeeding chapter, to the romantic adventure of Perkin Warbeck, who was believed by many, and is still believed by some, to have been the young Richard of York, brother of the king, whom the murderers, for some unaccountable reason, spared, while Edward V. was killed.

RICHARD THE THIRD.

§ 4. THE usual conduct of English usurpers was pursued by Richard III.; he was harsh and vindictive in his relations to the great, liberal and benevolent to the masses of the people. We find, accordingly, that his first care was bestowed on destroying his late confederate, the Duke of Buckingham, whose influence had been exerted in raising him to the throne. This wealthy and useful ally had been enriched by the grati-

tude of the king, and appointed Constable of England, an office of great trust and power; but the greed of successful traitors is insatiable, and Richard was obliged to stop short of his demands. To refuse a request was to make an enemy, and Buckingham entered into a treaty with young Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who had effected his escape after the battle of Tewkesbury, and was living under the grudging protection of the Duke of Brittany. Relying on the support of Buckingham, who himself was descended from Francis of Woodstock, a son of Edward III., the exile sailed across towards the coast of Devonshire. Buckingham, to distract the king's attention, gathered his Welsh followers, and marched down to the Severn, while the expected invader was simultaneously proclaimed king at Exeter, Devizes, Maidstone, Newbury, and Brecknock. But Richard, as ready for war as his brother Edward, was prepared for both his assailants, and taking position at Leicester, near the centre of the realm, held his troops in hand.

§ 5. Richmond, though personally brave, esteemed caution the better part of valour, and seeing no forces ready to welcome him to the soil of England, remained in safety in his vessel, and sailed back to St. Malo. Buckingham stayed on the banks of the Severn in the vain expectation that a flood of extraordinary violence would subside, and as no one had mechanical skill enough to throw a bridge across, the army, finding it could neither get over the stream, nor pillage the friendly proprietors, dispersed to their native hills, and left their leader to his fate. He was betrayed by a servant, with whom he took refuge at Salisbury, and on a word from Richard was executed in the street. Vengeance was poured forth upon the high-born chiefs of this abortive insurrection; but the commonalty was left undisturbed.

§ 6. How to strengthen his title to the throne with less artificial props than a declaration of parliament, and the consent of the London citizens, was the next subject of Richard's

thoughts. His wife was Anne, daughter of the king-making Earl of Warwick, and had been of great use to him by attracting to her husband the hereditary followers of the Nevilles. But there was another lady who would bring him still more powerful friends. This was Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the late King Edward, and at present confined to close sanctuary with her mother. She was young, and fond of balls and gaieties befitting her rank and age. To exchange the austerity of the cloister at Westminster for the brilliancy of Baynard's Castle or Windsor was the height of her desire, and to obtain this object she would make any sacrifice. She was invited to Court; her mother was flattered with prospects of a great establishment for herself and her other children, and hints were given that higher things might be in store for Elizabeth than the hand of an outlawed pretender like Henry of Richmond, to whom it had been promised.

Richard at this time had a son fourteen years of age, and he was offered as husband to Elizabeth. To this she made no objection, as it secured her the pleasures of a royal home, with masques and festivals as often as she liked. But when Edward, the young prince, died, she must have had uneasy anticipations of a return to her convent life, if it had not been that the king himself became the most zealous of her admirers. He was her uncle, to be sure, and had the reputation of having murdered her brothers; but she had the coarseness and self-indulgence of the family, and made no scruple in accepting that blood-stained and incestuous hand, if a trifling obstacle could be removed. Anne was yet alive, and it might tax the utmost indulgence of the Pope to pronounce a dispensation for her espousing her married uncle. But Anne conveniently died at the proper time, and Elizabeth was ready for the crown. Public opinion, however, even in that wretched court which had seen the daughter of Warwick so long the wife of the man who had slain her former husband, the son of Henry VI., was revolted at the prospect of so un-

natural a union ; and Richard, with an affectation of indignation, denied that he had ever entertained so horrible an idea.

Another competitor for her hand was less objectionable in point of nearness of blood, and the expatriated Richmond was glad to buy the support of many who were wearied out with civil dissension by binding himself to unite the fortunes of the houses by marrying the representative of the Yorks. Little was known at this period of his proceedings, for he kept himself as quiet as possible in the town of Vannes. Richard, from policy, if not from the contempt he entertained for the talents and even the courage of his rival, appeared to take no heed of the approaching danger. He visited the different counties, and kept high wassail at the feasts of the Church. He passed, also, some excellent statutes for the security of his subjects against the power of the crown, and for facilitating the transfer of land. Yet the care of the energetic usurper was not so entirely absorbed by domestic affairs as to blind him to the actions of his enemies abroad. Richmond received notice from Bishop Morton of Ely, one of his confederates, that the Duchy of Brittany was no longer safe ; and passing over the boundary which divided it from France, he made his way to Paris, and the contest was carried on in the same secret manner as before.

§ 7. But Richmond at last obtained the active aid of France, and prepared for a descent. Three thousand Normans were furnished for the invasion, and roused the tyrant from his plans of domestic change. The warlike spirit of the Plantagenets burst forth in the last of their line, and Richard, entrusting the protection of the sea-coast to his friends, took his station, as before, in the middle of the kingdom, prepared for any attack. But his friends, trained in a school of civil war, were ready to desert him at his need. The towns were for a while turned against the strengthener of their liberties by the forced contributions he was obliged to exact. The Yorkist name was rendered odious by the vices of most of its bearers,

and the evil qualities of the new aspirer to the crown were still unknown. His claims by hereditary descent were exposed in a bitter proclamation; bastardy in both the male and female lines was proved against him beyond the possibility of dispute; but, fortunately for him, the popularity of the house of Lancaster had had time to revive. Men thought of the first two Henries with pride, and of the last with religious pity; for in the eyes of many his patience and submission had elevated him into a saint. The changes of the last years also had been so great and strange, that people were unprepared for the monotony of a long-continued scene. And the nation looked on almost as if sitting at a play, while the last struggle between the lords, to whom the interest in the result was limited, decided the very unimportant question of whether the name on the shilling should be Henry or Richard.

§ 8. Henry landed at Milford Haven on the 7th of August, and on the twenty-first both armies were in sight of Bosworth, near Leicester. When the plain was filled next morning with the contending hosts, any other than Richard would have felt that his hour was come. Half the chiefs of his party had gone over to the other side. Even Northumberland, his main reliance, had carried over all his followers; and others who owed their lives to his clemency had joined the enemy. No one continued true but Norfolk, and his son, Lord Surrey. With these, and the promised aid of Lord Stanley—who had sent to say he was detained by illness, but would certainly be with him before the fight was over—he determined to begin;—a sharp and bitter battle, which might have ended in a different manner, if Richard's design had not been foiled by treason. Stanley came on the field, and both parties hailed his approach as decisive of the day, for he had promised his help to both; but at a very critical period of the engagement he openly declared for Richmond, and turned his whole power against the king.

§ 9. Clapping spurs to his horse, the fierce Plantagenet

plunged into the thickest of the fight. Forcing his way through, he pushed madly on to where the more cool-blooded Richmond was surveying the combat. A blow slew Sir William Brandon, the standard-bearer of his rival; another overthrew the good knight, Sir John Cheney; one other plunge forward of the horse would have brought him within reach of Richmond, and the contest would have been ended by the death of one or other; but crowds galloped up, closed in on the still advancing king, and overpowered him by their numbers. They ignominiously stripped his lifeless body, and suspending it across a horse, buried it with contemptuous want of reverence in a monastery at Leicester. The royal crown of England, which had been worn by Richard round his casque, was discovered on a thorn bush, and being placed by the double traitor Stanley on the victor's head, he was saluted from all parts of the field with shouts of victory, and cries of "God save King Henry the Seventh!"

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

1482. Edward V. succeeded his father at the age of eleven, but was never crowned.
- Richard, duke of Gloucester, uncle of King Edward, appointed Protector, whereupon he secures Edward and his younger brother in the Tower.
 - At the request of the Duke of Buckingham the Duke of Gloucester usurps the throne, under the title of Richard III., and declares his nephew and the issue of Edward IV. to be bastards.
 - Jane Shore, the mistress of Edward IV., obliged by Richard III. to do public penance for incontinence.
 - King Richard causes his two nephews, Edward V. and Richard, to be murdered in the Tower, where they were

A.D.

- obscurely buried. Richard is crowned at Westminster.
1483. The Duke of Buckingham declares against Richard, but he is afterwards betrayed; and beheaded at Shrewsbury.
1485. The Earl of Richmond lands at Milford Haven with 2000 men, where he is soon joined by numerous others.
- Richmond engages King Richard in Bosworth field, near Leicester, where Richard is killed, and his army routed. Lord Stanley having previously declared for Richmond, places the crown on his head after the battle. Thus terminated the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, which had lasted thirty years, and the reign of the Plantagenets was at an end.

BOOK VIII.

HOUSE OF TUDOR.

A.D. 1485 TO A.D. 1603.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY THE SEVENTH.

A.D. 1485 TO A.D. 1509.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

FRANCE.—Charles VIII.; Louis XII.

SCOTLAND.—James III.; James IV.

SPAIN.—Of Navarre—Catherine and her husband, John of Albret.

Of Castile and Leon—Ferdinand V. (the Catholic);
Joan and her husband, Philip I. of Austria.

Of Arragon—Ferdinand II. (the Catholic).

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.—Frederick III.; Maximilian I.

POPES.—Innocent VIII.; Alexander VI.; Pius III.; Julius II.

- § 1. Person and character of Richard III.—§ 2. Political retrospect. Changes in the social system.—§ 3. Discovery of printing, and its influence on society. Caxton.—§ 4. Accession of Henry VII., and his marriage with Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV.—§ 5. Discontent and insurrections in the country. Hostility of the Duchess of Burgundy.—§ 6. Proceedings of Henry. The Battle of Stoke. Lambert Simnel, the Pretender. Henry confiscates the estates of the rebels.—§ 7. His contests with France, and his pettifying propensities.—§ 8. His secret league with Charles VIII., and pretended invasion of France for the sake of raising money. Peace of Estaples.—§ 9. Perkin Warbeck, the Pretender. Recognised by the Duchess of Burgundy and numerous others. Proofs of the imposture.—§ 10. Perkin's invasion of England. Marries Lady Catherine Gordon.—§ 11. Cornish rebellion.—§ 12. Flight and capture of Perkin. His trial and execution.—§ 13. Marriage and death of the king's son, Prince Arthur.—§ 14. Marriage of the Princess Margaret. Oppressions of Dudley and Empsom.—§ 15. Henry's demands extorted from the Archduke Philip of Castile and his wife Joanna.—§ 16. His matrimonial intrigues. His grasping and avaricious spirit. His death.

§ 1. THE enmity of the successful faction pursued the unhappy Richard even beyond the grave. No surer avenue was found to the favour of the mean-souled Richmond than vituperation of the Yorkist king, for Henry considered it an acknowledgment of his Lancastrian descent when any one calumniated the rival line. It is therefore difficult to come to a true decision on all parts of the conduct of the vanquished of Bosworth, or even on circumstances connected with him more easily known. The hostility of his traducers descended even to malignant representations of his personal appearance, and tradition has transmitted him to us as a monster of deformity no less than of crime. It would be fortunate for him if we could diminish his delinquencies in the same degree as his bodily defects, for the exaggerations of malice are now reduced to the fact that there was a slight inequality in the height of his shoulders, and that his stature was below the knightly standard. But indubitable proofs remain that he shared in the comeliness of feature for which his brother was celebrated, and the gentlemen who fell or fled before his sword in the last of his encounters bore witness to his activity and skill.

§ 2. The transition from mediæval to modern times is dated from this reign. The characteristic of the former period is the predominance of the feudal or aristocratic element, while of the latter the prevailing feature is the supremacy of the monarchical principle, modified, in our country, by the admixture of popular power. It was not, however, in this country alone that the great change took place. A similar madness to that which excited the Wars of the Roses raged for many years among the landed nobles in France, till, when Louis XI. died, and his spirit transmigrated into our equally ignoble Henry VII., the strength of that armed feudalism which had counterbalanced the crown, was found to be entirely broken. Dukes, marquises, and earls were no longer the half-royal and almost entirely independent

potentates they once had been. In both countries they had been impoverished by extravagance and confiscations, by mutual wars and public executions, till their numbers were too insignificant to give much weight even to their combination, if that had been possible. They had alienated the hearts of their dependents by their selfishness and pride; and the people at large, finding protection no longer in the castle of the lord, to which their predecessors had had recourse, nor in the clergy, who had sold themselves to the despotism against which it was at one time their office to contend, turned, as their last resource, to the central power, and looked for safety from their former friends, the baron and priest, to an authority which mastered them all. It was a consolation to the insulted peasant that the same degradation was now extended to his oppressor which pressed upon himself. We have now in fact reached the commencement of the despotic period of our annals, and the whole course of our succeeding history consists in the gradual steps by which we emerged into a purer state.

This, then, is the fitting opportunity for a survey of the ground we had already traversed, and the position to which we had attained. Villeinage, or personal serfdom, though never expressly repealed, had gradually died out. The want of coin experienced by the greatest landowners—when a gentleman with many farms and stately castles found it very often impossible to put more than a few shillings into his purse—convinced them of the great superiority of a rent paid in money over the services of any number of bondmen; and in the same way, in order to facilitate the sale of goods, markets and fairs were encouraged all over the land, and the proprietor of stacks of corn and herds of cattle was enabled to convert them into a more portable form. Another method of getting out of difficulties was discovered by breaking the entails of the vast estates, by which the dignity and influence of the great families were supported, and so rendering them

capable of sale. The effect of this was to throw open large tracts of land to the wealth and enterprise of the rising middle class, and a new sort of landowner began to take his place in public affairs, free from the feudal traditions and obligations of his predecessors in possession, and infusing among his fellow-proprietors a portion of the love of peace and order which he had acquired in his commercial pursuits.

Enormous estates were still in the hands of the clergy, and debarred from all other classes by the inalienable nature of ecclesiastical lands. The portions, however, exposed to public competition by the breakage of entails, and the impoverishment and forfeitures of the greater nobles, were perhaps sufficient to absorb the capital and labour at that time in the country; but already, and long before this, hostile feelings were raised by such means of general usefulness being restricted to the maintenance of so many thousand lazy and unproductive spiritual persons and useless mendicants, and parliament had on several occasions suggested the confiscation of a share of this ill-employed wealth to the national exchequer. But as yet the idea was only in its infancy, and needed time and advanced political knowledge to bear its proper fruits. Parliament also at this date, besides asserting its right to the repeal of grievances before the granting of supplies, had secured the inspection of how the money it voted was employed, and the responsibility of ministers by the tremendous machinery of impeachment. It had obtained the formal surrender by the king of the right of exacting benevolences or forced loans, and nothing seemed left to Henry VII. for the building up of the monarchical superiority but the prostration of the peers, and the undefined and dreadful weapon which bore the hated name of the royal prerogative.

§ 3. Against this, and all the other arts and subtleties of tyrannical ambition, the people were furnished at this time with a "sword and shield," in the discovery of printing. In the year 1451 the art had been perfected by Faust and his

colleagues in Germany, and in 1474 Caxton—a name sacred to liberty as to literature and religion—introduced it here. The first volumes he printed bore the impress of the prevailing taste. Theology and chivalry were the two subjects on which the intellect of the period had been employed, and so strongly did they act upon each other, that it is difficult to distinguish between the legends of the saints and the romances of the knights. St. Peter is made as true a chevalier as King Arthur; and this was a natural result, from the taste of the audience to whom those compositions were addressed. Manuscripts were so scarce, and of course so dear, that they were limited to the rich; and when we speak of a book being published before this date (such as the poems of Chaucer or the chronicles of Froissart), we must remember the difference between publication then and now. When such a work as the “History of the Noble, Right Valiant and Right Worthy Knight Paris and of the Fair Vienne,” came into a man’s possession, it was not only a gift for kings, but even the reading of it was a treat which enraptured a whole court. The Black Prince refreshed himself from the toils of war by having romances of this sort read at his bedside. When he had heard the whole, the volume would pass through the circle of his attendants, and then find its way to some other noble’s castle, performing its circuit like a favourite novel among the subscribers to a circulating library. Religious books, in the same way, were read aloud by monastic brothers appointed for that purpose, and literary fame we may conclude was very slow when it had so weary a journey to pursue.

But when Caxton, by a turn of the press, had superseded the labours of many scribes, and produced, in large and clear letters, a composition which the fashionable handwriting of the time had rendered obscure, literature descended into quarters it had never visited before. Ignorant monks listening to the lazy mumblings of their Reader, and equally ignorant

nobles drinking in the nonsense of "The Knight of the Tower," were not the only people to whom this new world was revealed. In a short time books of a higher quality found their way into circulation. Great men paused from the struggles of ambition and the perils of the civil war to cultivate learning and philosophy, and Caxton found his most powerful patrons in the accomplished John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and the generous Lord Rivers, the brother of Edward's queen.

This was the weapon with which the popular liberty protected itself best. As if in anticipation of a period of more general intelligence, the acts of Richard the Third's parliament were, for the first time, passed in the common tongue, and then were printed for distribution. The Church was still towering in its pride of place, and to all appearance, after the execution of the Lollards, and its stringent laws against the heretics, was stronger and more flourishing than ever. But the cheaper diffusion of information was sapping its foundation while its turrets seemed firmest; for it was impossible that fighting prelates leading their followers to battle, or bloated abbots rioting on the riches of their establishment while the hospitals for the sick and needy were robbed of their revenues, or sturdy vagrants in monk's hood and cloak rambling through the land in quest of plunder under the pretence of charity, could long co-exist with a press which scattered truer notions of duty and religion among the people at a price which the humblest yeoman could afford. But of this result of the new discovery Henry was unconscious, like all the rest of the world, and Caxton's trade was only considered a cheapener of books and a deadly enemy to the professional transcribers, who saw their occupation gone, whereas it did more to change the state of society and direct the history of mankind than gunpowder or steam.

§ 4. Henry VII., although conscious of the untenable nature of his title as heir of the Lancastrian Plantagenets,

was unwilling to owe the throne to the union he had agreed to with Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV., whom we saw so willing to ascend the throne as wife of Richard III. He rested his title on his victory over his enemy at Bosworth, and, if this had been acknowledged, might have demanded the crown by right of conquest. But after he had glutted his revenge on his adversaries (not in the usual way of tyrants, by hurrying them to the scaffold, but by impeaching them of treason, and enriching himself with their estates), he was wisely silent about his claim altogether, and was contented with an act of Settlement, in which it was declared "that the inheritance of the crown should rest in him and his heirs."

Having thus shown his independence, he guarded himself against any rival who might claim the easy hand of the Yorkist heiress, by marrying her on the 18th of January, and the Red and White Roses were now on the same tree.

§ 5. But scarcely were the marriage ceremonies and the royal procession which the new king made through his dominions at an end, before the ancient enmity between the followers of the ill-assorted flowers broke out afresh. An insurrection led by the sons of the late Duke of Buckingham was quenched in their blood and ruin; but a greater danger threatened in the person of a pretender to the throne. It was a greater danger, because it exposed the weakness of his right—a weakness which was perhaps made more apparent by the means he took to conceal it. He procured a bull from the Pope anathematizing any person who opposed either of the contradictory grounds on which he founded his claim. It recognised him as legitimate heir—as conqueror—as an elected sovereign, and as established by the Act of Settlement. The danger showed itself first in Ireland. A designing priest produced to the discontented and generous chiefs, in a meeting at Dublin, a handsome and intelligent boy as Edward Earl of Warwick, the son of that too convivial Duke of Clarence who

was smothered in a cask of malmsey. Any pretence was good enough for the Irish leaders, who hated the English yoke. The youth was accepted at once as nearest in succession to Edward IV., and emissaries were sent into Flanders, where they were sure of a kind reception from Edward's sister, the Duchess of Burgundy, whose hatred of Henry VII. continued to the last.

The scarcely quelled malcontents of England also flew to arms. Another nephew of Edward—John, Earl of Lincoln, son of the Duke of Suffolk—made his way from London, where he was strictly watched, and re-appeared in the Burgundian court. Martin Swartz, a celebrated mercenary chief, was placed at the head of two thousand German troops by the munificence of the duchess, and safely arrived in Dublin. There the young pretender was crowned in the great cathedral, and Lincoln acknowledged him as kinsman and king. Enthusiasm grew when Henry continued inactive so long; the expedition of hungry Germans and savage Irish sailed across the Channel, and landed in a remote bay in Westmoreland, and gaining partisans upon their march they advanced as far as York.

§ 6. It is amusing to watch the proceedings of Henry while these things were going on. He went in royal state through the disaffected parts of the eastern counties; he put on penitential apparel, and went in holy pilgrimage to the shrine of "Our Lady of Walsingham," and enlisted heaven upon his side by the splendour of his gifts and promises. He then proceeded to Kenilworth, where he left his wife and son in safety; and having seen the disposition of many parts of the kingdom, and secured the good wishes of the Church, he prepared for the struggle with the insurgents with no misgiving as to the result.

On the 16th of June the armies met at Stoke, near Newark. Germans and Irish were equally helpless in the hands of the English yeomen. No mercy was shown to those foreign

invaders, and more than half of them lay dead upon the field. Lincoln, the Fitzgeralds, and other chieftains were slain; and when the prisoners were examined the young pretender was found among them, and confessed that his real name was Lambert Simnel, that he was son of a baker at Oxford, and that he had been tutored for his part by the friar whose name was Simon. The policy adopted towards Simnel was that of contempt; he was made scullion in the king's kitchen, and rose by good conduct to be falconer. The priest was never heard of. Henry, who had remained in command of the rear guard, was in his element now. He attainted and confiscated wherever there had been treason and a property; a rebellion to him was what a loan or a vote of taxes is to other kings; he filled his exchequer with the revenues of large estates, and soon fell upon the easy expedient of keeping up the titled splendour of his court by elevating his followers to all degrees of the peerage, without bestowing on them the lands with which, in the feudal times, the rank was inalienably combined. He kept the lands of his vanquished opponents, and bestowed their empty coronets on his aspiring friends.

§ 7. The English became ashamed of the pettifogging actions of the king who pretended to be descended from Edward III., and to be the legitimate successor of Henry V. Instead of their glorious expeditions to the continent, he obtained large sums to place his kingdom in a state of safety from the enmity of France,—and put them in his private coffers. He received money from both the contending parties in that distracted country, and when he was appointed mediator between the French crown and the Duke of Brittany, insisted on terms so ridiculously advantageous to himself that both sides resisted his award. When at last he was driven by the spirit of his people to espouse the quarrel of the young heiress of Brittany, and prevent the annexation of her dominions to the monarchy of France, he first obtained a subsidy from Parliament for the expenses of the war, and then de-

manded two of the best seaports of his orphan ally as security for the reimbursement of every penny he should spend. Lord Willoughby de Broke went over and sustained the glory of the English name by a few trifling successes, the king giving him positive orders to fight no dangerous battle; and was withdrawn by the parsimonious Henry before the money was exhausted; by which dignified proceeding he pocketed the balances remaining unpaid. But the unheroic and money-making king excelled himself when he was forced into an actual war.

§ 8. He entered into a secret league with Charles VIII. of France, by which there was to be no fighting, but a good deal of military display; and on the strength of this agreement Henry blew the war trumpet with its loudest note, promised estates and riches to the nobles who would follow him to the re-conquest of the realm which had been united to the crown by the conqueror of Agincourt; and to enable them to fit themselves out at their own expense, he got an Act of Parliament to allow the adventurers in this expedition to alienate their estates, or borrow money upon them to their full value.

The summer months passed away in immediate expectation of a campaign, and it was only when murmurs were deep and dangerous that the king, late in October, led over an army of little less than thirty thousand men to Calais, and, according to previous arrangement with the French king, laid siege to Boulogne. Charles took no notice; and Henry, having satisfied the aspirations of the warlike population by the enormous taxes they paid for military expenses, published a treaty of peace with his ready-money rival, by a secret article from which he was to receive a hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds; and, loaded with wealth and indignation, led his army back to England.

§ 9. He had a particular reason for patching up a treaty; for the long and curious romance of Perkin Warbeck had begun. It looked as if the exploded pretence of Lambert

Simnel had been got up to throw ridicule on any future claim ; but if so it was of no avail, for all that the baker's son had begun in the year 1486 was carried through, with a princely dignity and consistency of behaviour which won many to his cause, by the son of a merchant of Tournay, of the name of Warbeck. First, he arrived, as his predecessor had done, on the shores of Ireland ; but he was not contented with being the helpless Warwick, the nephew of Edward IV., but was Richard of York, who had managed to escape from the Tower when his elder brother, Edward V., was murdered by Forest and Dighton. He was not yet twenty years of age, was very beautiful and fascinating in his manners, and threw himself entirely on the gallantry of the Irish nation. The chieftains, from hatred to Henry, and the people from their natural generosity and kindness, gave in their adhesion at once ; but before he could avail himself of their support, he received an invitation from the French king, who wished to have a standing menace to his rival in his hands, and was accepted by all the lords and ladies of Paris as the true heir of England, and treated with royal honours.

But Henry hurried on the peace as mentioned above. Charles found the maintenance of a royal claimant a considerable expense, and the disappointed adventurer made his way to the Duchess of Burgundy. That princess, who was sister, be it remembered, of Edward IV., and hated Henry with all her heart, was apparently doubtful at first ; but on some secret communication, and yielding to the voice of nature, she at last recognised her nephew, and again the persevering Perkin was recognised as the English king. The duchess would probably have been equally happy to recognise him in any other character that might have been equally injurious to the detested Richmond. But the force of her example was great. Many of the English residents in Flanders acknowledged his claim ; the old Yorkist party at home sent over an emissary who reported that he was the right and lawful prince ; and Margaret

received him at court attended by his body-guard of faithful subjects, and presented him as her beloved nephew the White Rose of England.

But Henry had emissaries, too; they brought back reports of the young man's birth and education which altogether overthrew his claims. He was traced in his travels to many lands in the character of servant or dependent of one of the families whom Henry on his accession had banished. His parents were named, and certificates of their conversion from Judaism produced, but nothing was of any use in destroying the pretender's story. Henry was in the unfortunate position of having told so many lies, that no one would believe him, particularly when he stumbled on a truth. Spies were employed, and the vengeance of the law let loose; many nobles and others were arrested, and three of the busiest adherents of Prince Richard were put to death.

§ 10. Despair drove the exasperated party to action. Perkin himself landed with a few followers near Deal; but meeting with little aid from the men of Kent, retired, leaving a hundred and sixty prisoners in the hands of the king. They were too poor for ransom, and too numerous to be set free: so he hanged them on posts set up at intervals all round the coast, to serve as sea-marks for any more Flemings who might wish to come over. But he tried a surer policy than hanging and quartering next. He made a commercial treaty with Philip of Burgundy, by a clause of which he was bound to force the Duchess-dowager to send Perkin out of her lands; and the wanderer had no place to go to, for his reception was an insult to England. He went once more to Ireland, and could raise no friends. He went to Scotland, and would have been treated with the same neglect, if Henry, by wrongs and insults to the king and nation, had not raised up a feeling against him which found its gratification in believing that he was an illegitimate usurper, and that Perkin was the true heir. James IV., the gallant and unfortunate Scottish king,

was aware of the plots and treacheries of his powerful neighbour. He knew that persons had even been hired to carry him off a prisoner ; and if darker suspicions lurked in his mind, they may be forgiven to a brave spirit like his, which looked with equal disdain on perfidious capture and secret assassination. When Perkin came, therefore, he was received as an instrument of revenge, if not as a victim to the same mean conspirator as himself. The noble manners of the young man completed the interest which his romantic story excited, and in a short time he was married to the Lady Catherine Gordon, a daughter of the Earl of Huntley, and cousin of the king.

An expedition into England failed because the zeal of the northern families in favour of the pretender was exceeded by their hatred of his Scotch auxiliaries, of whom James himself was in command. Perkin begged his allies to re-cross the Border, and was profoundly moved with the sufferings their lawlessness had inflicted on his people. Henry, as he had bought off the Duchess of Burgundy with a treaty for the admission of Flemish cloth, now bought off James with the hand of his daughter Margaret Tudor. Too young still to be more than the affianced bride, Margaret formed the link that in course of time bound the two kingdoms in one ; for you will find that her great-grandson came to the English throne in the person of James I., and put an end to the rivalries and hostility which robbed each of the nations of half its strength.

§ 11. A rebellion of the men of Cornwall encouraged Perkin, who had to leave the court of the proposed son-in-law of his enemy, to try his fortune in the west of England. Landing at Whitsand Bay, he advanced into Devonshire, gathering friends and followers on his way. He was repulsed at Exeter, which he had tried to take by storm, and finally found himself confronted by the king's army at Taunton. There was no chance for the ragged array that Cornwall had sent forth. They had no arms, and were scantily clothed, and offered an easy prey to the well-led troops which Henry

pushed against them, reserving his favourite station in the rear. Perkin, prince or impostor, had military skill enough to see the impossibility of success, but not chivalry enough to throw his life away on so desperate a cast. He rode off at night, and never drew bit till he was in the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in the New Forest; and there he heard, in a short time, that Henry had sent off in hot haste to seize his wife, the Lady Catherine, at St. Michael's Mount, where he had left her; and that, moved by her tears and beauty, or more likely, to keep her constantly in guard, he had sent her to the queen, who received her with the greatest favour.

§ 12. The absurd secrecy in which Henry thought it policy to involve all his acts, made people believe there was some foundation for Perkin's claim; for though he was frequently examined, very little was communicated to the public. He was allowed in the meantime to reside in the precinct of the court, and was even treated with a show of respect. From this free custody he escaped, and on being retaken was forced to read a confession of his imposture, and then was committed to the Tower, where, by a strange or designed coincidence, the real Earl of Warwick was confined. The prisoners, for what reason we are left to guess, were allowed to meet. Perkin gained the prince's affection by the winning spell of his manners and appearance, and so softened the keepers appointed to guard him, that they offered to aid his escape. On this, and some other evidence of a design between the two to regain their liberty together, Perkin was at last tried, and of course condemned. He was executed at Tyburn, having read again a confession of his imposture, and men were divided in their opinions more from the contradictory nature of some of the proofs Henry brought to substantiate his statement than from the likelihood of the young man's tale. We have tried to give the facts as they occurred, and it must always remain as one of the mysterious incidents by which every now and then the prosaic monotony of history is relieved.

§ 13. Henry, safe at last from domestic treason, looked abroad to strengthen his dynasty by marriage. He received Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, as the wife of Arthur Prince of Wales, his eldest son, and was shocked by a demand, made in six months after the ceremony, for the repayment of the princess's portion, as the youthful husband had unfortunately died. It was not Henry's habit to repay anything, and he preferred to offer his surviving son, Henry, though only in his thirteenth year, as husband to his brother's widow. By this expedient he not only avoided the return of the crowns already received, but obtained instant payment of the remaining amount of the stipulated sum.

X § 14. At this time one of the wickedest men who ever lived was the successor of St. Peter, under the name of Pope Alexander VI. There was therefore no difficulty in bribing him to abrogate any of the laws either of God or man, and a dispensation was procured for the marriage. Margaret of England also was sent down to Scotland as the bride of James IV., and made her entrance in state into the capital of her kingdom, riding on the same horse with her husband. She was at this time fourteen years of age, and though eldest daughter of the richest king in Christendom, enriched her royal spouse with a fortune of only thirty thousand nobles, to be paid in three instalments. Receiving many Spanish crowns, and disbursing few English nobles, was so lucrative a traffic, that Henry, on the death of his wife, was anxious to enter into it on his own account. And in order to make up a purse for the expenses of his wooing, commenced a system of extortion and injustice, which rendered all men's estates unsafe. Two infamous informers, of the names of Empsom and Dudley, made inquiry into titles, and found flaws in the strongest of conveyances. Taxes were enforced with rigour, and the old game of confiscation or fine carried on.

§ 15. An abortive display of enmity to the king, made by the

Duke of Suffolk, who was nearest prince of the blood, enabled Henry to enrich himself still more. The duke fled to the unfailing sanctuary of Henry's foes—the court of his late wife's aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy—and his friends were arrested, pillaged, and imprisoned as if they had already been guilty of rebellion. But a greater windfall was at hand. A ship put into Weymouth from stress of weather, and when Henry ascertained that fortune had thrown into his power the Archduke Philip and his wife, Joanna Queen of Castile, he resolved to make the most of the event. He sent down a stately retinue to bring the royal guests to Windsor; he closeted himself with Philip, and forced that involuntary negotiator to agree to many things which only the fear of violence could have extorted.

First, he was to surrender the Duke of Suffolk, who was under his protection in Flanders. "Think what disgrace it will be," he said, "to surrender a suppliant like that." "I'll take all the disgrace," replied Henry; "so we will say no more about it." Next he was to give him the hand of his sister, Margaret of Savoy, a widow of enormous wealth, and to add from himself a portion of 300,000 crowns; and lastly, he was to affiance his son Charles, heir of all his kingdoms, to his daughter Mary Tudor—about whose portion he maintained a judicious silence. When the unwilling guest had agreed to all these demands, Henry rewarded his ductility by making him Knight of the Garter. The royal couple were detained in England till the unhappy Suffolk was brought over from Flanders; and when Henry had no more demands to make, they were allowed to depart, and must have had a strange idea of the honesty and generosity of their English host.

§ 16. None of the arrangements, however, came to fulfilment. Margaret of Savoy was left in the lurch by Henry; for when Philip, the young and handsome husband of Joanna, died, he immediately proposed for the disconsolate widow himself. A Queen of Castile, in possession, with

Arragon in reversion, was better than a dowager of Savoy. Joanna, however, went mad, and the Duchess resented his fickleness, and kept her riches unshared. Yet even in this defeat he contrived to make money. He forced Ferdinand, Joanna's father, to pay another hundred thousand crowns as the portion of Catherine, or he would not allow her marriage with his son Henry to go on. Thus grasping at riches wherever they were to be found—sparing of blood where it would be unprofitably shed, but trampling on liberty as an enemy to kings—summoning no parliament—and continuing his dark, doubtful, and deceitful policy to the close—the hand of this destroyer of chivalry, of freedom, of public honour and private independence, relaxed its hold of an oppressive and humiliating sceptre, and he died amid the contempt and hatred of the nation he had enslaved. With a bound of renewed hope, the people turned to his successor; for already there was no place from which alleviation could be expected except the throne, which had arrogated to itself all the powers of the State.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

1485. Accession of Henry VII.

1486. Henry marries Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., by which marriage he unites the houses of York and Lancaster.

1486-7. Lambert Simnel personates Edward, Earl of Warwick, and, going into Ireland, is crowned by the name of Edward VI. at Dublin. He lands in England with a body of Irish troops, but is defeated by the king at Stoke, near Newark, and made prisoner, when he is made a scullion in the king's kitchen.

1487. The court of Star Chamber instituted.

1493. Perkin Warbeck personates Richard Duke of York, second son of Edward IV.

1495 The King of Scotland accom-

A.D.

panies Perkin Warbeck in an invasion of England.

1497. Perkin invades Exeter at the head of a Cornish force, but is captured, and brought to London.

1499. He makes his escape, but is captured, and eventually executed along with the Earl of Warwick.

1501-3. Marriage of Prince Arthur with Catherine of Arragon. On the death of Arthur, Catherine is married to Henry, Prince of Wales.

1504. The Princess Margaret, King Henry's eldest daughter, married to James IV., King of Scotland, whence sprang the Stuart dynasty of England.

1507. Extortions of Henry through his emissaries Empson and Dudley.

1509. Death of Henry VII.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

A.D. 1509 TO A.D. 1547.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XII.; Francis I.

SCOTLAND.—James IV.; James V.; Mary.

SPAIN.—Charles I. or V. of Germany.

Of Navarre.—Henry II. of Albret.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.—Maximilian I.; Charles V. King of Spain.

POPES.—Julius II.; Leo X.; Adrian VI.; Clement VII.; Paul III.

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- § 1. Accession of Henry VIII. His disposition and character.—§ 2. His marriage with the widow of his brother.—§ 3. Trial and execution of Empson and Dudley.—§ 4. Henry joins Ferdinand of Spain in a war against France, which he invades. Battle of the Spurs. Chevalier Bayard.—§ 5. Cardinal Wolsey and his great influence.—§ 6. Battle of Flodden Field, in which the English were victorious.—§ 7. Henry's successful policy, and his great ascendancy both at home and abroad.—§ 8. Charles V. elected to the empire of Germany. Leo X.—§ 9. Painting, and the encouragement it received.—§ 10. Interview between Henry and Francis I. Visit of Charles V. Field of the Cloth of Gold.—§ 11. Execution of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.—§ 12. Henry writes an attack on Luther, and receives the title of "Defender of the Faith."—§ 13. Wolsey's intrigues with Charles V. and Francis.—§ 14. His imperious conduct in the House of Parliament. He obtains supplies.—§ 15. Treachery of the Duke of Bourbon. Is killed in his attack on Rome.—§ 16. Henry becomes enamoured of Anna Boleyn, and raises scruples about his marriage with Catherine of Arragon. He gives instructions to Cardinal Wolsey to negotiate with the Pope for a divorce. Qualities of Anna Boleyn. Considered as the representative of the Protestant cause.—§ 17. Proceedings for a divorce.—§ 18. Wolsey's disgrace and fall.—§ 19. Rise of Cranmer. He takes part in the divorce case, and repudiates the right of the papal see to adjudicate.—§ 20. Secretary Cromwell, and his advice in favour of the royal divorce.—§ 21. Henry's marriage with Anna Boleyn

Peter's pence and other popish offerings abolished. The Pope's supremacy disavowed. The Reformation. The Holy Maid of Kent. Murder of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More. Birth of the Princess Elizabeth. Execution of Queen Anna, and Henry's marriage with Jane Seymour.—§ 22. Henry's confiscations of Church property. Popular discontent and insurrections. Pilgrimage of Grace.—§ 23. Birth of Prince Edward, and death of Queen Jane. Henry's persecuting spirit.—§ 24. Cromwell, Earl of Essex, the king's favourite adviser. Divorce of Anne of Cleves. The king's marriage with Catherine Howard. Her execution.—§ 25. Invasion of Scotland. Murder of Archbishop Beaton.—§ 26. Henry's marriage with Catherine Parr. His expedition against France. § 27. Execution of the Earl of Surrey and the Duke of Norfolk.—§ 28. Death of the king, and his atrocious character.

§ 1. A YOUTH of eighteen, succeeding to the richest exchequer and one of the greatest thrones in Europe, endowed with many bodily advantages and a considerable amount of talent, gave a prospect of becoming the foremost man of all that time. In his anxiety, however, to act up to his great position, he followed too exclusively the promptings of his own will. Flattered and submitted to by the dependents on his favour, he was found unequal to the great circumstances among which he was thrown. He was excelled in policy by his contemporary, Charles V.; in chivalrous dash and mental refinement by Francis I.; in argument, vigour, and sincerity by the champion of the Reformation, Martin Luther; and the only sphere in which he reigned supreme was in his domestic affairs. Here he gave full play to his disposition for cruelty and blood, and, in spite of the joviality of manner which endeared him to the people in his earlier time, and the blessings which were seen to proceed from his selfish and unprincipled behaviour to the Church, and the pretensions to virtue and patriotism with which he and his parasites endeavoured to conceal the real objects he had in view, he will always be remembered in English history as the most tyrannical of kings and most bloodthirsty of husbands. He executed more subjects and murdered more wives than any Christian potentate who ever lived.

§ 2. The first months of the new reign were occupied in

the marriage and coronation of the king. The widow of his brother, Prince Arthur, was eight years senior to her husband ; but as she maintained that the previous union had been merely nominal, no objection was now made by Henry, and she appeared at the altar in bridal white, and without the tying-up of the hair which betokened widowhood. This circumstance became of importance afterwards, when it was a matter of life or death to dissolve or sustain the marriage.

§ 3. After the ceremonies of wedding and coronation, it was found necessary to satisfy the hatred of the nation with the sacrifice of the instruments of the late king's extortions ; and Empsom and Dudley, on a feigned accusation of treason, were put to death. The new monarch succeeded to the private hoards of those unfortunate men as traitors' goods forfeited to the Crown, and having punished the infamous agents of his father's injustice, enjoyed the fruits of it in peace.

§ 4. Henry, however, was too rich and too vain to continue long at rest. He was persuaded by his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Spain, to join him and other powers in a league against France. Thoughts of Crecy and Agincourt swelled the bosom of the most self-indulgent of kings, and he sent over a demand for the immediate restitution of his just heritage of Anjou, Maine, Normandy, and Guienne. The English were as vain and insolent as their king, and made little doubt of seeing him crowned in Paris. An army was sent to Fuentarabia, on the Bidassoa, and the wily Ferdinand availed himself of the alarm created by their arrival to attack the small kingdom of Navarre, and attach it permanently to the Spanish crown. This was not the way Henry had intended to make himself master of the provinces which had now been so long united to France, and he summoned his forces back. Ferdinand established his authority over his new kingdom, and laughed at his English ally.

France, which had seized on Milan, was hard pressed by

the coalition of Spain, the Emperor, England, and the Pope. This latter potentate was Julius II., the most fighting churchman that Europe had seen since the crusades. He loved war for its own sake, and also for the advantages it might bring to the chair of St. Peter; and Henry, a devoted adherent of Rome, considered it a sort of holy enterprise when carried on at the command of his spiritual chief. Louis XII. was expelled from Italy as rapidly as he had entered it. His enemies were gathering on the frontiers of his realm, and James of Scotland thought it the duty of a knight and gentleman to come to the rescue of his French allies. Men and vessels were got ready on both sides of the Tweed, the ancient animosity between the nations was revived, and probably great things were said about Wallace and Bannockburn, as occasionally is the case at the present day. But Henry, leaving the Earl of Surrey to guard the Border, and obtaining a great subsidy from Parliament, took an army to Calais. The wise Ferdinand had made peace in the meantime with the French king, who consented to his retaining Navarre; James of Scotland sent a cartel of defiance to mortal combat to his English brother-in-law; but Henry, deceived by the Spaniard and insulted by the Scot, was not to be deterred from fleshing his maiden sword in nobler fields. He laid siege to Terouenne, and lived in a tent of silk and satin, till the rains and winds drove him to a firmer dwelling. He received Maximilian, the Emperor of Germany, not as an ally—for that unhappy ruler never had any money, nor consequently any troops—but as a man-at-arms at a hundred crowns a-day, and at last had the good fortune to win what is called the Battle of the Spurs, as a sudden panic seized the French cavalry, who turned tail at the sight of the English archers, leaving a great number of prisoners in the hands of the king. Among these were princes and leaders of high rank; but the most celebrated of them was the Chevalier Bayard, the last of the knights of chivalry, a man whom his contem-

poraries honoured with the description of the man "without fear and without reproach."

§ 5. From this time the conduct of the king was guided almost entirely by the advice of his favourite, Thomas Wolsey, the son of a butcher at Ipswich, who had won his affection by the same arts with which à Becket had captivated Henry II. No one could sing, or hunt, or drink, or make witty speeches like this versatile companion of the sovereign's pleasures and councils. It was Henry's intention to advance into the interior of France; but it was the interest of Maximilian to aggrandize his grandson, Charles of Spain, the son of Philip and Joanna, by the recovery of the Netherlands. His penniless majesty therefore promised Wolsey the bishopric of Tournay, if his master would take it from the French. A word from Wolsey diverted Henry from the invasion. Tournay fell after a stout resistance, and France was saved. But Wolsey had gained the mitre, and the English expedition came home.

§ 6. The Earl of Surrey, on the 9th of September this year, had gained the celebrated Battle of Flodden—a blow from which Scotland never recovered, for it swept away almost all her nobility, and, fighting gallantly at the head of them, her young and heroic king. From this time the policy of England was one of secret intermeddling in the quarrels of Scottish parties, and not of open war with the nation. It was found more successful than the former style of enmity; for the probity of the northern barons yielded to the seductions of gold and promises, while their courage had stood unflinching before the open assaults of their armed invaders; and henceforth the claims of the early Plantagenets to the superiority of the kingdom were substantiated without being openly advanced; for every action of the contending factions beyond the Tweed was regulated less with reference to Holyrood than to Windsor.

§ 7. The Scottish king was now a child of two years old; and the French king, though still but fifty-four, was as incapable

of carrying on hostilities from the weakness of premature old age. Henry made the most of the infancy and senility of his enemies, and concluded a peace with both. He obtained the regency of Scotland for his sister Margaret, the widow of James IV., and the crown of France for his sister Mary, by marrying her to Louis XII. He followed so far his father's example in this latter case, that he exacted a large sum of money from the enraptured bridegroom; and as the favourite was made cardinal by the pope, and Chancellor of England by himself in the following year, the king closed his first campaign with honour, and had attained the summit of his desires in war, and policy, and friendship.

Every year now added to the authority of the crown. A kind of sacred feeling attached itself to the person of the king, and no longer from the superstitious awe produced by the ceremonies of a coronation, but from the coarser and more interesting conviction that the occupant of the throne was the arbiter of life and death, of poverty or fortune. The proud spirit of the old nobility was quenched in the blood of battle-fields and scaffolds; the pride of the middle class had not yet received its development. Wealth, indeed, was growing among the citizens and farmers; but it merely facilitated the raising of taxes for the gratification of an imperious master, without building up any barrier against the excesses of power; and as the Church supported all the despotic designs of the monarch—ready with its excellent organization to crush any opposition, and entirely governed by Wolsey and other creatures of the royal favour—there is no wonder the vain heart of Henry became inflated with the madness of self-confidence, and he considered himself superior to all the potentates of the time.

§ 8. His vanity had its natural result: he was overreached and laughed at by them all. But the contemporaries with whom he had to contend were no ordinary rulers. After the empty-pocketed Maximilian had failed in getting some

money from the king, by the promise of resigning the empire in his favour, he was succeeded in Germany by Charles V., formerly known as Charles of Spain, whose dominions extended over a great part of Europe, and stretched themselves over the mysterious regions of the West, where the discovery of Columbus had attached half America to the Spanish crown. Francis I. succeeded to the popular Louis XII. in France, and found the kingdom more united than it had ever been before. The chair of St. Peter was filled by the gayest of voluptuaries and most intellectual of princes, in the person of Leo X.; and among those masters of policy, of knightly courtesy, and polished literature, our strong, bluff, vain, and self-willed Tudor appeared to disadvantage. He tried, however, to transcend them all in their particular walks; to be more skilful in negotiation than Charles, more graceful in tilt and dancing-hall than Francis, and more learned, more cultivated, and even more popish than Leo.

§ 9. We come now to a period when the art of painting, which had reached its maturity at this time, has preserved for us the features and appearance of the principal personages of the scene. In this gallery of portraits, our English Hal was not inferior to any of his rivals. His face was still radiant with youthful health and the rough joyousness of expression, which gave place afterwards to the bloated sensualism by which he is now chiefly remembered. Titian has given us the ideal of a courtly gentleman and gracious king in the manly beauty of Francis I.; Leo X. has the reflective expression of the noble scholar and the stately demeanour of the Florentine prince; while Charles, the deepest of schemers, coldest of politicians, and basest of bigots, bore in his sicklied face, distorted mouth, and projecting under-lip, the impress of his selfish and resolute disposition, while only by the light of his deep and thoughtful eye could any idea be gained of the clear intellect by which his evil qualities were brought into successful action.

§ 10. Henry determined to have an interview with Francis, and show his accomplishments as knight and gentleman. He was also ready to make a display to Charles of his accomplishments as king and statesman, and he would no doubt have been delighted to have had an opportunity of showing to Leo his accomplishments as scholar and theologian. While he was busy choosing the colours of his clothes and the ornaments of his standards for his meeting with the French king, a sudden visit was paid him by the sagacious Charles—sudden and unexpected by Henry, but the result of much negotiation with the Cardinal Wolsey, who was now Lord Archbishop of York. This ambitious churchman was set up to auction at this time. Francis had bidden twelve thousand dollars a-year, nominally as income of the bishopric of Tournay; but Charles had raised his bidding to seven thousand ducats, legally secured on two bishoprics in Spain, and the bargain was knocked down to the imperial buyer. Never had been such an opportunity for a dishonest adviser to make merchandize of his influence with the crown; but the opening was grander still for advancing the true interests of England, if the ruler had been wise and patriotic enough to avail himself of it; for the other potentates were so nearly equal in power, that it lay with Henry to turn the scale to whichever side he chose. The system of the balance of power took its recognised place at this time—a system which has never been departed from since without bringing loss and suffering on all the nations who blindly suffer it to be destroyed. The visit of the emperor lasted only three days; but in that time he managed to impress the king with a high idea of his understanding and justice, and, by additional presents and promises, to secure more unreservedly than ever the important services of the Archbishop of York. In a few days after his departure “the Field of the Cloth of Gold” was radiant with silks and jewels. The monarchs of France and England vied with each other in the number and bravery of their attendants, the splendour of

their state, the beauty of their horses, and the extravagance of their expenses. If the meeting did nothing else, it reduced many of the ostentatious gentlemen who figured on the occasion to hopeless poverty. The kingdoms themselves must have suffered from the exhaustion caused by such useless waste. Pavilions, the size of palaces, were built and furnished; perpetual banquets were spread all over the plain for anybody who liked to partake; and all that was arranged in the midst of such show and prodigality was a plan by which Wolsey endeavoured to serve his new benefactor without offending the old; for he bound his master to continue neutral in the approaching war between the French and Spaniards, and secured from the generosity of France a pension for "his dread lord, King Henry" of a hundred thousand crowns, "if he continued true to his promise to give his daughter Mary as wife to the Dauphin."

A good idea of the state of moral and honourable feeling at that time is gained by the horror with which the French attendants were filled when they discovered that Francis, without a guard to his person, and without exacting hostages for his safety, had gone unexpectedly into the English monarch's tent. He found our lazy king in bed, and when the astonished host perceived who his guest was, and sprang up to welcome him in his nightgown, the stately Valois helped him on with his clothes, and warmed his shirt at the fire. It never entered into the heads of those chivalric gentry that Henry would be fool enough to let their king come back again; and accordingly they were lost in the extremity of surprise when they saw Francis not only riding back safe and sound, but the jocund Henry riding with him, within their lines, and putting himself completely in their power. It puts the finishing stroke to this great meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, that Henry and Wolsey, the moment it was over, rode across to Gravelines, and paid a private and confidential visit to the sagacious Charles, who, though only

twenty years old, was of too staid a character to indulge in the frivolities and outlay of a meeting between jousting kings. It would have been easier to pardon the brilliant thoughtlessness of his rivals than the hateful prudence of this cold-blooded youth; for an old head upon young shoulders, though praised in proverbs, is in real life the most revolting of sights. That unnaturally old head is never generously wise—it is only ignobly cunning.

§ 11. Hitherto the tastes of Henry had been for show and magnificence. He had only had one lap of noble blood, in the execution of De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, whose principal fault was relationship to the royal line. The tiger was not yet roused in his heart, and people were contented with his self-will, so long as it did not call in the axe to its aid; but on his return from the continent he remembered that Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was nearer to the Plantagenets than De la Pole had been, and occasion was found for his destruction. He had offended Wolsey by want of reverence for his greatness; and Henry, by emulation of his banquets; for he was hospitable beyond the bounds of ordinary men. The hint was given. Buckingham was arrested, and tried on accusations of tampering with sorcerers, and cherishing treasonable designs. The nobles were mere mouth-pieces of the king and cardinal, and found the verdict they were directed to find. Buckingham was executed, and the great-grandson of Owen Tudor slept more securely when the descendant of Edward III. was no more.

§ 12. In this same year Henry wrote an attack on Luther, and was gratified by Leo X. with the title of Defender of the Faith. We shall soon see the very unsteady ground on which his faith was founded; for religion was as much a matter of prejudice and passion with this royal controversialist as his policy in mundane affairs.

§ 13. In these Henry was the most versatile and untrustworthy of rulers. He quarrelled, and was reconciled; was

flattered into friendships, and offended into enmities with the frivolity of a child. While Francis and Charles were fighting for the destinies of their kingdoms, conquering Italy as it has always been conquered, and ejected from it again, as foreign masters always have been ejected, Henry was the tool of Wolsey; and Wolsey the plaything of the contending kings. Charles promised him the papacy if Leo should die; and when Leo died, and the tiara was given to Adrian, Wolsey turned his eyes to France. But the emperor promised again, visited the king and cardinal once more, was made a Knight of the Garter, and bound himself with great solemnity to marry the Princess Mary. There is nothing so strange to us, when we learn the end of these machinations, as to see the failure that fell upon them all. Not one of all the deep-laid schemes of these designing men turned out as they proposed. Henry did *not* silence Luther, Wolsey was *not* made Pope, Mary did *not* marry the emperor, but was reserved for his son, the moody Philip of Spain.

§ 14. Now arose in Europe a storm which sank all earthly combinations, turning the wisdom of the wise to foolishness, and making vice and wickedness subservient to higher ends. / Wolsey was doomed to fall. His first downward step was a failure in obtaining the necessary supplies for a war with France. Parliament, after an interval of seven years, was summoned to vote the taxes, or rather to register the king's command that a certain sum should be raised. But Parliament had seen, ill pleased, the extravagance of the court. All the savings of Henry VII. had long disappeared; the crown was in debt, and yet the cardinal demanded a prodigious subsidy to gratify his malice against the French king. In great state, with banners and crosses borne before him, and hundreds of attendants filling all the lobbies, the haughty churchman stalked into the hall, and commanded the House to vote the supplies. Not a word was spoken in reply. Neither knight nor burgess would weaken the privilege of

Parliament by debating in presence of a stranger. The cardinal grew furious with rage, and addressed one of the members by name. The member rose and made a profound bow, but did not open his mouth. As a last resource, the cardinal turned to the Speaker, and commanded him to answer his demand. But the Speaker was Sir Thomas More—witty and wise beyond all the men of his time—and he, with an affectation of awe, which he did not feel, said the silence of the assembly proceeded from the respect inspired by so great a personage; and being unable to obtain an answer, the indignant minister strutted out of the apartment amid the same profound stillness which had reigned in it since he came in. When left, however, to themselves, the statutes relaxed a little, and took the cardinal's demand into consideration; but as that had been of an income-tax of twenty per cent., the burden was still very heavy, though they reduced it to ten.

From the Parliament Wolsey proceeded to the Convocation; but he found the clergy, though more talkative, quite as illiberal as the laymen. They granted only the same proportion, and even this smaller payment created riots all over the country. In London the cardinal had already lost his popularity by exacting a forced loan from the citizens. It is worth while to remark that the wildest imagination of the grasping prelate only raised the realized and commercial wealth of the whole of London to the value of two millions sterling. But with Parliament, and Church, and London against him,—with the money so painfully obtained wasted in abortive attempts to weaken France, and then, when the defeat of Pavia made Francis a prisoner, in equally abortive schemes against the emperor,—the cardinal had to prepare for a new enemy in a quarter where danger was least expected.

§ 15. This eventful year saw the treachery of Bourbon, the general of Francis, who celebrated his desertion to the service of Charles by the sack of the city of Rome and imprisonment of the Pope. Bourbon himself was killed in the first assault,

but the mercenaries he commanded—many of them Lutherans and Germans—executed what they felt was the wrath of Heaven on the city of abominations.

§ 16. An event, however, of more importance to the papacy and to the interest of England was occurring at Windsor, and this was the passion which was inflaming the heart of Henry for one of the maids of honour in waiting on his wife. Anna Boleyn was the daughter of a simple knight, but connected with the highest blood in the land through her mother, who was a daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. Sent as an attendant on Mary, the king's sister, when she went over to France in 1515 to marry Louis XII., she had remained from her eighth till her fourteenth year in the court of Paris—the highest school for manners and most dangerous school for morals at that time to be found. In six years after her return we find her maid of honour to Queen Catherine, bringing the joyousness of twenty years of age and the graceful ease of her foreign education into the dullest of earthly dwellings, where the sad alternation from morn till evening was the listless idleness of a ceremonious court, and the routine observances of the Church. Catherine herself was forty-five years old, and by the Castilian stiffness and dignity of her demeanour presented an unfavourable contrast in the eyes of the king with the merry, playful, and perfectly beautiful girl who was always at her side. Rumours were rife, and there is some reason to believe them well-founded, of a previous passion he had entertained for her elder sister. Anna, however, was more firm, or more politic, in resisting his advances, and the idea of a divorce implanted itself in his mind.

But how could he hope to induce the pope to withdraw the dispensation of his predecessor, under which he had married his brother's widow eighteen years before? The pope was at that moment the prisoner of the emperor, and the emperor was nephew of the queen. The cardinal was ordered to exert himself in the cause; he was ordered also to

separate the young Lord Percy from Anna; for he appeared alarmingly fond of her society, and people said, indeed, had offered her his hand. The cardinal, accordingly, who undertook the management of great things and small, commenced negotiations for "the great and secret affair," and sent young Lord Percy away from Catherine's court. The minute details of these painful transactions have lost their interest now. The fame and happiness of a pure-minded princess, the daughter of kings and mother of the heiress-expectant of the English throne, were made the subject of the basest and most pitiful transactions. Clement, the pope, under pressure of a French army which was coming to his rescue, signed a permission to the king to proceed in the matter as he and the cardinal should agree; but from fear of the emperor, whose troops were still in possession of Rome, he begged that the document might be kept secret. Protestantism also, unluckily for Catherine, had gained power over many minds, and its first influence was to diminish the efficacy of the papal dispensation under which her marriage had been legalized. Anna Boleyn, it was fancied, had imbibed, at the court of France, some of the Huguenot notions which afterwards divided that kingdom into hostile camps. She was witty and humorous enough probably to enjoy the pleasantries against pope and priest which formed the conversation of Francis' sister, the clever and unscrupulous Queen of Navarre; and therefore, as a means of favouring the new doctrines and throwing discredit on the authority of Rome, she was tacitly accepted by many as the representative of the Protestant cause.

§ 17. When religious passion was introduced into the question there was no compromise possible; both parties became blinded to the merits of the discussion, and saw nothing but instruments of political and theologic warfare in the sufferings of the insulted queen and the ambition of the wilful beauty. It was a respectable thing for Henry to have his

anxiety to marry Anna consecrated by the appearance of a doubt of the omnipotence of the popes to bind and loose. He could talk about his conscientious scruples with far more decorum than of his matrimonial desires ; but throughout the tedious years of his appeal to Rome the decision did not depend on the justice of the case, but on the relative position of the pope and emperor. At the moment, for instance, that Wolsey and Campeggio, who had been appointed legates to decide the cause, were on the point of pronouncing for the divorce, a great disaster happened to the French in Italy, and Clement made terms with Charles. Campeggio affected scruples, on the ground that Catherine had refused to plead, and adjourned the court without a sentence.

✕ § 18. The amount of swearing and imprecations poured on Wolsey's head warned him that the king's favour was irrecoverably lost. Some of the nobles took advantage of the occasion to express their dislike of all cardinals whatever ; and Anna Boleyn, suspecting him of playing her false in this transaction, became his bitterest enemy. Already she had more influence than any queen had had, and the highest of the nobility accordingly stood, cap in hand, to receive the commands of their future mistress. Once down, it became a fashion to trample on the prince of the Church. Crowds hooted him as he rowed in his barge to Putney, when he was ordered to leave London. Two of his attendants would not desert him in this extremity—one of these was his secretary, the other his fool. We shall make acquaintance with the secretary, whose name was Cromwell, and who rose to great distinction, very soon. Of the poor performer in motley we only know that he was so attached to his master, that when, in a fit of strange gratitude, the cardinal presented him to Henry, in return for a ring which his majesty had sent him as a token of some remaining affection, the wearer of the cap and bells showed more heart than his lord, for he struggled against the yeoman who seized him to carry him to court,

and preferred the disgrace of his good gossip the cardinal to the favour of the king. A strange companion for a great minister in his fall, and a strange present to make to his persecutor!

A year spent unostentatiously in his diocese of York brought this sad history to a close. Persecuted by suits at law, tried on the most frivolous pretences, and finally arrested for high treason, the last great ecclesiastic who held sway in England—the successor of the Dunstons and à Becketts of former times—clinging to the last to the hopes of reconciliation with “his most gracious and merciful sovereign lord,” terminated his career with contrition, if not with resignation, at the Abbey of Leicester with the noble expression on his lips—

If I had served my God with half the zeal
I've served the king, he would not in mine age
Have left me naked to my enemies!

§ 19. The affair of the divorce now moved with greater speed. The Reverend Thomas Cranmer, who was a humble chaplain in the family of a private gentleman, suggested to a party who were discussing the subject at supper, that the matter should be judged by learned men on the authority of the Bible alone, without reference to either cardinal or pope. This was reported by one of the guests to the king. He accepted the proposition at once; but the proposition was Protestantism in its widest sense. Cranmer published it in a pamphlet, which was disseminated in all parts of the country. The king rejoiced to see the effect of this appeal to the national feeling, and already it became an established doctrine of the enlightened churchmen and laity that the Bible alone was the standard of faith and practice.

Reference was made to the Universities, to the exclusion of the Holy See; bribes and threatenings were profusely used in the case of Oxford and Cambridge, and a majority was at last obtained for “his highness’ purpose.” Money in some instances was required to produce the same effect in the Uni-

versities abroad; but, whether from persuasion or venality, a goodly show of learned establishments pronounced for the divorce. An embassy was sent to Rome to communicate these facts; but Charles, cold and frowning, was present at its reception, and overawed the pope. A bull against any second marriage was confirmed. The king was ordered to return to his wife, and the opinions of laymen and the authority of the Bible were treated with contempt.

§ 20. Cromwell, who had served Wolsey to the last, was now of great weight in Henry's councils. He laid a bold and determined course before him—to act on the decision of the Universities, to deny the necessity of the papal sanction either to his divorce or marriage, and finally, to assert his supremacy over all manner of persons within his own dominions, whether lay or clerical. In this way alone could his grace be sovereign of England. While he divided his rule with another, he was only half a king.

§ 21. Bluff King Henry saw at a glance the advantages of being his own pope. He counted up all the rich abbacies that would be in his gift, and the great monasteries whose lands stretched over half a county, and whose temporalities he might seize; but he resolved at the same time to prove that his Christian faith was as strong as ever. He hoped perhaps to retain the confidence of his chancellor, the learned Sir Thomas More, who, after coquetting like his friend Erasmus with the tenets of the Reformation, lashing the pretensions of the Church and the disorders of the clergy with a wit more effectual than the coarse invectives of Luther, had become alarmed at the success of his own endeavours, and fallen into the old track of persecution as the safest represser of opinion. If this was the object with which Henry, who had insulted and abjured the pope, gave over to the Smithfield fires some conscientious deniers of the papal doctrines, it succeeded only for a short time. Sir Thomas More saw the current of national thought, and hoped to avoid its violence by retire-

ment from the place he held. He resigned the Great Seal in May; and early in the following year the decisions of the Universities having been read to Parliament, the ambition of Anna Boleyn was gratified, and she was privately married to the king. Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced the marriage good and lawful; Clement pronounced it sinful and of no effect, and war to the knife was proclaimed between England and Rome.

One of the first movements of the reformers was to intercept the payment of all customary dues or offerings to the pope. This was an immense saving to the nation; for the sums exported under the names of Peter's pence, first fruits, oblations, and countless other exactions, were greater than the revenues of the crown or the expenses of the government. Foreigners were then declared incapable of holding English preferments; and finally, to show the full extent of his opposition, Henry assumed, by Act of Parliament, the title of Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England. This was such a blow to received opinions that it created more opposition than many of his more violent acts. Sir Thomas More refused to acknowledge his supremacy; Bishop Fisher and three Carthusians were more fierce in their denunciations of this impious usurpation; and all four were executed under the sanguinary enactment which made it death to deny any of his majesty's titles, or impugn the lawfulness of his marriage with Anna Boleyn. They were therefore tried on an indictment for treason, no mention being made of their theological opinions. But the bloodthirstiness of the king had been already excited by the fanaticism or imposture of the Maid of Kent. This was a nun whose solitude and state of health had made her the victim of religious frenzy. In her cell at Canterbury, Elizabeth Barton had heard all the reports of the old church party on the behaviour of the king. Excited by her strong convictions, and perhaps encouraged for evil purposes by the priests, she commenced a crusade

of opposition to the projected marriage, and poured out prophecies and denunciations on the heads of all concerned. Bishop Fisher professed belief in her divine mission, so did More; for when the strongest intellect is brought into contact with the supernatural, it is as powerless as the weakest. Instead of being attended to as ill, or confined as insane, the Maid of Kent was executed as a traitor, and of course regarded as a saint by the adherents to her cause. By the indiscriminate slaughters of this year Henry contrived to unite against him the feelings of all classes of men both at home and abroad. The blameless life of Bishop Fisher had endeared him to the moderate section of the Church; the holiness and high pretensions of Elizabeth Barton had attracted the reverence of the poor and ignorant; and there was not a scholar, or statesman, or gentleman in Europe who did not feel, with the bitterness of a personal loss, the murder of Sir Thomas More.

But punishment was at hand in the avenging fate which brought blood into the very chamber of the king. It became known this year, when the grave had closed little more than six months over the unhappy Catherine, that a new passion was agitating Henry's heart. Jane Seymour was one of the ladies of honour attendant on Anna Boleyn, and Anna had already, though only twenty-seven years of age, fallen into the state of neglect and dislike in which she had found her predecessor. The birth of a daughter—afterwards Queen Elizabeth—in 1534, had disappointed the king; a son still-born in 1535 augmented his distaste, and even his anger against the queen. Enemies were at hand to hint, to whisper, to suggest; her own mother was the busiest of spies and falsest of witnesses. A race was run in cruelty and baseness between the highest and noblest of the court, and at last the crowning point was reached when Anna's playfulness of manner, which had once been her great attraction, was perverted into evidence of guilt. She was accused and found

guilty of the wildest excesses of debauchery, was committed to the Tower, degraded from the throne by Cranmer himself, who had the audacity to state that impediments had existed, unknown till now, to her union with the king; finally, her small neck was severed by the axe on the 19th of May, and on the following day Jane Seymour became the wife of Henry.

§ 22. But an attempt was made in favour of the old faith and against the unheard-of tyranny which now trampled equally on Church and State. No violent opposition had been raised, at the time, to the dissolution of the monasteries and the secularization of their lands. To unite as many as possible in defence of his actions, Henry had divided the ecclesiastical territories among numerous families of influence. Some he had enriched with a free gift of grange and abbey, others he had forced to exchange their hereditary lands for equivalent holdings carved out of the conventual estates; but though the upper ranks were bought over by these confiscations, and the middle classes saw large tracts laid open to their ambition, which the close tenure of the Church had debarred them from, the poor and ignorant were attached by custom and belief to the ancient faith. They had got doles of bread at the monastery door, and were on terms of friendship with the loitering monk, who was little above them in station or intelligence, and whom they saw reduced to indigence by a stroke of the king's pen. In the north this feeling was still peculiarly strong, and Lincolnshire set the example of a rebellion, which was followed by Yorkshire, and rapidly assumed alarming proportions. The leaders formed themselves into what was called a Pilgrimage of Grace. Their objects were to reform the administration, to extirpate heresy, and restore the Church's lands. Gentlemen joined them from all parts. The Dacres, Scroops, and Percies seized on York and Hull. If the whole population had been polled, the majority would have been overwhelming for a return to the ancient ways; but negotiations were entered into, the rebels were quieted

with promises of pardon and amendment; and when Somerset and the western counties broke out in the following year, and were satisfied by the same arts, the vengeance of the law was unchained against the disarmed malcontents, and Henry had the satisfaction of signing the death-warrants of all the patrons of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Among these were Robert Aske, its great originator, and some of the noblest names in England, besides a number of abbots and priors, and other inferior church dignitaries who had been ruined by the change. To strike a wholesome terror into the general mind, he directed his lieutenant, the Duke of Norfolk, by a writing under his own hand, "to cause dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town and village engaged in the insurrection, by hanging them on trees, by quartering them, and setting their heads and quarters in every town, great and small:" and this he was ordered to do "without pity or respect." In the same letter directions are given to visit certain monasteries, and "to tie up all the monks and canons that may be in any wise faulty, without further delay or ceremony." People in those days had no reason to complain of the glorious delay of the law, and Henry has been held up as a model king, because he never paused when his mind was made up, but struck at once. And so ended the Pilgrimage of Grace, the last public demonstration made in this reign in favour of the old religion.

§ 23. Secure of a male succession by the birth of Edward; son of the new queen, Jane Seymour, who died in giving him birth, the king's affection appeared to roll in its natural channel towards the daughter Catherine had left him; and Mary, who had been bred up in the utmost strictness of the Catholic faith, aided the reviving kindness of her father by formally accepting his supremacy as earthly head of the Church in England, and acknowledging the unlawfulness of her mother's marriage. The most bigoted Catholic had indeed little to find fault with in the king's religion, except his

denial of the pope ; in all other respects he was as fierce an enemy of heresy as Dominic himself. He filled his prisons and fed his Smithfield fires with the deniers of the real presence, of the necessity of a celibate clergy, and of the indispensability of auricular confession ; and having enriched himself still farther with the spoils of the monasteries and the sack of à Becket's shrine at Canterbury, he felt bound to compensate, by increased orthodoxy of belief, for such apparent loosenesses of behaviour. He therefore dismissed the Bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, from their dioceses, for refusing his royal definition of the true nature of a sacrament. There was no institution in the State which could now put the slightest obstacle in the way of this inflated despot. Parliament, which had been introduced in defence of popular rights, passed a decree by which a proclamation of the king was made equal to a legislative act. The nobility, which in the old days of the Plantagenets had been a bulwark against the illegal predominance of the crown, was now at the feet of a man who had absorbed all the powers of the State, and could create them or degrade them according to his caprice. The Church, which had been the refuge of the oppressed, and wielded the thunders of excommunication in curbing the violence of the great, had been long enlisted on the side of the aristocracy, and was now powerless both in character and thunder. It was too little Roman Catholic to rely on its spiritual terrors, and too little Protestant to have strengthened itself in the affection and judgment of the middle class. So, without a rival or a check, bloated with animal propensities, maddened with the success of his schemes, and glowing with a just contempt for the slavish lords who truckled to him in all his desires, Henry VIII. became the terror of his own people and the wonder of the world.

§ 24. Cromwell, now Earl of Essex, was his favourite adviser. It may be permitted us, in estimating this man's character, to make allowance for his position and the objects

he had in view. Just and wise in his designs, he had to work with the most refractory of instruments; and probably to his influence over the king was owing the comparative moderation of some of his proceedings, though not the persuasions of an angel could have restrained him in them all. He wanted another wife, and Europe was ransacked for its trembling princesses, to prevent the cabals and partisanships of a union with one of his subjects. Cromwell had the misfortune to recommend the wrong woman, and to employ a flattering portrait-painter. When the likeness reached Whitehall, the king was enchanted with the fair hair and blue eyes, the ruddy complexion and rounded form; but when the original, Anne, Princess of Cleves, appeared, the king turned from her in disgust, said she was a Flanders mare, appointed her a separate house and establishment, refusing her the title of queen, and vowed vengeance on the courtier who had proved so bad a judge of female beauty and royal taste. An accusation of treason was brought against him by the ever-ready Duke of Norfolk. He was executed accordingly on the 28th July, and on the same day the king celebrated his nuptials with his fifth wife, the beautiful Catherine Howard.

But the beautiful Catherine Howard was the worst of all his consorts. No defence was made, because none was possible, when her iniquities were revealed. Her life from earliest girlhood had been spent in depravity; and again the machinery of the law was called in to make way for another choice. The subservient parliament wished to involve all her relations in the punishment of her guilt, condemning by name her father, her mother, and even her grandmother, as participators in her crimes, by having dared to conceal them. But Henry showed more moderation than usual, and contented himself with the execution of his wife and of her friend, Lady Rochfort, who had been cognizant of her irregularities. Norfolk, the premier peer of England, stood by well pleased, and as he had aided in the destruction of his cousin, Anna Boleyn,

gave every sign of satisfaction at the murder of his niece, Catherine Howard. This was the gallant Howard who had fought under his father, Surrey, at Flodden, and dragged out his dishonoured old age as a tool and parasite; he had also the greater honour of being father of that other and loftier Earl of Surrey to whom the English language is indebted for its noblest form of verse, but whom his own virtues and his father's flatteries and services could not save from the block at the command of a tyrant who regarded neither the claims of patriotism nor poetry. This father and son form the last group at the end of Henry's reign, and we shall meet with them again when that great deliverance comes.

§ 25. In the meantime the military skill of Norfolk was again shown in a campaign in Scotland—distinguished as usual by the cruelty of the invaders and the venality of the Scottish nobles. The desertion of all his friends, purchased by English gold, left James V. without an army at Solway Moss in 1544, and he died of a broken heart, leaving his daughter Mary, an infant of a few weeks old. Henry exerted himself on this great opportunity, as might be expected. He revived pretensions to the possession of Scotland, which he was willing to commute for a marriage between his son and the young queen. He embittered the rivalries of the nobles, and supported Catholic and Reformer in turn. He encouraged the former by the example of his executions for heresy, for reading or copying the Bible, or teaching the poor to read; and the latter, in a more vigorous and unmistakeable manner, by countenancing and aiding the murder of Archbishop Beaton, of St. Andrews, who was the greatest support of the papal cause. The unhappy and inhuman prelate was slain in his old castle, which now stands in such romantic ruin on a crag washed by the sea, and was suspended, for the derision of the population which feared and hated him, from a window, out of which it had been his habit to witness the fiery deaths of the heretics whom he had condemned.

§ 26. A war with Scotland necessarily brought in its train a quarrel with France; and Henry entered into an alliance with the Emperor to humble the power of Francis. Entering once more into the dangers of matrimony with a staid and respectable widow of the name of Catherine Parr, he celebrated his new engagement with a heroic expedition against Boulogne. Casing his unwieldy person in steel, he summoned the garrison to surrender, and must have been a strange vision of resuscitated knighthood and romance when he presented his eighteen stone of fat and shapelessness, toiling on a staggering war-horse at the head of his triumphant army, as he made his entry into the town.

§ 27. When a hastily patched-up peace between the Emperor and Francis allowed him to return to England, he resumed his old ways, and extracted farther grants from Parliament of properties once belonging to the Church, and strengthened the laws still more against the attacks upon the Crown. Suspicion, failing health, and natural cruelty, aggravated by a long course of indulgence, were rapidly driving him into madness. No man was safe either in attending the court or in staying away from it. Gardiner, the fiercest of the Romanists, was encouraged to take steps against Cranmer, which would have led him to the stake. Cranmer at the same time was assured of his favour and protection, and guaranteed against the charges of his enemies. It gave him the congenial gratification of terrifying both. Surrey had been defeated in an engagement near Boulogne, and being harshly recalled, expressed his indignation in words which did not spare the king. A happy spy hurried with the precious information to the proper quarter, and Surrey and his father were lodged in the tower. Some people think heraldry a useless study, and that it does not matter whether the supporters of a shield are on the right side or not; but in 1546 the case was very different. The Norfolks were accused of bearing their arms on the first quarter instead of the second,

by which there was a covert allusion to their claim to the crown; and as the shield had been registered in the Royal College, with the royal consent, and had been seen in battle-field and tourney for forty years, there was no denying the crime. Sentence was of course pronounced, and on the 19th of January the Earl of Surrey died a traitor's death.

§ 28. But the king himself was breathing his last breath with pain, and fancy can picture to us the two rooms in which Norfolk and his persecutor lay. On the 29th of January the duke was to appear on the scaffold which had witnessed his son's execution ten days before. He was watching in his dungeon in the Tower the breaking of the morning light that was to lead him to his doom; but before the dawn the king, after sending for Cranmer, who could only bid him hope for mercy, without venturing to assure him of it, brought his terrible career to a close.

In the fifty-five years of his life, or at least in the thirty-seven years of his reign, this man had heaped more personal crime, and caused more human suffering, than the tyrants of Tunis or Morocco. And yet it is possible he was one of the self-deceiving monsters who believe in their own protestations of good intentions and the claims of lofty motive with which they try to deceive others. The ruin of English freedom, which had been industriously begun by the cunning and perseverance of his father, was completed by his brutal determination and insane love of power. No pity nor remorse, no respect for man, or tenderness for woman, stood in the way of his selfish gratification. He never had a valuable counsellor whom he did not destroy; he never promised love and protection to a wife whom he did not degrade or murder. But the peculiarity of his history is, that in many instances the results of his vices were beneficial to the State. If he rioted like a blood-stained savage in the execution of his unhappy consorts, he probably elevated the standard of female virtue by the tremendous consequences that followed the

want of it, and established a purer atmosphere about his court than the poisoned air breathed in the midst of mistresses and favourites by his rival Francis. If he quarrelled with the Pope, in the heat of anger at a disappointment of his passions, he brought to maturity the great thought which for years had been germinating in the English heart; and if he robbed the Church to enrich his private hoards, and buy over a corrupt and degraded nobility, the lands he threw open to competition were the foundation of a middle class such as no part of Europe ever possessed—a gentry, without hereditary privileges and exemptions to offend the people; and a yeomanry, no longer the tenants of an imperious landlord, but holding their acres by as inalienable a title as the king his crown. It was very soon found that religious liberty could not co-exist with political subjection, and the same Reformation which destroyed the power of the priesthood, and dissolved the monasteries, and spread the Gospel in every village, re-awakened the courage of Parliament, and made a despotic throne impossible.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.
 1509. Accession of Henry VIII., and his marriage with Catherine of Arragon.
 1512–13. Henry declares war against France, which he invades with a large army in person.
 1517. The Reformation commenced in Germany by Martin Luther.
 1519. The great ascendancy of Cardinal Wolsey.
 1520. Interview between the Kings of England and France, near Guisnes, known as the “Field of the Cloth of Gold.”
 1529. King Henry’s suit for a divorce from Catherine of Arragon.
 1530. Wolsey charged with high treason. His death.
 1532. The king marries Anna Boleyn.
 1533. Birth of Queen Elizabeth.
 1534. The king declared supreme head of the Church.

A.D.
 1535–36. Henry determines on the suppression of the monasteries.
 1536. Queen Anne executed, when the king marries Jane Seymour.
 1537. Birth of Edward VI.
 1539. Six articles of religion passed, called the “Bloody Statute.”
 — The king marries Anne of Cleves, divorces her, and then marries Catherine Howard.
 1542–43. Catherine Howard accused of incontinence and executed, when the king marries Catherine Parr.
 1544. War with France, and capture of Boulogne.
 1546. Several persons burnt for denying the real presence in the eucharist.
 1547. Death of Henry VIII.

CHAPTER III.

EDWARD THE SIXTH.

A.D. 1547 to A.D. 1553.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Henry II.

SCOTLAND.—Mary.

SPAIN.—Charles I., or V. of Germany.

EMPEROR OF GERMANY.—Charles V., King of Spain.

POPES.—Paul III.; Julius III.

§ 1. Accession of Edward VI. His youth and amiability.—§ 2. The Duke of Somerset made Protector. His disagreements with his younger brother, Lord Sudely. Execution of the latter.—§ 3. Tyranny and cruelty of the Protector. His trial and execution. Ascendancy of the Duke of Northumberland.—§ 4. General state and political changes of the nation.—§ 5. The Church entirely dependent on the Crown. Progress of the Reformation. Gardner, Bonner, and Cranmer.—§ 6. Abolition of superstitious observances; introduction of the Book of Common Prayer, and translation of the Bible.—§ 7. Dissatisfaction and sufferings of the lower orders. Influence of Cranmer.—§ 8. Ignorance of the clergy.—§ 9. Illness of the king. The Duke of Northumberland's assumption of power. Death of Edward, and Northumberland's proclamation in favour of his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey.

§ 1. EDWARD, the son of Jane Seymour, the only one of the late king's wives who had escaped either disgrace or destruction, succeeded without a blot upon his title. His sisters—Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Arragon, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Anna Boleyn—had both been declared illegitimate by Act of Parliament; but the natural sense of justice had always been revolted by the iniquitous declaration, and they were looked on as princesses of England and lineal heirs to the crown. Edward was under ten years old, and showed the folly of too early a training by a premature ap-

pearance of wisdom and information which has brought discredit on his name. He was forced into scholarship, and pampered into political knowingness, till people in reviewing the actions of the writer of such sensible essays, and the sayer of such wise sayings, forgot that he was only a boy after all, and blame him for the coldness of his heart and the cruelty of some of his actions, as if he had had the responsibilities of a grown-up man. He was nothing during all the six years of his reign but a tool of other men. What little of his own nature was allowed to peep through showed a startling resemblance to the mental features of his father in his youth ; and we may safely conclude that the early termination of his career tended as much to the belief in his amiable disposition as to the happiness of his people.

§ 2. The marriage of the king to Jane Seymour had elevated her family above their former degree. Her brothers, of whom one was now Duke of Somerset, was Protector of the king and kingdom ; the younger, who bore the title of Lord Sudely, was Lord High Admiral of England. Perhaps fortunately for the nation, the brothers did not agree. Being both uncles of the king, the only rivalry in rank lay between themselves ; but the younger brother married Catherine Parr, the widow of Henry ; and the wife of the Protector was forced to yield precedence to the queen dowager. When Catherine died, the admiral, more aspiring still, was reported to be paying his attentions to the Princess Elizabeth, and this precipitated the disagreement of the Seymours into a fatal quarrel. The admiral was accused, not perhaps without some appearance of foundation, of designing to share the custody of the king, and even to displace his brother. Counsellors were still as ready to shed blood as in the preceding reign, and Sudely, a gallant soldier, and generous open-handed gentleman, suffered on the scaffold at Tower Hill. He married, courted, and died all within two years.

§ 8. Guilty or not, the part of prosecutor was felt to be

the last a brother ought to have sustained. Somerset's personal popularity suffered more by this judicial sentence than his power was strengthened by the absence of a rival; and a cry was frequently heard, "What can you expect from a man who had no pity on his brother?" Riots, originally springing from local causes, but skilfully turned by the old Church party to the uses of the Catholic faith, broke out in various quarters. Dudley, Earl of Warwick, the only competitor in power and favour with the Protector, acquired fresh fame by his success in quelling a dangerous insurrection in Norfolk. A rising in Cornwall had only been put down by Lord Russell after a pitiless execution among the peasantry, and Somerset, divided apparently between his desire to be lenient and the wisdom of being severe, hesitated between a generous pardon and a policy of extermination, and was lost. People, after a reign of blood, could have understood severity, and after the introduction of a purer religion could have appreciated a method of Christian kindness. But his cruelty offended the people, and his gentleness offended the lords; his council caballed against him. He was arrested as a traitor, and after a hollow truce between him and the rising Warwick, who was now Duke of Northumberland, he was prosecuted with malignant hatred. He was hurried to the block amid the lamentations of all the citizens, and the regret of the right-thinking throughout the country, but with the consent and by the sign manual of the king, who, though only in his thirteenth year, and therefore excusable if he had followed the advice of others, unfortunately writes such a business-like entry of the incident in his diary that we cannot extend the privilege of childhood to so mature a mind: "On the 22nd of January, 1552, he had his head cut off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock of the morning." On that cold, grey morning, he must have had sad thoughts of the scene that had occurred at the same place when his brother was executed only three years before.

§ 4. These quarrels between the personages at the head of affairs were merely the effervescence of the great and all-absorbing question which was agitating men's minds in the lower ranks of life. In estimating the conduct of the chief performers in the momentous drama which was going on during all the reign of Edward, we should make allowance for the effect of the previous two generations of harshness and cruelty on the dispositions of a people. The traditions of the free though unruly spirit which roused sometimes the barons, and sometimes the citizens, against oppression, had died out in the long period which elapsed from the accession of Henry VII. All opposition to one man's will was crushed without remorse. The noblest families had seen the axe of the executioner sweep off the poor remains which the Wars of the Roses had left. The old nobility, so called in contradistinction to the new creations of the royal favour, were few and impoverished; so that the foremost men of this eventful period were the Seymours, whom the noble Surrey sneered at as upstarts; and Northumberland, son of that infamous Dudley, the extortioner and spy in the pay of Henry VII., who had been hanged at the beginning of the last reign. But it is one of the signs of a despotic government that rank may be rapidly attained by the lowest. Family station is a plant of slow growth, and only cultivated in nations of settled laws and hereditary successions; but a slave in Turkey may be the grand vizier in an hour.

In England, at the period we have reached, the title or office was all in all. The pride and independence of an ancient aristocracy had been destroyed, and the venality, cowardice, and time-serving of an ambitious underclass had been sedulously encouraged.

§ 5. The Church in the same way had become entirely subordinate to the Crown, and it was only the elder members of the profession who recollected a period of even nominal independence. From their earliest days the middle-aged priests

had heard of nothing but the omnipotence of the throne, and the natural tendency of an establishment to support and exalt the ruling power had strengthened this feeling of obedience, till resistance to the royal will appeared a sort of rebellion against heaven. The cheering feature in the prospect is the gradual strengthening of individual character under the impulse of a great idea. Timid and even wavering at first, the champions on both sides of the great religious struggle grew bolder as the fight grew more severe. Reformers were weak, undecided, and contradictory in their course, temporising to win over friends, and cunning and double-faced to disarm enemies. Romanists in the same way were complying, smooth-tongued, and hypocritical; feigning submission to the dominant powers, affecting a hatred of the pope, and acquiescence in the new beliefs; but when the strife grew deadly—when their hearts, at first dulled by the previous want of training, and lowered to the general level of submission and dependence, were warmed with the efforts they made, no slavish truckling to authority, no cowardly shrinkings from consequences were visible on either side. Gardner, who had concealed his convictions, and Bonner, who had acquiesced in the new regulations, stood forth the undaunted children of an inflexible Church, and persecuted, or were ready for persecution; and Cranmer, who had shown a weakness and vacillation which argued a want of personal courage, and contradictions in his conduct which impugned his sincerity as a liberator of conscience, rose up at last in the dignity of a firm though gentle nature, and proved his steadfastness in the midst of his martyr flames.

§ 6. This is the peculiar character of the reign of Edward. The Reformation spread its roots throughout the land. Superstitious observances were abolished, including the reverence of images and invocation of saints in church. A Book of Common Prayer in the English language was ordered to be read in every parish, and a translated Bible to be kept for

common use. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was given to the laity in both kinds. Fast days were abrogated as regarded their religious aspect, but enforced under a penalty of ten shillings for the benefit of the fisheries; and finally, the clergy were allowed to marry, though celibacy was still celebrated in the preamble of the Act as a Christian grace.

All these alterations, though approved by the thinking part of the nation who had become estranged from the hierarchy by its pride and avarice, were not carried through without danger and disturbance. In the middle portion of the Church, as in the middle class of the people, it was not so much an alteration forced on them from without, as a reformation from within. The great body of the officiating clergy conformed, with the appearance of hearty good will. Many married; an example which had been set them by Cranmer himself, and even those who had a leaning towards the old priestly sway made no open protest. The landowners, the townsmen, the merchants, and artisans accepted the new forms, and the diminution of sacerdotal pretension, but probably could come to no very decided conclusion one way or other on the points of doctrine involved.

§ 7. But it was different with the classes at the bottom of the scale. The peasantry saw their old friends the monks in many rural districts turned out of house and home, and then hindered from begging by the most severe statutes. If they were caught loitering or idle for three days they were liable to imprisonment, and to be stamped with the letter V as vagabonds. So the village populations had great sympathy for the dispossessed friars, and shared their coarse loaf with them in defiance of the law. Then they saw the favourites of the Court, who had been lately enriched with grants of abbey-lands, enclose large portions of them from the common use, which, under the easy administration of the abbot, they had been accustomed to enjoy. They did not know that this apparent selfishness was in reality bene-

ficial to the country at large, nor that mendicancy, even under the pretence of religious humility, was injurious in the long run to the recipient as well as the giver. They only saw a harsh measure dealt out to the people who had lived near them all their lives, and had been the news-mongers, and sport promoters, and show-givers of the neighbourhood. Many persons of higher station who had not shared in the Church spoils encouraged the spirit of resistance to what the dispossessed brotherhoods branded with the name of sacrilege, so that there was a great mass of anger and discontent, which only waited a fitting time to explode; and as if conscious of this fact, Cranmer put forth increased energy in the measures he introduced.

Some secret sympathy, for which it is difficult to account, prevented the dominant party from treating the recusant Catholics with the rigour they showed towards other sects. No Roman Catholic was put to death on religious grounds during the whole reigns of Henry and Edward. Henry indeed was a Roman Catholic, in all but obedience to the Pope, to his last hour, and Cranmer, who was the moving authority on Church matters in Edward's time, retained so much reverence for the faith of which he had formerly been himself a conscientious adherent, that he would not carry the law to extremes against his ancient brethren; but against heretics of a lower grade his scruples were not so strong. His enemies accused him (falsely, as is now proved), of using his eloquence and authority in persuading the young king to sign the death-warrant of an enthusiast of the name of Joan Boucher, who denied the divinity of Christ. They said that Edward threw the responsibility of the woman's blood upon his adviser; but all that is now believed is that after great efforts were made to obtain a recantation, he allowed the law to take its course on the unhappy Joan, and showed that it was not the abstract love of free discussion which deterred him from sending his more illustrious antagonists to the pile.

The utmost he did against his resisting suffragans was to deprive and imprison them. Bonner and Gardner, Heath and Day, were all in the Tower, and good men and true selected to fill their dioceses. Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Coverdale, and Cranmer himself, brought scholarship, earnestness, and self-devotion to the cause they espoused, which they must have felt to be pregnant with danger, for nothing lay between them and the vengeance of the next heir to the throne, the Princess Mary, except the life of a sickly boy. They therefore directed their efforts to the conversion of the princess herself. But she was the daughter of Catherine of Arragon, niece of Charles V., sole hope in England of the glorious Catholic cause, and she welcomed persecution as a new thorn in her crown. Cranmer was repelled by her firmness, and the threat, at the same time, of a war with the German Empire. Already the question had become one of foreign policy as well as domestic order. Every movement of the English reformers was carefully watched by kings and statesmen as an indication of the probable action of the country on continental affairs. Cranmer's proceedings, therefore, were more important at this time, than the gradual innovations he introduced might have been expected to be, in Madrid or Paris. The nomination of bishops by the Crown, the suppression of the mass, the caution against the abuse of images, and the slight alterations in the ancient organization and public ceremonial of the Church might appear to refer almost entirely to England itself, or at most to her relations with the Sovereign Pontiff; but in all European States, and especially in Germany, where Charles was using religious dissensions to curtail the liberties of the different electorates and principalities of which he was the head, the smallest changes were followed with an anxiety far deeper than the ecclesiastical merits of the dispute would have produced. Other steps were taken by the archbishop to advance the cause he had at heart.

§ 8. Learned men were brought over to England to spread a knowledge of the new doctrines; for Cranmer was painfully aware of the almost incredible ignorance of the great majority of the clergy, whose whole accomplishment, under the old routine system of the breviary, had not extended beyond the faculty of reading the words of their prayers. So few indeed were judged capable of preaching, that a book of homilies was prepared for their use, in which the distinctive doctrines of the Reformation were clearly set forth. A few more years of the gradual extension of knowledge, and the benefits of royal countenance and support, might have settled the Reformation beyond the chances of a reaction; but this was not to be.

§ 9. Edward fell into a decline at the beginning of the year 1553, and terrible forebodings fell upon the rulers in Church and State. Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, procured a gift of all the great lands belonging to the princely See of Durham, and, throwing for the most desperate stakes, married his younger son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to a cousin of the royal house, Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, and grandchild, by her mother, of the Princess Mary of England, sister of Henry VIII. While the boy-king was dying, Northumberland prevailed on him to make a disposition of the crown in favour of his daughter-in-law, which by force and threatening he induced the Council to ratify, and on the demise of Edward had the boldness or madness to proclaim her queen. (July 6, 1553.)

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1547. Edward VI., only son of Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, succeeded his father at nine years of age. Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, made Protector.	1549. Reform of the Liturgy. The brother of the Protector beheaded, and the Protector deposed, who is succeeded by the Earl of Warwick.
— Popish images burnt.	1552. The Duke of Somerset executed.
— The Protector signally defeats the Scots at Pinkney Field.	— Sternhold and Hopkins translate the Psalms.
	1553. Death of Edward VI.

CHAPTER IV.

QUEEN MARY.

A.D. 1553 TO A.D. 1558.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Henry II.

SCOTLAND.—Mary.

SPAIN.—Charles I.

Of Navarre.—Joan of Albret and her husband; Anthony of Bourbon.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.—Charles V., King of Spain.

POPES.—Julius III.; Marcellus II.; Paul IV.

§ 1. State of parties in England. Proclamation of Lady Jane Grey. Want of enthusiasm in her favour.—§ 2. Accession of Mary.—§ 3. Northumberland and his abettors tried and executed. Gardner made Chancellor.—§ 4. Mary restores the Popish religion, and negotiates a marriage with Philip of Spain.—§ 5. General dissatisfaction. Wyatt's rebellion. His capture and execution.—§ 6. Mary's persecuting spirit.—§ 7. Imprisonment of the Princess Elizabeth. Execution of Lady Jane Grey and numerous others.—§ 8. Acquittal of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and the persecutions of the jury.—§ 9. The Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain. Personal appearance of the two royal personages.—§ 10. Cardinal Pole. The Roman Catholic Church once more dominant in the land.—§ 11. The reign of terror begins; the fires of Smithfield, and execution of Rogers, Ridley, and Latimer. Resistance of the people.—§ 12. Trial, recantation, and execution of Cranmer.—§ 13. The horrible persecutions of "bloody Mary's" reign. Her reported pregnancy.—§ 14. Visit of her husband Philip of Spain. War with France at the instigation of Philip.—§ 15. The French defeated at St. Quintin. Calais surrendered to the French. Lamentations of Mary. Her death.

§ 1. BOLDNESS or madness, it depended entirely on the result which of these descriptions should apply to the Duke of Northumberland's action. If fear of popery, as represented by the Princess Mary, and desire to retain the new pro-

prietors in possession of the Church lands and livings they had obtained, had been strong enough to gain a national corroboration of the formal instrument under which he proclaimed the accession of Lady Jane Grey, history would have looked on him as a great and sagacious statesman, who saw the fitting time for converting a dubious title into a true one. But we have seen that Protestantism was not understood among the body of the people; the new proprietors had alienated their neighbours by abridging their ancient privileges; parishes lay at such a distance from each other, and even towns had so little communication, that there must have been large tracts of country where the late proceedings had never been heard of; and therefore it was impossible to get up any enthusiasm on behalf of a Protestant defender of the faith, without any hereditary right to the throne, amidst such a mass of ignorance, apathy, and discontent. Honest English sense of justice also, and the regard for lofty birth which has always distinguished our countrymen, were revolted by an attempt to exclude the eldest sister of Edward, and the daughter of a royal pair, in favour of the nominee of an unnatural brother on his death-bed, and wife of the grandson of Dudley the informer.

When Northumberland, therefore, after concealing the death of Edward for two days, and failing in his attempt to entrap the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, into his power, ordered the pursuivants and heralds to proclaim Queen Jane, there was an ominous want of enthusiasm among the people. All the beauty, learning, and innocence which bestow so much interest on the person and fortunes of Lady Jane Grey were then unknown. She was considered an usurper, and shared in the obloquy of her father-in-law. The recurrence to the rule of hereditary succession was a step on the way to liberty, as it ignored the power of kings to leave these realms by will; and the falling away from the gentle bride of Lord Guildford Dudley, who had never sighed for a crown, but

protested against the efforts made in her favour, was universal and complete. Ridley alone, allowing his fear of Popery to exceed his regard for legal rights, preached in favour of Jane. But Cecil, Cranmer, and the rest of the Council yielded to circumstances, and gave in their adhesion to Mary. Suffolk himself, the father of Lady Jane, protested his loyalty and submission, and Northumberland, deserted by all his adherents, made his entrance with the few fragments of his forces which continued true to him, into the town of Cambridge, and hurrying to the market-place, threw up his bonnet in the air, and shouted "God save Queen Mary" as loud as he was able.

§ 2. Within ten days all the chief actors in this extraordinary episode in our history were prisoners in the Tower, and Mary, by slow stages, came up from Norfolk, where her followers were most devoted to her, and was received on her approach to London by her sister Elizabeth, who rode out to meet her at the head of a thousand horse. Mary could not refuse the expression of her gratitude for Elizabeth's uniform loyalty and sisterly affection, and the royal cavalcade proceeded through the streets, and finally reached the Tower. There the prisoners who had suffered for the faith were joyously delivered by the queen. Mary kissed Bishop Gardner and the Duke of Norfolk and the Duchess of Somerset, as she raised them from their knees. There was great joy in all the Roman Catholic States, and fear fell upon the Reformed. Yet at first the new sovereign conducted herself so circumspectly, that hopes were entertained at home of a reign of moderation and peace. She had masses said for her late brother in her own chapel; but a full Protestant service celebrated his public burial in Westminster Abbey, and a zealous Protestant preached the funeral sermon.

§ 3. Northumberland and his abettors were tried and executed; the meanness and cowardice of the principal sufferer being only exceeded by the want of talent he had displayed throughout. The next step was of evil omen to the Pro-

testants. Gardner, embittered by persecution and irritated by personal wrong, was made Chancellor and the queen's chief adviser in civil and ecclesiastical affairs.

§ 4. With all her enemies at her feet—with Cranmer, Latimer, and others in confinement—with the married clergymen forcibly dispossessed of their livings, or separated from their wives—with the forms of worship as they existed in Henry the Eighth's time restored by an Act of Parliament, and any attempt to alter the religion so restored declared a felony—the queen did not yet feel that half her work was done. She made overtures to the pope for a complete restoration to the Catholic fold; and as a farther guarantee of her sincerity in the popish cause, concluded a marriage with Philip, Prince of Spain, who, with his father, Charles V., was the most powerful and zealous supporter of the Church of Rome.

But the English, though amazingly ready to submit to the tyranny of their native rulers, were alarmed at the prospect of a foreign master. The grandeur of Spain also at that time induced a fear that England would sink into a mere dependency of the greater power. Moderate Catholics did not approve of what they heard of their proposed sovereign in his hereditary States, and already his name was a word of fear to all the lovers of freedom and enlightenment throughout the world. Great advantages were held forth in the contract of marriage, which was read by Gardner to the Lord Mayor of London and his aldermen. Mary's children were to inherit the vast regions subject to the Spanish crown, and yet he was to have nothing in England but the empty title of king. Whether the Lord Mayor and aldermen saw through these flimsy disguises we cannot know, but they did not blind the more clear-sighted gentlemen of England, who had learned not to put their trust in princes.

§ 5. The most distinguished of these was Sir Thomas Wyatt, who roused the men of Kent by his denunciations of

the hateful match. Sir Peter Carew raised the population of Devonshire by the same cry, and the ill-omened assistance of the old Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey, was given them in Warwickshire. The attempt to connect the proposed rising with the restoration of Suffolk's daughter to her shadowy throne was at once fatal to the scheme. Wyatt with rapidity and boldness advanced to the neighbourhood of London. There the spirit of Protestantism and liberty was very strong, and if he had pushed on he might have been successful; but he paused, and was lost. Mary assured the City authorities that she would only marry as her council approved; but added with great openness that she could not remain any longer unmarried as she had hitherto done, for she was now thirty-seven years old, and thought, apparently, she had no time to lose. Wyatt retiring from the Surrey side, crossed over the Thames at Kingston, and presented himself once more before the city in the western quarter. Forcing his way past Charing Cross, he galloped along the Strand, and was only checked by Ludgate being closed. His followers deserted him; the citizens would not venture to aid his entrance, and turning bridle he fought his way back as far as the Temple; there he was brought to a stand, and delivering his sword, which had broken in his hand, to Sir Maurice Berkeley, he was taken in close custody to the Tower. Carew and Suffolk failed equally in their attempt, and Mary was uncontrolled mistress of her actions both in love and religion.

§ 6. From this time forth the conduct of this unhappy queen was regulated entirely by her conscience. No one can deny her the possession of the great qualities of sincerity and firmness, or the character of an affectionate wife and zealous friend; but behind the scenes there were persons who managed the conscience by which all her deeds were guided; and the nation soon found out that a conscientious oppressor, who thought cruelty a merit, and the destruction of liberty

the highest duty of kings, was far more difficult to bear than tyrants to whom the word conscience is utterly unknown. There never was an instance where private virtues so uniformly turned out to be public wrongs. She was so conscientious a daughter, that she revenged the insults bestowed on her mother with death and ruin; so conscientious a wife, that she made every effort to subordinate the benefit of England to the hostile interests of her husband; and so conscientious a believer in the papal supremacy and the doctrines of the Romish faith, that she tried to exterminate with fire and faggots all who ventured to express a different opinion.

§ 7. Wyatt's insurrection was no sooner quelled than the first move was made against the Protestant party by the arrest and imprisonment of the daughter of Anna Boleyn. Elizabeth was carried to the Tower, and expected immediate execution, on the pretence of participation in the late rebellion, but really as the hope of the Reformed cause. Lady Jane Grey and her husband were executed with circumstances of unnecessary harshness; for though the death of two young people, both eminently handsome, and guilty of nothing but submission to an ambitious father, would always have attracted sympathy and commiseration, the additional pang of seeing her husband's headless body carried past her apartment might have been spared. Perhaps, indeed, it would if she had yielded to the persuasion of devout and holy priests, who filled up that dreadful time with arguments to reconcile her to the true Church; but she died unconvinced and undismayed. Suffolk and others of her kin underwent the same fate, and at last the trial of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, one of Wyatt's chief supporters, came on, and discoveries were expected, during his examination, of the complicity of the Princess Elizabeth.

§ 8. This is a delightful glimpse of the trial by jury in those dismal times. Throgmorton was arraigned,—judges, lawyers, courtiers, all were against him, but the twelve men

in the box brought in a verdict of "Not guilty," and there seemed a chance of escape from the tyranny of the court. The attorney-general, however, was not to be so insulted; the jurymen were sent to prison, to the ruin, as they pathetically stated, of their trade and prospects. Eight of them, who declined to entreat pardon for deciding to the best of their judgment, were tried, after six months' incarceration, by the judges of the Star Chamber, and fined to amounts varying from two thousand pounds to a thousand marks; and Mary was conscientiously persuaded that this was the way to regulate the consciences of other people.

§ 9. But she had now to put on her brightest smiles, for her husband, the Prince of Spain, who had lately succeeded to the kingdom of Naples, landed at Southampton, and she hurried impatiently to meet him at Winchester, where the union was blessed with all the ceremonies of the Church. Even the pardonable skill of court portrait-painters, in adding a charm to the natural beauties of their subjects, was at fault upon the two chief personages in this gorgeous scene. Philip, sallow-faced, dull-eyed, narrow-browed, presented the appearance of a weak-bodied, bile-tormented invalid, awkwardly shy in manner, and ungainly in all his motions; while his bride was a fitting pendant to such a lord, for she looked sour and discontented, with the sensual Henry-the-Eighth's mouth, and the stern Catherine-of-Arragon eyes. Even after the lapse of three hundred years we seem to read the history of the two lives in those two portraits; the countenance of each revealing at a glance the narrow intellect and perverted heart which made Philip the persecutor of all that was great and noble in any of his States, and Mary the darkest and most disliked of all our English rulers.

§ 10. The zeal of Mary outran the wishes of her husband. Philip had not yet tasted the luxury of shedding blood in his own name, and counselled moderation in her proceedings against the Protestants. Her sister Elizabeth was given

into more honourable custody at his intercession, and some other prisoners were released; but having gratified him so far, her conscience would allow her to go no farther. Availing herself of the hopeless prostration of the greater part of the nobility, and the intimidation she exercised over the Lower House, she sent for Cardinal Pole. He came with full authority from the pope, and after a declaration by Parliament of its repentance, and its hearty affection to the Holy See, absolved the kingdom from all spiritual censures, and the Catholic Church was once more dominant in the land.

§ 11. The reign of terror began. If there was one man more than another who roused the conscientious hatred of the queen, it was Cranmer; for had he not pronounced the dissolution of her mother's marriage, and supported Anna Boleyn, and opposed the Catholic faith? He had indeed saved her life during one of the sanguinary furies of her father; but that was a mere private consideration, and could not stand in the way of so holy an enterprise as burning the chief of the Reformers. Gardner was in his element at once; he also had wrongs to avenge and benefits to punish; he had also injuries towards the queen and the pope to atone for, for he had written powerfully against Catherine and the usurped authority of Rome.

He now set up his judgment-seat in London, and made short work with the inferior culprits. Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, was condemned to the flames along with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's; and the way was prepared for higher game when it was seen that such dignitaries had no immunity. But a better spirit, though manifesting itself in an irregular manner, was awakened among the population. Violence was used against the agents of the re-action who held forth at Paul's Cross. The lives of the preaching friars were in danger, and on one occasion a pistol was fired at a priest of Westminster who was celebrating the mass. In every city the persecuted were surrounded by the prayers

and sympathy of the people. The primacy of Cranmer had sowed the seeds of Bible knowledge far and wide among the lower classes of the towns, and the rural districts had felt little of the great commotion which was shaking episcopal thrones and endangering royal sceptres. Where a religious feeling existed at all, it was of a Protestant character, and the usual arms of an oppressed population were resorted to. Caricatures appeared in rude chalk upon the walls; cats and dogs were shaved with an imitation of the priestly baldness, and suspended in canonicals for public derision; ballads were sung in every tavern, and even in the streets. These were the only organs of public opinion in those days, and Philip took the alarm; he interfered with the labours of Gardner and the Smithfield familiars; and it is painful to read that a Spanish confessor of the titular king was expressly ordered to make a declaration in his master's name, repudiating the cruelties of the English priests.

The lull caused by this intercession was of short duration. Gardner, indeed, retired from the chief management of the persecution, and died at the end of the year; but his place was filled by Bonner, Bishop of London, a man who seemed to rejoice in his office of blood and suffering, and who completed, by a brutal and overbearing manner, the enjoyment he manifestly derived from the humiliation of the brave and good men whom he condemned to a painful death. The storm broke out again at Oxford, where Ridley and Latimer were condemned as obstinate heretics, and burned. We need not dwell on the high character of Ridley, or the blameless hilarity of old Hugh Latimer, the man of eighty with the heart of eighteen. No lapse of time, no extenuation of circumstances will ever drive these proceedings from the English mind.

§ 12. Cranmer had been tried by the same tribunal, but, as if to clothe with a show of greater solemnity the judgment upon this greatest and highest of the rebels against autho-

rity, his cause was submitted to the infallible wisdom of the papal chair. After a short delay the sentence of deprivation and degradation was pronounced, and Master Thomas Cranmer, now neither priest nor bishop, was condemned to the same fate with his friends. But the mere death of his body would not satisfy the refined malignity of his enemies. Naturally of a mild and feeble temperament, and now reduced to great bodily weakness by the anxieties and trials he had undergone, he was first sent back to a dungeon, where the harshness of his treatment and insufficiency of his food still further diminished his strength, and then they took him to the spacious house and pleasant grounds of the Dean of Christchurch. There he had kind and friendly treatment, he played at bowls, and entered into familiar discussions with his host and his visitors, and over him all the time hung the dreadful sentence under which, at any time, he might be hurried to the pile. "Life is very sweet," they said, "and you are only sixty-seven. You have many years to live, and the queen is most anxious to see you renounce your errors." The old man yielded, and signed a paper of recantation; and the queen, in the midst of her rejoicings over the recovery of the lost sheep, gave secret orders to the provost of Eton to prepare his condemned sermon. Having saved his soul, she was more than ever determined to have his life.

The smiling Dean of Christchurch and the sly ecclesiastics, who thought they had convinced the redoubtable Cranmer, and were proud of their convert, brought him into St. Mary's Church to hear the sermon prepared for the occasion, and afterwards to make open acknowledgment of his errors. But in Cranmer the bitterness of death had passed away along with the hope of life. He spoke in that howling assembly with dauntless words and high, recanting his recantation, and confessing the weakness of his flesh, and his foolish fear of what man could do unto him. He was seized in the middle of his speech, and carried off by raging priest and shrieking

undergraduate, and fettered to the same stake that had seen the martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer five months before. "Hand!" he said, pushing it into the flames, "that didst sign that shameful apostasy, be first to suffer for thy deed." And as the flames rose, and the smoke enclosed him from the furious and learned mob, he was only heard to say "Lord, receive my spirit!"—and the Reformation was secure. If he had lived to be a pauper dependent on the bounty of his foes, and a scoff and byword to his late adherents, a stain might have abided on the cause, from which it would have taken years to cleanse it. Men's hearts were revolted by the ruthlessness of the execution, and the unfair means used to obtain his recantation. In the fires of his death the greatness of his services and the modest benevolence of his life were purified from the dross of weakness and contradiction with which they were accompanied, and his disciples could look without a blush to a teacher who had so nobly redeemed his faults.

Compared to others of his rank and station, Cranmer appears a miracle of constancy and perseverance. Lords and ladies were almost everywhere on the side of the queen. Elizabeth herself was an assiduous embroiderer of petticoats for female saints, and a devout walker in solemn processions. Cecil, Sadler, and all the great names we shall meet with in the next reign, were vacillating bondsmen of the pope; and yet, far down in the great and honest heart of the English people, the detestation of popery grew with every fresh batch of sufferers sacrificed to maintain its power. It was seen—not for the first nor the last time in our rough island story—that subjection to a foreign pontiff is equivalent to a loss of independence; and that a separation from Rome is a hostage to the people that a national church shall be the servant, and not the master, of the State.

§ 13. Of this reign, and of the place of England in general history, there is little left to tell. It is a tale of religious

struggle, and leaves its indelible mark upon the chief personage of the story in the title of Bloody Mary. With the long list in her hand of the two hundred and eighty-eight persons who had died at the stake; the multitudes who had been tortured and sunk in dungeons for their faith; and even the bodies of the dead which had been dug from their graves and committed to the flames, she was justified, perhaps, in expecting a miraculous interference in her behalf; and she joyfully proclaimed that heaven had vouchsafed her an heir. The child, she said, leapt into existence when she received the blessing of Cardinal Pole, when he first appeared in England; and from that period she had had occasional evidences that the prince was about to be born, and debar Elizabeth for ever from the throne. While the priests were full of joy at this divine interposition, the doctors perceived it was the dropsy, and Elizabeth was looked on with more respect.

§ 14. Philip came over in the spring of 1557 to conquer the public admiration by the greatness he had attained; for his father had retired to a cell, where the ambition of an emperor degenerated into the puerile fanaticism of a monk, and left him Lord of Spain and Flanders, the beautiful kingdom of Naples, and the immeasurable realms beyond the Atlantic. The doting love of the queen needed no inducement to fulfil all his wishes; but Parliament was not so complying. In spite of the majesty of the Most Catholic king, and the entreaties of their own sovereign, they were loth to draw the sword on compulsion, or go to war with France for merely Spanish interests.

§ 15. The national valour, however, showed itself at St. Quentin, where the English auxiliaries, few as they were, contributed to the great victory which crowned the Spanish arms. The Duke of Guise, the best general of France, was called to the head of the army to retrieve the great disaster, and Philip was either timid or cautious, and made no use of his success. Guise, however, was neither cautious nor timid. He

learned that the garrison of Calais was almost entirely withdrawn during the winter, and resolved to take it by surprise. Scarcely were the churches of London silent after the Te Deums for St. Quentin, when news came that the French had crossed the marshes, on which Calais relied for safety, in a hard frost; and that the Fleur-de-lis hung once more from the walls of the last of all the foreign possessions of the crown. The English standard had floated on them since Edward III. had added it to his continental states. All had now gone, and Mary was in despair. Other things turned against her. The Dauphin of France married the hapless and beautiful Mary of Scotland, now in her sixteenth year, and the northern boundaries of England were exposed. The illusions of her life disappeared from her one by one. She knew that her husband's coldness had grown into dislike. She discovered that her hopes of offspring were the result of disease; she knew that her successor, whom she hated on account of her youth and talents as much as on account of her birth, would undo all the religious work she had done. When the dark hour came, she dwelt on none of these sources of disquiet but the falsehood of Philip and the failure of her arms. "When I die," she said, with the only touch of patriotism or English feeling recorded of her, "you will find Calais on my heart."

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

1553. Accession of Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Spain. Lady Jane Grey proclaimed, but Queen Mary's title is acknowledged, and the Duke of Northumberland executed.

1554. The Romish religion restored.

— Wyatt's rebellion, and numerous executions.

— Lady Jane Grey, with her husband and father, executed.

— Marriage between Mary and Philip of Spain.

1555-56. The religious persecutions

A.D.

instigated by Mary. The fires of Smithfield, and the burning of Rogers, Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, and numerous others.

1557. The queen granted a commission, with the view of establishing an inquisition, which was followed by a sanguinary persecution against Protestants.

— War declared against France.

1558. Calais surrendered to the French, after having been in possession of the English 210 years.

— Death of Queen Mary.

CHAPTER V.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

FROM A.D. 1558 TO A.D. 1603.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE — Francis II.; Charles IX.; Henry III.; Henry IV. (the Great).

SCOTLAND.—Mary; James VI., who succeeds to the throne of England in 1603.

SPAIN.—Philip II.; Philip III.

Of Navarre.—Henry III., of Bourbon, who, in 1589, became King of France, under the title of Henry IV.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.—Ferdinand I.; Maximilian II.; Rudolph II.

POPES.—Paul IV.; Pius IV.; Pius V.; Gregory XIII.; Sixtus V.; Urban VII.; Gregory XIV.; Innocent IX.; Clement VIII.

- § 1. Accession of Elizabeth. Her judicious choice of counsellors, and wise policy.—§ 2. Insolence of the Pope. The English Church restored to the condition it was in during the time of Edward VI. The queen's supremacy declared.—§ 3. Peace with France. Disturbed state of Scotland.—§ 4. Contentions respecting the possession of Scotland.—§ 5. The combinations of Popery against Protestantism.—§ 6. The French invade Scotland. Claims of Mary Queen of Scots to the English throne.—§ 7. Elizabeth assists the Protestants of Normandy. Her growing popularity.—§ 8. Mary of Scotland leaves France on the death of her husband Francis. Her character and reckless behaviour. Murder of her husband Darnley, and her marriage with Bothwell. Seeks an asylum at the British Court. Her long imprisonment.—§ 9. Conspiracies in Mary's favour. Energetic measures of the queen. The rebels defeated, and the leaders executed.—§ 10. Conspiracy of the Duke of Norfolk, and his execution.—§ 11. Bitter hostility of the Catholic powers of France and Spain against Protestantism. Massacre of St. Bartholomew.—§ 12. Elizabeth's active support of the Protestant cause at home and abroad. Sir Francis Drake.—§ 13. The commencement of our maritime and colonial enterprise. Sir Walter Raleigh.—§ 14. Elizabeth accepts the protectorate of the Netherlands. Romish plots for effecting her assassination.—§ 15. The Babington conspiracy defeated.—

§ 16. Spanish preparations for the invasion of England.—§ 17. Trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots. The blame cast upon Davison.—§ 18. The Spanish invasion of England. Gallantry of Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and others. National enthusiasm.—§ 19. The Spanish armada. Its utter defeat.—§ 20. Severe measures against the Popish and other conspirators. Affairs of France. Elizabeth assists Henry IV. Capture of Brest. The English and Dutch fleets.—§ 21. Earl of Essex.—§ 22. Discontent of Ireland. The rebel O'Niel.—§ 23. Charges against Essex. His mad rebellion. His condemnation and execution.—§ 24. State of popular feeling. Advancing age of Elizabeth, and her various measures.—§ 25. Her illness and death.—§ 26. Reflections on her reign. Her patronage of genius and talent.—§ 27. Her vanity and feminine weakness in personal matters. The various aspirants for her hand, and her love of flattery.

§ 1. FROM a state of uneasy suspicion and very doubtful safety, Elizabeth was placed at once upon the throne. Her accession was hailed without a dissentient voice, and the hopes of both parties were strung to the highest pitch. During her sister's reign, she had conformed to the Court religion, and the Catholics gave her credit for sincerity. But she was a daughter of Henry VIII. and of Anna Boleyn, and the Protestants felt sure she would neither divide her authority with the pope nor desert the cause in which her mother had died. While these conflicting expectations were agitating the leaders on both sides, the queen learned the great art of being able to hold her tongue. She retained many of the popish members of her Council, and took advice on all matters from Robert Cecil, the companion of her adversity, and now the sharer of her altered fortunes.

The wisdom of Elizabeth was shown in availing herself of the wisdom of others. A succession of grave and sagacious statesmen guided all the public actions of this reign, and made the contrast more glaring between her conduct as a ruler and as a woman. Her enemies have dwelt at full length upon the weaknesses of her character, her love of admiration, her violence of manner, and even the vigour and coarseness of her oaths. They have told us of her courtships and compliments with a number of handsome favourites, beginning from

her early youth, and ending only with her extreme old age. But Elizabeth, the queen, kept on the majestic tenor of her way, sacrificing her love of admiration, her domineering manner, and imperious words to the one great object of her life and administration—the peace and prosperity of England.

In spite of her caution and slowness, it was very evident that a great change had taken place at Court. A change no less marked had taken place in the general mind. Apathy or ignorance on the great subject of religious freedom had been succeeded during the five years of persecution by an earnest longing for more Scriptural knowledge, and a detestation of the external ceremonies of a faith which stirred up the Smithfield fires, and laid England at the feet of Spain. Elizabeth was too keen-sighted not to perceive the Protestant bias of the great majority of the nation, and even at her coronation by a popish bishop, she had forbidden the celebration of the mass. She accepted a gift of the translated Bible, and restored the English liturgy in parish churches; but she retained in her private apartments crucifixes, and other aids to Catholic devotion, and kept rigorous watch on the returned exiles who hurried back to England, with the theology of Geneva, embittered by the remembrance of their wrongs.

§ 2. Only one Romish prelate had consented to officiate at the coronation. The others recollected that her mother's marriage had never been ratified by Rome, and treated her as illegitimate. She announced her accession to the Pope, as to the other European powers, and the arrogant pontiff ordered her to resign the throne, and to submit to his disposal of it where he thought right. Paul IV. should have chosen some one else for so insolent a demand, and not Elizabeth Tudor. Parliament enabled the queen to make the proper answer to this insult, and the Church was unanimously restored to the condition it was in in the time of Edward VI. A few compromises were made, so as to include the moderate Catholics. Prayers against the Pope were omitted; the doctrine of the

Real Presence was left without a rubric of contradiction ; and no objection was made by Papist, Lutheran, or Calvinist to the religious articles of the English Church. The Catholics indeed entered a protest in the books of the Lords against the supremacy of the Crown ; but with that exception, and the resignation of not quite a hundred dignitaries and incumbents, no opposition was offered. The whole nation subscribed to the same faith, and for a considerable time there was neither open Popish enmity nor Protestant dissent. In secret, however, and in isolated cases, the old war was carried on. Popish priests were forbidden to officiate in this avowedly Protestant land ; Protestant sufferers were ready to spy out the backslidings of the conforming clergy, who had superseded them in their livings. Bonner and Heath refused to swear that the queen was supreme over spiritual persons as well as laymen within the realm ; but the great battle was fought and won. The pope had no more jurisdiction, power, and authority, and Elizabeth, at the head of a united people, was able to turn her eyes abroad.

§ 3. Peace was immediately made with France, and Calais was lost for ever. Philip, the bereaved but not inconsolable husband of Mary, had lost no time in offering his hand to Elizabeth. He seems to have had a taste for intricate matrimonial combinations. After marrying Mary, who had been contracted to his father, he now, on the refusal of his sister-in-law, married a princess of France, who had been contracted to his son. Scotland followed the lead of her great ally, and made peace at the same time ; but great events were in progress in that northern kingdom, of which Elizabeth did not for a moment lose sight. Undeniably heir to the English throne, if Elizabeth were illegitimate, the beautiful Mary of Scotland, who was now also Queen of France, assumed the royal arms of England, and set the policy of her rival at defiance, by preventing the adhesion of her native realm to the Protestant cause. A bigoted Catholic State on the other

side of the Tweed would have been fatal to the repose of England, either religious or political. The forcible proselytism of Romish priests was resisted by the Protestant Scots. Violences on both sides were committed; and Elizabeth, contrary to her home policy of improving without destroying, was forced to lend her countenance to the furious zealots who could not discriminate between the popish faith and its magnificent cathedrals, and thought they overthrew its idolatry and superstition when they crumbled into dust its long majestic aisles and fretted vaults.

§ 4. The religious co-operation of Scotland was a perpetual object of contest between France, aided by the Catholic powers, and the English queen. The moves, therefore, on Elizabeth's side are to be looked at in their foreign bearings, for they were generally in answer to the attacks of France or Spain. When Mary and her husband, Francis, sent aid in men and money to the Romish queen-regent, Elizabeth sent money and advice to the Lords of the Congregation, as the Protestant chiefs were called. A guarantee of the liberties of their country against the armed power of France was formally given them by Elizabeth, and, as the surest means of resisting the Most Christian king, the adherents of popery were everywhere to be put down.

§ 5. But all through this period, though the battle in this island seemed limited to the defence of the nation against a domestic religious party, there was a grand and comprehensive association constantly at work, in which the Catholic powers had banded themselves to repress the Protestants by force, to introduce the hated Inquisition of Spain into every kingdom of Europe, and to torture, kill, and destroy, by fair means or foul, the abettors of the cursed heretics wherever they might be found. From this plot against human liberty sprang the inexpressible atrocities of Philip in the Netherlands, the equally monstrous massacres of France, and the frantic exultation of popes and cardinals when each new inci-

dent of blood or treachery was reported in Rome. Let us, therefore, consider some of the actions of the Scotch and English, which appear exaggerated and uncalled for, with a reference to the enemies against whom they were directed. They were directed, not against individual Jesuits or overbearing bishops; they were blows aimed at that dread conspiracy of priests and tyrants which would have made these kingdoms provinces of foreign empires, and abodes of ignorance and slavery.

§ 6. As long as the French confined their assistance to the Scottish Catholics, to the occasional gift of a sum of money, Elizabeth allowed her aid to the Reformers to take the same agreeable form; but at length, when French troops were landed near Edinburgh, she sent an army and a fleet, and the memorable siege of Leith, in which the gallant D'Oysel and his forces took part, raised the military reputation of all the nations engaged. Numbers, however, prevailed, and the Scottish malcontents, by a triumphant treaty of peace, were freed from their French oppressors; and Elizabeth obtained an acknowledgment from the French ambassadors of her right to the English throne. Mary Stuart, pouting in the Louvre, refused to ratify their agreement, and continued to use the royal arms, though she discarded the title of Queen of England. She was satisfied with Scotland and France.

§ 7. Assistance was given in the following year to the Protestants of Normandy, who had been irritated by the lawless violence of the Duke of Guise, and was effectual in procuring an honourable peace. Already England established the reputation, which she still considers the highest of her honours, of being the refuge of the afflicted of every land, and the beacon of hope to the oppressed. By a careful persistence in this watchful conduct—always ready to strike, and always readier to hear—the queen made her throne the securest and most popular in Europe before she had filled it for ten years.

§ 8. Those ten years had seen changes and disasters in every other royal house. Mary of Scotland, leaving France on the death of her husband, Francis, had failed to soothe the strong passions which agitated her people. A Catholic princess, young and inexperienced, she would have had no chance of increasing her authority amid so savage and excitable a race. But, beautiful as she was, and fascinating in manner, she might have smoothed the asperities of Knox himself, if she had not outraged the feelings of her subjects with the recklessness and darker characteristics of her behaviour. She had wedded a narrow-minded coxcomb—her kinsman, Henry Darnley—for his beauty, and soon despised him for his cruelty and want of sense. She had seen David Rizzio, a favourite musician, murdered in her presence by order of her brutal husband; and when that husband was found murdered, and in a short time she gave her hand to Bothwell, the man who was believed to be the principal performer in the dark deed, evil tongues were busy with her name. Religious animosity, personal dislike, political hatred combined against the culprit, who was the victim too. She was imprisoned, escaped, fought a great battle at Langside, and fled across the Border. The triumphant and sarcastic beauty, the claimant of the crown of England, the denier of Elizabeth's title, now faded, worn, and humbled, entreated an asylum in her rival's territory. Elizabeth, in the person of Mary, had the surest hostage against the machinations of the Catholic powers. Her prayer was graciously granted, and life, honour, and kind treatment were guaranteed to the involuntary guest. It needed but a refusal of hospitality to throw her into the hands of her implacable enemies, who would have hurried her to a violent death. As a compromise between the rancour of her Scottish allies, who would have considered the release of their enemy a declaration of war, and her natural desire to be kind to a sister in misfortune, Elizabeth followed the advice of her faithful Council, and

kept her in sufficiently close custody to prevent her from disturbing her late kingdom, yet with sufficient liberty and indulgence to allow her all the enjoyments and luxuries of a dignified and stately existence.

§ 9. No sooner was Mary committed to the friendly guardianship of the Earl of Shrewsbury, than the troubles of the government began. From his noble castle of Tutbury to his picturesque residence at Chatsworth, from Buxton to Wirksworth—ever treated with the respect due to royalty, and ever feigning a confidence in her entertainer, for the purpose of putting him off his guard—the journeys were used by the fascinating queen to win over new adherents to her cause. In vain Elizabeth cautioned Shrewsbury to be more careful, to diminish the number of her attendants, and curtail her receptions of the neighbouring gentry ; the plot still went on. She was the loveliest princess of her time, had been queen of the first of European nations, and had a history more interesting and varied than has since that time been invented by romance ; and the persons who were admitted to her presence, who heard her voice and saw her smile, felt it impossible to believe her guilty of any of the crimes laid to her charge. The circle of her admirers increased with every fresh change of residence, and her correspondence departed by mounted couriers to all quarters of the world.

The Duke of Norfolk, the greatest nobleman in England, had been one of the commissioners to inquire into Mary's conduct when it was arraigned by her half-brother, the Earl of Moray, who had assumed the regency on the queen's flight. Proofs of her guilt, which would have been sufficient to justify her condemnation, were withheld at the request of Norfolk. From a judge he became a suitor. Letters passed between them ; interest was made with several of Elizabeth's counsellors, and with Moray himself, to obtain their consent to a marriage ; and as the regard of the Popish powers for the orthodox captive was unabated, and assistance would

have been near at hand, if she could have obtained her freedom, Elizabeth considered herself fortunate in discovering these intrigues in time. She took little notice of them, however, at first; she merely said to Norfolk, when he took leave of her for the night, after having supped in the royal apartment, "My lord, take heed what pillow you lay your head on."

But the warning was of no avail. The attraction of a royal bride, and perhaps a chance of the English throne, were too much for the ambitious duke. He was arrested when his machinations were further traced; and, as if the discovery of his plots had been the signal for a forcible attempt to overthrow the queen, an insurrection broke out in the northern counties, where the large Catholic landowners had been discontented for many years, and Elizabeth found herself in the midst of an open war with the bolder rebels, and surrounded by the secret stratagems of many on whom she relied. But with Cecil, and Sadler, and Bacon to advise, she was equal to any emergency. Energetic measures were taken against the heads of the insurrection—the powerful Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. They were defeated with great slaughter, and relentless execution pursued their followers. Martial law was proclaimed in several districts, and justice done on the priests and other emissaries of the pope, who had swarmed into England under every form of disguise. And at this very time, as if to embitter the queen's feelings and justify her severity, Pius V. published a bull against her, anathematizing, with the utmost solemnity, "Elizabeth, the pretended queen of England, and the heretics who obeyed her." Before this sentence reached England the rebels were quelled. Its object had been to encourage the Catholic nobles to revolt, by an authoritative sanction of the relief of their faith; but it came too late. The nation perceived with indignation that the pretensions of the Roman pontiff were as overbearing as ever, and was still further

enraged when it learned that a paper containing a release of all subjects from their allegiance had been posted up on the Bishop of London's door. Satisfied, however, with the punishment of the insurgents, Elizabeth allowed the Duke of Norfolk to leave the Tower, and relied on the gratitude of his future behaviour.

§ 10. But Mary was not long in renewing her connexion with the infatuated man. Nor were his false friends in Elizabeth's council backward in encouraging his treasonable hopes. For reasons of their own, Leicester, the favourite, and Throgmorton, and several others, professed to enter into his design. Norfolk, dallying for a while with the object of his desire, suggested Leicester himself as a fitter husband for the Catholic queen; but finally yielding to the snare, was convicted of compassing Elizabeth's dethronement by the landing a foreign army in the pay of the pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Alva; and, by a fate now almost hereditary in his family, was condemned to the axe as a traitor. He died protesting his innocence and his firm adhesion to the Protestant faith.

§ 11. Every fresh disappointment, however, seemed only to increase the zeal of the Catholic party in Europe. Losing patience with the slow process of burning individual heretics, it was arranged between the Courts of Spain and France to exterminate heresy altogether. Alva, the bloodiest name in Spanish history, began his career of unequalled cruelty in the Low Countries, and Catherine de Medicis, the mother of the French king, collecting all the Protestants of distinction, on pretence of the marriage of Henry of Bearn with her daughter, gave the fatal signal on the 22nd of August, and the "massacre of St. Bartholomew" filled the streets of Paris and other cities with the corpses of the Huguenots. The echo of that great butchery thrilled through the heart of England, and Elizabeth grew doubly dear to the people she had saved from the errors of popery, and whom she now

defended from the atrocities of the papists. Mary was more closely guarded. If her wiles or promises deluded the gentlemen whom she was still permitted to receive, her triumph was limited to the display of her powers of winning admiration. There was no rising in her favour for many years, and England, undisturbed by domestic factions, assumed and kept the station of the first of Protestant powers.

§ 12. It was no idle boast, but distinctly meant what it professed. Protestantism was assumed as the distinguishing character of the nation's policy, and was in fact the surest protection it could have found against the adherents of the Romish Church. The persecuted Netherlanders, who were nobly resisting the fanatical decrees of Philip and the brutality of Alva, did not appeal in vain. Large supplies in men and money were sent to the Confederated Provinces, and all the unquiet youthhood of England was encouraged to aid in the good cause.

The sea became alive with piratical cruisers, making capture of the Spanish ships. All the oceans of the world were thrown open to English enterprise. Francis Drake sailed on the memorable voyage, in which he displayed prodigies of valour, and also a disregard for international laws which we cannot now think of without surprise; but loaded with booty and the glory of success, having sailed round the globe, he established the reputation of his countrymen as the lineal descendants of the ancient sea-kings, who made the salt water their home. Elizabeth, whose eye was constantly turned in search of merit wherever it was to be found, did not think so skilled a mariner beneath her royal regard. She visited him on board his small vessel on his return to the Thames, and gave him the honour of knighthood as a spur and incitement to others.

§ 13. From this reign our maritime and colonial life may be said to have begun. Sir Walter Raleigh, the most accomplished gentleman of Elizabeth's court, conducted a colony

to Virginia, so called in honour of the queen; and although the first attempt at settlement was a failure, the great idea of founding a new England beyond the Atlantic became fixed in the public mind. And this, not less perhaps than the heretical opinions of the nation, made it hateful to the Spanish king. The pope had given the larger portion of the Western continent to Spain, as a free gift from the possessors of the whole earth, and Philip looked on his monopoly of America almost as an article of faith. He remembered that Raleigh, in possession of Virginia, and Drake, lording it over the cities of St. Domingo and Carthagená, were heretics as well as buccanniers, and felt that their deeds were sacrilege as well as piracy. But the distinctions between war and piracy were not very clear at that time. Without any declaration of hostilities, it was permissible to give assistance to either party engaged in war. Thus Elizabeth for a long time aided the Netherlands, and encouraged her riotous courtiers to fit out expeditions against Florida or Havana. Philip landed forces in Ireland in aid of one of the rebel chieftains, and, notwithstanding all this, the Spanish ambassadors lived peaceably in London, and the English ambassadors at Madrid. Yet we may observe that any demonstration of Elizabeth's dislike to Spain was answered almost immediately by the outbreak of some domestic disturbance. While Raleigh, Drake, and the Hawkineses were carrying on a maritime warfare in the Gulf of Mexico; while Leicester, the spoilt favourite of the queen, was wasting his men's lives and the nation's influence, by his vanity and insufficiency, in command of several thousand English troops in the Netherlands, every vessel brought over seminary priests and Catholic emissaries from the ports of Spain to create disaffection at home.

§ 14. The plots thickened as soon as Elizabeth, coming boldly forward in her own person, accepted the Protectorate of the Netherlands, and entered zealously into the cause of the revolted Dutch. Every year some nest of angry zealots

was discovered, where the murder of the heretical usurper was planned. And every year the Parliament, departing further than ever from the pope and all his works, passed more stringent laws in defence of their queen and faith. There was the desperation of a final struggle on both sides; and at last all lesser attempts were thrown into the shade by the discovery of a widely-spread and carefully-arranged conspiracy for the assassination of Elizabeth, and the elevation of Mary of Scotland to the vacant throne. Ill-omened name to be introduced in such a design! for nothing but misery and ruin had ever followed her participation in any of the numerous schemes her adherents had devised.

X § 15. A weak-minded, romantic young man, of the name of Anthony Babington, was the chief promoter of the dreadful plan. Ballard, a priest, who considered the blood of heretics the most acceptable offering to his Church, had been the original proposer. Eloquence, earnestness, religious fervour, and the encouragement of all their fellow-Catholics, were the guiding causes of their success in gathering a band of desperate men who should do the deed. Mary was consulted, and her answers were construed to give a hearty assent to the taking away of the queen, and to convey promises of the highest favour and reward to the perpetrators. All the conspirators were united by the closest friendship, and by a sincere belief in the sacredness of their cause. Their surprise, therefore, was equal to their sorrow when they discovered that treachery had been among them, and that Walsingham, the cautious secretary, was aware of all their doings. They were racked and executed with the shameless cruelties of a traitor's death; and for a time the enthusiasm of the population in rejoicing for the queen's escape made them forgetful of the real root and origin of the attempt.

§ 16. It was known in England that enormous preparations were making in the Spanish and Flemish harbours. Men were collecting from all parts of Catholic Europe, to be com-

manded by Alexander of Parma, one of the best generals of his time; and the eyes of all the world were turned to the invasion of the head-quarters of schism and revolt. The name of Mary of Scotland was on every lip. It was to deliver her from imprisonment that every effort was avowedly to be made; and after nineteen years close watch and ward, Elizabeth found the life or death of her prisoner equally dangerous to her existence. She is accused of suggesting to her secretaries the shorter and quieter method of assassination by poison; but the proofs are evidently insufficient, and were the result of forgery and disaffection at a long subsequent time.* Elizabeth, after the Babington conspiracy, had law upon her side, and during the preparation of her foreign enemies was sure of the national support in any measure, however harsh or extraordinary, which strengthened her power.

§ 17. Thirty-six of the noblest names in England were appointed for the trial of the hapless Mary. No longer in the bloom of youth, but bowed down with sickness and sorrow, the Queen of Scots had gained in dignity of manner what she had lost in beauty. She entered on her defence with undaunted courage, and having no man to plead for her, gave a firm contradiction to all the treasons alleged against her, and threw the proof of them upon her foes. Departing from her original determination to deny the jurisdiction of a court of English subjects over a foreign and independent queen, she took her place at the bar of the Presence Chamber at Fotheringay Castle, and showed the greatest tact and ingenuity in confuting her accusers. Some few things she confessed; that she had received various offers of service from people who compassionated her state, and that she had applied to her friends, both at home and abroad, to interfere in her

* See a very interesting argument on this supposed criminality of the queen in Mr. Knight's excellent and impartial "Popular History of England," vol. iii. p. 205.

behalf; but she threw off with beautiful disdain the imputation of having agreed to the murder of the queen, and accused Walsingham himself of forging the letters in Babington's name in which her guilty participation was contained. She accused the authorities also of tampering with the evidence they had procured by threats and promises from her secretaries, Nawe and Curle; and it was evident, even to that packed and spiritless assembly, that the Protestant zeal of the prosecutors, under which they had the audacity to excuse some of their actions, had carried them to the basest and cruellest extremes. If the Pope had not at that moment been encouraging all Englishmen to rebel, and if the Invincible Armada had not been getting in its guns and priests for the subjugation of the kingdom, their feelings as men, and honour as noblemen, would surely have revolted against the prosecution of an unhappy queen, whose proved guilt extended no farther than the natural desire to regain her freedom, and advance the interests of her religion. But the Bulls of Pius and the fleets of Philip were fatal to the person on whose behalf they were intended.

A truculent Act of Parliament had been passed, immediately after the conspiracy, with the precise object of enveloping Mary in its clauses. Sufficient was satisfactorily proved to bring her within the fear-born statute, and she was condemned, on the report of the commissioners to the Star Chamber, "for that the aforesaid Mary, pretending a title to the crown, hath herself confessed and imagined within this realm divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of our sovereign lady the queen." The terror which had produced the statute continued after the sentence was pronounced. Parliament hurriedly met and petitioned Elizabeth to carry the judgment of the court into effect. The Lords, at a request of her Highness to know whether there was any other way of satisfying the requirements of her people, replied that there was none. When proclamation

of the sentence of death was made in London, the city rose in a transport of joy. It was hailed as a note of defiance against the Spaniard and the Pope. Houses were illuminated, and bonfires blazed; and while the capital was yet in the war-dance of triumph, worthy of Indians round a victim's stake, the news of her approaching fate was communicated to the captive at Fotheringay, and received almost as a relief.

Greater romance is attached to these events now than they were capable of at the time. To her contemporaries at the date of her death, Mary was a feeble and decrepit invalid of forty-five years old. Her previous history was overshadowed with suspicion, and she was in reality a standing menace to the peace and liberty of both the British kingdoms. To us all the charms of her youth continue to beautify the sad ending of her strange career. We see her as the gay and brilliant creature of another sphere, radiant with wit and loveliness, and casting a momentary brightness over the sombre halls of Holyrood, and the grim countenances of savage Presbyters and blood-stained lords. We have no fear of Rome or Madrid, and look with nothing but pity and admiration on the martyr firmness and Christian resignation of the most beautiful of queens, whose heart beat with the heroic blood of Robert Bruce, and the poetic fire of the first James Stuart. But it is not fair to judge the actors of those stormy and tumultuous days with the sentiments of our own. Elizabeth lost no popularity at home, no respect abroad, from the execution of her rival. But that rival, even in the coarse appreciation of the witnesses of her doom, half compensated by the dignity and calmness of her death for what they believed to be the sins and excesses of her life. She rejected the officious services of the Dean of Peterborough, who disturbed the sacredness of her last hour with polemical disquisitions against the Church of Rome. And kneeling calmly on the raised scaffolding within the hall of Fother-

ingay, surrounded by her weeping attendants, and in presence of Sir Amyas Paulet, her kind custodier for several years, and the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, she received her final stroke (8th February). The grey locks, now dabbled with blood, were held up to view, and Kent cried "This is the head of a traitor; so perish all Elizabeth's enemies!" But nobody cried Amen! except the Dean of Peterborough. The rest of the spectators were too much moved to speak, and the procession went forth in silence.

Elizabeth resolved to enjoy the advantages of the deed without sharing in the obloquy. She disowned the act of a faithful underling of the name of Davison, who had sent the order for execution to Fotheringay, she declared, without her knowledge. She imprisoned him for many years, and ruined him for too truly divining her inclination. She was great in oaths of all kinds, and was so profuse of her asseverations of innocence to the French ambassador, that his national politeness—and, it happened, the political situation of his country—would not allow him to doubt her word. She wrote also to James of Scotland, the son of the deceased, declaring her indignation at the action of Fotheringay, and James, after a little bluster, as was his wont, and a little pretence at feeling, in which he was not a successful performer, accepted the excuse, and probably saw only a competitor for the English throne, and a possible destroyer of his own authority, taken out of his way. Though his mother was attainted, his rights were expressly reserved by royal declaration, and he found himself one step nearer the summit of his earthly desires.

§ 18. But Spain was not to be so appeased. The Armada was reported ready for sea, with an army of thirty thousand seasoned soldiers, and England, as has often happened since that time, was ill prepared at first for the contest that was to ensue. Drake delayed the sailing of the expedition by his gallant dash into Cadiz harbour, and destruction of many vessels under the eyes of the Spanish admiral. He attacked

Vigo also, and in the meantime the Channel became crowded with English squadrons on the watch for the enemy's approach. Howard of Effingham was admiral-in-chief. Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and all the hardy and self-taught mariners, who had learned their naval skill in the storms of the Atlantic, were in command of divisions of the fleet. A hundred and ninety-one vessels of various sizes, from a thousand tons down to two hundred, were stationed from the Land's End to Dover, and up towards the coast of Holland. A hundred and thirty thousand landsmen waited the foe, if he should sink or elude the ships. Elizabeth herself mounted her war-horse, and addressed the troops at Tilbury Fort, dressed in full armour, and carrying a field-marshal's baton. "Let tyrants fear!" she said; "I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects." Now came into use the great cries of "Church and Queen;" one, the symbol of religious, and the other of national freedom; for there were soldiers of Rome and Loyola on board the invading ships as bent on victory, and as well trained and disciplined, as the warriors who had served under Alva and the Duke of Parma.

§ 19. The result of this great attempt is well known. Courage and skill among the best seamen in the world—union and confidence among all classes of the most loyal subjects in Europe—presented such a front that an armada of twenty times the force would have had no chance of eventual success. Patriotism rose above sectarianism on that grand occasion, and Romanists left their quiet retreats to take service in the humblest capacity in the squadron, under their co-religionist, Lord Howard; while grim Calvinists and rigid Presbyterians left off their discussions about the Man of Sin and the heathenism of wearing surplices during prayer, to take rank with the armed defenders of the land. From the moment the great galleys of Spain were seen off Plymouth,

their course was a perpetual fight. Every little creek and inlet sent out its sloop equipped and fearless. Larger portions of the navy gathered on the flank of the long-extended column, and engaged it whenever an opportunity occurred. Then it came on to blow. Light vessels surmounted the crest of every wave, and poured their broadsides on the galleons rolling in the trough of the sea, or got under their guns, and fired in safety at their gigantic hulls. It was impossible to fight both against heaven and earth—against the elements and English mariners. So the proud prows were turned in rapid and disorderly retreat. Storms completed the discomfiture begun by hostile cannon; and shipwrecks strewed all the coast of Scotland, round which the fugitives attempted to steer. Philip learned with surprise and grief the utter failure of his favourite scheme, but bore himself like a man of higher nature than he was. He received the defeated admiral graciously on his return. Throwing the whole blame upon the weather, he said, "It is impossible to contend with God;" and perhaps marvelled that an expedition so blest by the Church should have ended in so miserable a reverse.

§ 20. The alarm of the nation was more clearly shown by its cruelty to the professors of what was now universally considered an un-English faith than by its military preparations. Priests were hunted out, and severer edicts passed against nonconformists of every persuasion. Popery was legally converted into treason, and whoever denied the queen's supremacy was held to be false to his allegiance. Many things concurred to keep up this bitter feeling. Sir William Stanley, a Romanist in high command of the English auxiliaries in the Netherlands, had deserted his nation's colours for the Pope's cause, and joined the Spanish expedition with thirteen hundred men. Popish chiefs in Ireland had recruited their rebel forces from the Spanish soldiers who were shipwrecked on their coast; and finally, Lopez, a physician, who had been

taken prisoner in the armada, and appointed physician to the queen, was detected in receiving bribes from Philip's ministers to poison his royal patient. The Most Catholic king was "to have a merry Easter" by the death of the great Protestant, at an expense of fifty thousand crowns. An Irish fencing-master at the same time was proved to have engaged to murder Elizabeth for thirty pounds. Both the villains were hanged, and Parliament, in its blind fury against those attempts, kept no terms with either fanatic or papist. Brownists and enthusiasts who pretended to miraculous powers were executed on the same gibbet with Jesuits—and even Atheists suffered the extreme penalty of the law, as subversive of all government, divine or human.

With Henry IV. of France, the most impulsive and captivating of French kings, the queen's relations had been close and affectionate while still only king of Navarre. Her troops were sent to his aid. His victories were hailed as proofs that chivalry had not departed from the world, and also, as they were all gained against the Catholics, that the sword of the Lord and of Gideon had not lost its edge. Henry III., worthless and contemptible, like all the race of Valois, was murdered by an excited priest of the name of Jacques Clement, in 1589; and the hero of so many fights, the champion of the good cause, was undoubted heir to the throne. Elizabeth had hopes of seeing France join the great Protestant League, which would guarantee for ever the freedom of Europe from the machinations of Spain and Rome. More troops were sent over; volunteers were encouraged to follow the white plume of Henry. But while the nation was rejoicing in this accession of strength to the Protestant side, and looking forward to perpetual peace and alliance with its nearest neighbour, Henry, to save the effusion of blood, and simplify his possession of the crown, conformed to the hated faith, and Elizabeth saw, in her late confederate and friend, only a foe the more.

Henry, however, had more policy as king than zeal as Romanist. He soon persuaded his royal sister that he might acknowledge the primacy of an Italian priest, and fight just as well as ever against a Spanish bigot. So the English assistance was not withdrawn. Frobisher ended his wild career in a gallant bombardment of Brest, which was held by the troops of Philip in aid of the Catholics. When Brest yielded to the combined attack of French and English, the cause of the Netherlands was nearly won. All through Philip's inglorious reign the great struggle went on. The United Provinces resisted for thirty years all the power of Spain and Rome, the wealth of America, and the assaults on their own commerce. But the fight for religious freedom gave them energy to look beyond their marshy country, and almost to gain the empire of the sea. Dutch fleets already kept the wasted navy of Spain in constant fear; and when the flags of England and Holland flew together, there was no power which could withstand their course. Wherever the united squadrons went everything fell before them. A great English fleet, with a few Hollanders in its train, repaid the visit of the Armada, and took the town of Cadiz, with all its wealth. The chief of this gallant exploit was the young Earl of Essex, who showed greater military skill on this occasion than the more experienced warriors under his command. Essex advised a permanent retention of the capture, the excitement of a general insurrection of the Moors and other oppressed populations, and the waiting for the treasure-ships on their way from the Havannah. But he was overruled. He was coldly received by Elizabeth on his return. She had expected a greater share of the spoil than came into her exchequer, and seldom forgave any one who added to the national burdens, even by a brilliant feat of arms.

§ 21. When Essex tried to recover her favour by an assault on the rich Spanish settlements in the West Indies, and in consequence of storms which damaged his ships, and discord

among his subordinates which impeded his movements, came home once more without sending wagons of gold mouldores to the Tower, the hostility of Burghley and Raleigh ventured on an open display. Elizabeth sided as usual with the sagacious statesman, in opposition to the handsome favourite. Peace was made with Spain, and Essex retired, surly and discontented, from the court, where he perceived his influence was so small, and only returned to his former place when his great rival, who had ruled the realm for forty years, was carried to his grave. Elizabeth, who had seen the departure of Essex without regret, wept bitterly over the bier of the veteran Cecil. They had shared the same fortunes from the dark days of Mary's hatred to the height of royal power, and now the death of the old counsellor should have been a warning to the waning queen to prepare for the final scene. But no warning could persuade her, for any length of time, that she had lost a single charm, or that she could ever grow old. She watched, therefore, as carefully for the admiration of her courtiers as for the dignity of her crown, and an opportunity was at hand for the display of her unabated anxiety for both.

§ 22. Ireland had been always discontented ; first, with the forcible introduction of Popery by Henry II., and now by the attempt at its extirpation. Whatever religion England was of, Ireland was sure to be of another. And at this time its hatred of the heretic and the Saxon was equally satisfied by the rising up of a native leader, who had been named Earl of Tyrone by Elizabeth, and "The O'Neil," or King of Ulster, by himself. How to put down this rebel had puzzled the English Council, and baffled the English arms. He united the civilization of the conquerors to the courage and resources of the native race ; he carried on his banner the great words of "Religion and Independence," and attracted the wild Celtic affection by his long hereditary descent and his promises of unlimited revenge. Cecil, the son and worthy

successor of Burghley, recommended his enemy Essex to be appointed viceroy and commander-in-chief. If he failed in subduing Tyrone his reputation would be at an end; even if he succeeded, his absence would be prolonged, and his favour would disappear if he were not constantly at hand to renew his obsequiousness to the queen. Essex went over to assume the post with forebodings of evil. A hostile ministry neglected his supplies; his men perished of starvation and fatigue; their pay was in arrear, and a small reinforcement was all he could obtain after he had been several months in the country.

§ 23. At last he overtook Tyrone. But the wily Irishman deluded him into a conference: was elegant, polite, and dignified. Essex concluded a truce for six weeks, or till the complaints of the native chiefs were laid at the foot of the throne, and all the disappointed, and all the injured, and all the ambitious, and all the wicked—Raleigh himself being head and leader of them all—distilled fell poison into Elizabeth's ear. She accused him of wishing to prolong the war, of weakness, even of treachery. Essex, smarting under this change of language, left his post, and hurried across to London. The blood of Henry VIII. flew to his daughter's face. "That man is above me," she cried, with an oath. "Who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business." He was sent to prison, where he was kept without the usual comforts accorded to men of his rank. He petitioned only for liberty to retire from public life, and devote himself to rural pursuits, to his family, and his books. After eight months' incarceration he was allowed to go free. But his fortunes were ruined, and when Elizabeth harshly refused a renewal of a patent which might enable him to live, he knew there was no chance of restoration so long as Cecil and his enemies were in power. An evil counsellor was at his side. His secretary said he was still popular with the citizens; that if he showed himself

they would rise ; and that if he cleared the queen's closet of his enemies the queen herself would approve of what he had done. Information was given him at the same time that his life was not safe ; that Cobham and Raleigh were at the head of a design to put him to death ; that his foes were on the watch, and the guards doubled at the palace door. " Now or never !" was the cry of all his friends. Three hundred of them, all gentlemen of rank, gathered round him at his house in the Strand. The Earl of Rutland, Lord Monteagle, Lord Southampton, and other nobles accompanied him in his ride. He rode down the Strand to Paul's Cross, expecting to find the citizens listening to the sermon, for it was Sunday morning. But the streets were deserted—the service had been forbidden. There were a few cries among the citizens who saw him pass, of " God bless your honour !" but no one joined him. His own followers began to melt away. The silence and solitude were dreadful, and Essex resolved to return to his house. But in the meantime all the avenues were guarded. Empty carts were piled across the street, and armed men, in the Bishop of London's livery, defended the barricades. Essex retreated, and by a side alley gained the river, and at last got up to Essex House in a boat. Treachery had been at work in his absence. His confidential servant, Sir Ferdinando George, had betrayed his trust, and Essex in a short time found his mansion surrounded by troops, guns pointed against the walls, and muskets discharged into the windows. He surrendered on promise of a speedy trial, and so ended Lord Essex's " mad ride."

Two great men appeared against the fallen earl, and conducted the prosecution with the utmost bitterness. Coke, the wisest lawyer, and Bacon, the greatest philosopher of his age, vied with each other in the coarseness of their invectives ; the eloquence of the great thinker being only equalled by his meanness and ingratitude. Essex had been his generous benefactor, and he now earned the forgiveness of the Court for

his former devotion to his patron by hunting him to death. He compared him to Pisistratus of Athens, who overthrew his country's liberties, and persuaded the hostile peers to bring him in guilty of compassing the queen's death, and designing to change the established religion. When Essex was condemned he gave a ring to the Countess of Nottingham, to be presented to the queen, which she had given him in the days of his favour, with an assurance that whenever he was in distress, if he sent that memorial, all her affection would return, and she would aid him with her utmost power. His enemies persuaded the cruel lady to whom the token was entrusted not to deliver it to the queen, and she, chafing at what she thought his stubborn pride, allowed the law to take its course, and Essex perished on Tower Hill, while Raleigh feasted his personal hatred by being a hidden witness of the execution.

§ 24. But no legal form could hide from the loving eyes of the Londoners the injustice of their favourite's fate. They had known him as the kindest and most generous of the nobles, the bravest of the soldiers, and the least selfish of the courtiers. Elizabeth herself was gloomed on when they thought of her cold, unforgiving heart. She saw a change in men's faces, for the latter years of her reign had been darkened by harshnesses which the public perceived had lost their use. An alteration had taken place in the religious views of many of the people. The Church, which had been cherished as a sign of national freedom in the days of the Armada, had relied too little on the affection of the people, and had surrounded itself with protective enactments, not only against popery but against dissent. Essex had exposed the frightful perversion of logic which allowed a Protestant Church to be a persecutor; and every Brownist or Anabaptist who was punished for his belief was considered an indication of a return to the dark practices, and possibly the superstitious creed, of Rome. Many of the clergy were

not satisfied with the extent of separation which had been achieved from the City of Abominations, and already the name "Puritan" was used as a term of reproach by some, but of respect by others. In this state of opinion Elizabeth's strong-handed ways of carrying on the government had lost the popular support. More toleration was required, less interference with the daily life of her subjects, who were now old enough and sufficiently experienced to regulate their own proceedings without a direction from the law. Her orders, therefore, about the style of building, her commands to erect no more houses in London, and even to pull down those already finished, were neglected. Her grants of monopolies, by which individuals were enriched, and coals, wine, salt, and every article of consumption made unnaturally dear, were denounced by the formerly subservient Commons in language to which she had been unused.

§ 25. She was old, and had lost some of the imperious haughtiness of her former days, but she had not lost the greatest skill of a ruler—the art of meeting the popular demand in time. By a ready compliance with the request of her faithful parliament, she gained the appearance of a voluntary grace instead of a forced acquiescence; and the last of her public acts was a repeal of many of the nation's grievances, and a promise to inquire into all the rest. Military success against the rebels in Ireland, and the surrender of a Spanish general and four thousand men who had landed in aid of Tyrone, threw another sort of glory on the conclusion of this forty-five years' reign; and if the heart of the expiring queen could have been cheered by anything, the triumphs of her fleets and the pacification of Ireland might have had that effect. But the grief lay deeper; perhaps it was only the consciousness of her approaching end, perhaps her longing for more years of life; but the gossips of the Court maintained it was unavailing sorrow for the fate of Essex; for that the Countess of Nottingham had confessed, when she was dying,

the concealment of the ring, and all Elizabeth's attachment came back when it was too late.

Mute and motionless, the last three days of her life were spent apparently in deep thought. She sat on cushions on the floor, her eyes fixed on the ground, and her finger in her mouth. Cecil and others went near her when at last she had been lifted into a bed, and asked her who was to be her successor. A touch of the old spirit prompted her reply: "I told you," she said, "my seat has been the seat of kings, and who should succeed me but my cousin, the King of Scotland?" In a few hours after this they asked her wishes again. She was now too feeble to speak, but she joined her hands over her head in semblance of a crown, and then died—a ruler who combined nearly all the good and bad qualities of her race; with the strength of will and vigorous intellect of her father and grandfather, sometimes perverted, as in them, from their proper purpose by selfishness and ambition, but ennobled, in this greatest of the Tudor line, by a knowledge of the interests of her people and a reliance on their gratitude, which neither of the Henries would have understood, or which they would have considered below their notice.

§ 26. We have hitherto considered Elizabeth in her public capacity as governor of a State, and have found her (with some few blemishes, which belong perhaps to the necessities of her position and time) a great and wise ruler. The greatest men the country ever produced were proud to be her subjects. Bacon and Shakspeare, indeed, are born for all time; but the list of others who rose to eminence in war, and commerce, and statecraft, is sufficient to attest the skill with which she detected the talents that might be useful to the kingdom, and the liberality with which she rewarded them. A chivalrousness of feeling arose in all classes when they entered the service of a virgin queen. Masters of trading vessels had the ambition to discover or conquer foreign kingdoms. They

were soon transferred to the royal navy, and became admirals of the English fleet. Sir Philip Sidney recalled the Knights of the Round Table by the heroic qualities of his nature, and displayed them in still higher elevation by the refinement of his published works. It was the period of a sudden uprising of all the noblest characteristics of the Saxon mind; and over the enterprise of Raleigh and Drake, and the poetry of Spenser and Shakspeare, and the statesmanship of Walsingham and the Cecils, presided the gracious and learned monarch who could enjoy the highest flights of literature, and understand the deepest schemes of policy.

§ 27. But if we look at her in her individual capacity of "one of Eve's family," we shall find that her achievements were of a very different kind. The contrast is almost laughable between the sagacious guider of public affairs and the remarkably vain and silly person she appeared whenever her merely personal behaviour was concerned. Though ostentatiously determined to lead a single life, the catalogue of the lovers whom she deluded with hopes of her hand is inexhaustible. Turning her feminine weakness to excellent public purpose, she was always ready to hold herself out as one of the rewards of a favourable treaty or a grant of commercial privileges. When France began to make preparations against her, she simpered and smiled at the French ambassador in such an extraordinary manner, that he could do nothing less than write to his king that Elizabeth would certainly marry one of the princes if he would only send him over to London. It was a new trial for an envoy to be ogled as representative of his sovereign's family. Caught by the bait, the Duke of Anjou made his appearance at Court, and soon discovered that the smiles had been merely political, and would only last so long as it was wished to keep France at enmity with Spain. Several other foreign potentates were drawn over by the glittering prospects of sharing the English throne. The Kings of Sweden and Denmark were rivals, and

paid their court by outbidding each other in the favours bestowed on English trade. But the habit of looking irresistible and of captivating all beholders grew into a passion. If she could not force a royal wooer on his knees by her winning looks and whispered communications, she was quite satisfied to blind her own courtiers by her glances, and enchant them by her words. They fooled her to the top of her bent. They held their hands before their eyes to shield them from the radiance of her countenance, and affected to tremble when they heard her voice. She walked, we are told, with a great deal of "grandity," turning her toes out, and pausing a moment on each foot, looking from side to side as she went, and swinging her furbelowed gown in a most majestic and ridiculous manner, while the bystanders hummed their admiration, or burst into loud applause.

With many of her attendants she was so unguarded in the marks of her favour that reports were spread abroad injurious to her reputation. Party spirit has continued the discussion to the present time, the advocates of the hapless Mary maintaining that the lover of Leicester, and Hatton, and Raleigh and Essex was not entitled to make any over-virtuous allusion to the levities attributed to their heroine. Her defenders appeal to the little influence exercised over her by the suspected sharers of her guilt; and say that, in all likelihood, the friendships of Elizabeth went no farther than the gratification of her insatiable love of admiration and appetite for fulsome praise. Of all these temporary and capricious attachments we have only dwelt on that towards Essex—for it was the only one that influenced her public acts, and seems to have been really sincere,—but at the time of his greatest favour she was nearly seventy years of age; and even after his unhappy death, when her own demise was near at hand, she is reported by the French ambassador to have been captivated by the looks of a tall young Irish earl, and to be as anxious as ever for flattery and devotion. The habit of being

courted had become her second nature, and the same person who as queen could withstand a coalition of all Europe against her throne, was wretched if she had not a handsome, designing cozener at her side, to tell her her brow was not wrinkled with seventy-two years of toil and care, and that her locks were as rich and auburn as when her earlier adorers had assured her they were sunbeams woven into ringlets, and clustered round the forehead of the chaste Diana.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

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| <p>A.D.
 1558. Accession of Elizabeth, only daughter of Henry VIII. and Anna Boleyn.
 — Protestant religion and worship restored, and the queen's supremacy re-enacted.
 1564. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the great favourite of the queen.
 1565-68. Mary Queen of Scots married to Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. His murder, and flight of Mary to England, where she is retained a prisoner.
 1570. The pope publishes his bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, absolving her subjects from their allegiance.
 — The Royal Exchange finished by Sir Thomas Gresham.
 1572. The Duke of Norfolk is convicted of high treason, in treating of a marriage with Mary Queen of Scots, and conspiring to depose Queen Elizabeth. His execution.
 — Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
 1580. The Spaniards make a descent on Ireland, but are all made prisoners and put to the sword.
 1584. Legislative measures against Jesuits and seminary priests.
 — Conspiracies for releasing Mary Queen of Scots, and deposing Queen Elizabeth.
 — Sir Walter Raleigh discovers</p> | <p>A.D.
 Virginia, which was so called in honour of his virgin mistress, Elizabeth.
 1585. Naval operations of the gallant Sir Francis Drake.
 1586. Babington and others convicted of conspiring against the queen, and executed with great barbarity.
 1587. The Queen of Scots tried on a charge of conspiracy against Elizabeth, and executed.
 — Naval operations of the brave Admiral Blake against the Spaniards.
 1588. Preparations of the Spaniards for invading England. Their great armada, and its utter destruction.
 1590-96. Naval operations against the Spaniards carried on with great success by Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others.
 1598. The Earl of Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland, which continued for eight years.
 1599-1601. The Earl of Essex appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to put down the rebellion. Tried for conspiracy, convicted, and executed.
 1601. The Queen abolishes trade monopolies and patents, which had been subjected to gross abuses.
 1603. Death of Queen Elizabeth.</p> |
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BOOK IX.

THE HOUSE OF STUART.

A.D. 1603 TO A.D. 1688.

CHAPTER I.

JAMES THE FIRST.

A.D. 1603 TO A.D. 1625.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Henry IV.; Louis XIII.

SPAIN.—Philip III.; Philip IV.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.—Rodolph II.; Matthias; Ferdinand II.

POPES.—Clement VIII.; Leo XI.; Paul V.; Gregory XV.; Urban VIII.

- § 1. Political condition of England in the preceding reigns. Degradation of the House of Commons under the House of Tudor.—§ 2. Accession of James I. of Scotland. His conduct and traits of character. His government and different measures.—§ 3. State of religious parties. Sectarian contentions, and rebellious spirit attending them.—§ 4. Conspiracy in favour of Arabella Stuart. Condemnation of Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh.—§ 5. The Puritan party. Conference at Hampton Court. Alterations in the Church services demanded. Declaration of the king in favour of Church conformity.—§ 6. Religious persecutions. Contentions with Parliament.—§ 7. The gunpowder plot. Sanguinary laws passed against the supposed abettors. Trial and execution of Garnet, the Jesuit.—§ 8. The king displays a spirit of conciliation, and re-establishes order.—§ 9. State of the population and the country. Disappearance of the feudal system, and the introduction of fresh manners and customs.—§ 10. State of the Church.—§ 11. Natural jollity of the population of England, and their rustic amusements. Advantages thence derived.—§ 12. Archbishop Abbot, the Calvinistic divine.

Authorized translation of the Bible.—§ 13. The king's favoritism. Carr and Buckingham. Cruel treatment and death of Arabella Stuart.—§ 14. Henry, Prince of Wales. His noble qualities and death. Princess Elizabeth and Prince Charles.—§ 15. Carr, Viscount Rochester, and afterwards Earl of Somerset. His infamous character. Marries the divorced wife of the Earl of Essex. Murder of Overbury.—§ 16. Infamy of the court, and religious outrages.—§ 17. Misery of Earl of Somerset and his wife.—§ 18. Rise of George Villiers.—§ 19. Trial and disgrace of Somerset and his wife.—§ 20. Villiers created Marquis of Buckingham, and rewarded with numerous offices. Chief-Justice Coke and Lord Bacon.—§ 21. Buckingham's increasing influence. Trial and execution of Sir Walter Raleigh.—§ 22. James's interference with the kingdom of Bohemia.—§ 23. The king's violent proceedings, and popular discontent. Rupture between him and the Commons.—§ 24. Prince Charles and the Marquis of Buckingham proceed on a secret expedition to Madrid to negotiate a marriage with the Infanta. The match broken off. War declared against Spain.—§ 25. Affairs of the Continent, and state of Protestantism. Count Mansfeldt's expedition in aid of Bohemia. Prince Charles affianced to Henrietta Maria of France. Death and character of James.

§ 1. ENGLAND appeared as despotic a country at the death of Elizabeth as any in Europe, and it was only by the concurrence of two circumstances that it did not lose its liberties altogether. The first of these was that the wildest and most ambitious of our kings had no standing army. When a monarch has the interest of a superstitious priesthood, and the ignorance of the multitude in his favour, he needs only a military force to strike out the last spark of freedom. When Henry VII., therefore, had broken the nobility and gained the Church, and quieted the people, there would have been no power able to oppose him if he had had a soldiery in his pay ; as it was, he had to trust to the national force—the archers of the different parishes, and men raised for a limited time. The English army was a militia, officered by the gentry of the land : so Henry VII. and his imperious son had not the means of consolidating the tyrannic power which circumstances enabled them to exercise for a time.

The other circumstance was the very strange one that the degradation of the House of Commons tempted the first Tudors to use it as an ostensible instrument of their authority,

till the people, who were not aware of the personal baseness and subserviency of their representatives, seeing every great event attributed to Parliament, began to believe that it was mightier than the king. They saw a Church overthrown, and another Church established; a queen divorced, and another executed; Mary declared illegitimate, and the kingdom left to the disposal of the sovereign, all by Act of Parliament; and there was no limit to their confidence in these magic words. The crawling sycophants who sat on the packed benches of the Commons began to be invested with a part of the majesty which the policy of the kings had thrown over the assembly to cloak their own designs; and towards the end of Elizabeth's reign the belief in the dignity of Parliament had seized even on some of the members, and they reasoned, remonstrated, accused, and finally made terms, as if they had in reality some of the influence which had belonged to them in the times of the Plantagenets. Nothing, however, would persuade the new race of kings that Parliament was anything but a collection of their clerks and servants; and all through the next two reigns the point in dispute was the usurped, but constantly exerted, supremacy of the crown, and the theoretical, but long disused, supremacy of Parliament.

Fortunately for the Parliament the representative of absolute monarchy, who now presented himself in the person of James, was not rendered very dangerous by his vigour of mind or body. Even the country he came from detracted from his popularity; for the long wars between the realms had made Scotland a disagreeable sound in English ears. The people were considered barbarous, and their land a desert. A flight of locusts was looked upon as a similar infliction to an incursion of the hungry Scots, whether as friends or foes. The behaviour of James, since his accession to his native throne, had not raised his reputation for courage or plain dealing; and reports must have been already widely spread of his garrulity, selfishness, pedantry, and awkwardness, which

made him a very unfit president of the most accomplished, learned, and high-spirited court in Christendom. A courtier like Sir Walter Raleigh, hearing an argument of Bacon in the morning and a play of Shakspeare in the afternoon, could have had little appetite for the laborious and jocular platitudes of the Solomon of the north.

§ 2. Yet with all the advantages of an undisputed right, and bearing with him the prospect not only of peace but union between the two peoples who inhabited the island, the great-grandson of Margaret of England took peaceable possession of the throne of the Plantagenets and Tudors. It was taking the people back to the olden time, of which every new generation entertains such a fond recollection, when they saw in the son of the beautiful Mary—representative in the third degree of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York—a blending once more of the white and red roses, and never were king and nation more pleased at the parts they were to play. His journey from the north was a perpetual triumph. Arches covered the streets, and orations exhausted the eloquence of mayors; and his speeches in reply transcended their understanding. He ate, and drank, and spouted Latin, and made poems in a manner never heard of before; he also made knights on all occasions, adding to the catalogue of chivalry upwards of a hundred and fifty persons who had no farther claim to the honour than the good luck of having approached him while he was under the pleasurable excitement of success.

But the habits and temper of the new king came out in more disagreeable colours in the course of the same journey. Gentlemen, accustomed to the stately cavalcades of Elizabeth, and even her affected and grandiose style of walking, were at first astonished to see a little fat personage, with large and wandering eyes; a bonnet cast by chance upon his head, and sticking on as it best could; his legs too thin for his weight; his clothes so thickly padded out to resist a dagger-stroke, of which he was in continual dread, that he

looked more like a vast seal than a man; a flabby, foolish mouth, widened for the freer extrusion of remarkably broad Scotch—and all these surmounting a horse, saddled after the manner of an arm-chair, with appliances for the rider's support, in spite of which his majesty not unfrequently managed to tumble most ungracefully to the ground; and before the courtly nobles, who had met him at the borders had time to be reconciled to his appearance, he gave them a specimen of his regard for law which was of evil omen for his future conduct. At Newark-on-Trent a pickpocket was detected in the act; and, without waiting for judge or jury, the king directed a royal warrant to the recorder to hang the man without delay, and the culprit was suspended at once.

Completing his first impression by the coarse and contemptuous manner in which he spoke of his great predecessor, whose death had silenced all recent cavils, and only recalled the triumphs and glories of her reign, he showed his disregard of her example—in guarding the honour of the English peerage only for the most deserving and celebrated of her subjects—by lavishing titles on dozens at a time, including in the list his hungry and grasping followers, who had shown no quality except the attachment to their native sovereign, which made them forsake the howling wilderness of their patrimonial domains for the rich estates with which they were presented in the different shires of England.

He now began to govern. He was an advocate for peace at any price, particularly if the price was to be paid into his exchequer; and as England had been a great support to the Netherlands in their noble insurrection against Philip, and James thought no insurrection justifiable on any provocation, both parties were encouraged to approach him. Henry IV. of France and the Hollanders sent over to request his continued aid, and bribed in a very handsome manner to obtain their end. Philip III., however, had not the dogged obstinacy of his father, and sent over an ambassador to patch up

an agreement between him and his revolted subjects, under the mediation of James, and in a few months the king looked with pride on the motto he had chosen for the royal arms, "Blessed are the Peacemakers." The independence of the Provinces was virtually acknowledged, and Spain continued the downward course which threw her helpless at the feet of the blood-stained Inquisition, denuded her realm of the vigour and genius of the Moors and Hebrews, and the spirit and enterprise of the Dutch, leaving her, nearly to the present day, the impotent victim of ignorance and pride.

§ 3. But affairs were not so peaceful at home. James had been so disgusted by the aggressive insolence of the Presbyterian leaders in his old dominion, that he had held out hopes to the Catholics of a leaning to their cause. On finding, however, that the English Church, though as much opposed as himself to the levelling and republican tendencies of Geneva, was equally hostile to the arrogance and the doctrines of Rome, he gave public marks of his adhesion to the strongest side, and issued edicts against all manner of dissenters, whether Calvinist or Popish. Toleration was formally disavowed, and an internecine war seemed impending.

Puritans and Catholics joined in a plot to get quit of the present order in Church and State, each sect determining to exterminate the other, when their common enemy was overthrown. The king was to be seized, the government altered, and freedom of conscience proclaimed. Two plots indeed were in hand at the same time, connected by the participation of certain persons in both, but with different objects, and by a different proceeding.

§ 4. The one called the Main was chiefly political; the other called the Bye was chiefly religious. The principal parties to the Bye were priests who had despaired of regaining the ascendancy they once had held. They were tried and executed. The Main was of greater consequence, for its leaders were men, like Lords Cobham and Grey and Sir Walter

Raleigh, whose rank and character gave weight to all their acts. It came out on the trial, that the king was to be displaced, if not killed, and the Lady Arabella Stuart elevated to the throne. This unhappy lady stood on the same descent from Margaret of England (through her second husband, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus,) as the king himself, (through her first husband, James IV.) The accusations were so exorbitant, that it is permissible to doubt the extent of the prisoners' guilt—bribery, murder, treason, the subversion of the government, and submission to Spain, were laid to their charge. Cobham, a coward and traitor of the basest kind, swore whatever was required against his confederates, but would not face his great victim, Raleigh, who demanded to be confronted with his accuser. "If you proceed to condemn me," he said, "upon bare inferences, upon a paper accusation, you try me by the Spanish Inquisition." But nothing could bring the trembling Cobham before that terrible countenance and eloquent tongue which overawed the judges themselves. He was found guilty in spite of all; and even in the midst of the admiration excited by his great talent and courageous bearing, the spectators remembered how bitterly he had persecuted their favourite Essex, and glutted his revenge by watching him on the scaffold. Raleigh was sentenced to death. Grey and Cobham were also condemned; the one having gained the respect of the public by his dignified and satisfactory defence, the other its contempt and abhorrence by the greatest meanness ever exhibited by a slave. But James was naturally pleased with a poltroon, and determined to save Cobham's life.

But how was this to be done without pardoning the rest? The royal ingenuity was never at fault when an exhibition of power was to be made; and the strangest and most heartless treatment of prisoners which ever occurred in our annals took place on this occasion. Raleigh was placed at his window in the Tower, which commanded a view of the scaffold. It was

Friday morning, and he was to die on the following Monday. First he saw George Markham, one of his confederates, led up to the block, and when preparations had been made for his death, he was led away again, and there was silent expectation in the crowd for an hour or two. Lord Grey then made his appearance, and sustained the character for manly self-command he had won at the trial. He prayed, and said farewell to his friends; and when thus the bitterness of death was past, and he was about to lay his head upon the block, a movement took place among the spectators, and he also was led away. Lastly, Lord Cobham was brought forth, and with brazen audacity, which could only arise from a knowledge of what was to happen, reiterated his accusations of Raleigh and his friends, and affected to seal the faith of his words with his blood. But again the crowd was moved, and Markham and Grey were brought back. Face to face they gazed on each other, each surprised to find the other alive. Shouts now rent the air; hats were thrown up, and joyous acclamations sounded from the hill, and were echoed all through the city, for a messenger had appeared with the royal mercy, and the shameless cruelty of playing with men's feelings in such awful circumstances was lost in the delight at their deliverance; from which we may conclude that very few people believed in the plot. Raleigh was reprieved along with the others, but old enmity rankled in James's heart, for the interest of Raleigh had been employed against him when he used to be knocking humbly as a poor kinsman at Elizabeth's door. It was a reprieve, and not a pardon, as we shall find in a few years.

§ 5. But the Puritan party was strong and resolute. In spite of the discredit thrown on it by the participation of one of its leaders, Lord Grey, in "The Main," it pursued its course, and endeavoured to obtain greater freedom in the ministrations of the Church than the chiefs of the Establishment would allow. We are to remember that the remonstrances against

Romanizing tendencies in ceremony and doctrine were made, not by avowed dissenters, of whom there were none recognised in the country, but by ministers of the Church. Much intercourse had been kept up between the Reformers of the two kingdoms, and the spirit of Knox had been infused into the milder and more comprehensive scheme of Cranmer. James had had quite enough of Knox and his followers in the days of his comparative helplessness at Holyrood. He would have no such pestilent preachers, of what he thought sedition and insult, in his chambers at Windsor. He would also show them that he could argue as well as rule, and he looked forward with pleasure to a Conference between the parties, which had been settled to take place at Hampton Court.

It is a very observable event, for it was the commencement of the persecutions which ended in a disruption of the Church and the overthrow of the monarchy. A petition had been presented by nearly a thousand clergymen, in which they stated their requests. These were now renewed by their spokesmen at the Conference, and included, A Revision of the Book of Common Prayer, the Abolition of the Surplice in reading, of the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, and of bowing at the name of Jesus; they denied the validity of baptism administered by women, and the necessity of signing the Articles. They required, also, the omission of the Lessons from the Apocrypha, and ended by desiring a reform in the distribution of Church patronage, and the abolition of pluralities. James presided with all the pomp of royalty. He was surrounded by bishops and deans, and attended by his Court. The opportunity was too tempting to be resisted, and he showed himself the most powerful of arguers and the best of Churchmen by browbeating the four representatives of the recusants, who were the professors of divinity in both universities; and having roared, and joked, and expounded a chapter of Ecclesiasticus, and told the

erudite Dr. Reynolds that a schoolboy who answered no better would certainly have been flogged, he ended by saying that uniformity should be enforced under pain of banishment, or worse; and the gratitude of the episcopal band could no longer be restrained. One bishop threw himself on his knees, and blasphemously declared that such a divinely inspired king had not been seen since Christ. The chancellor exceeded the bishop in his fulsome praise. The courtiers laughed at the wit, and stood open-mouthed at the argument, and the discomfited Puritans withdrew. "I peppered them soundly," said the triumphant polemic, who had loosened the first stone of the Church, and laid the first beam of his son's scaffold; "they fled before me from argument to argument like schoolboys."

§ 6. Persecution began, which, except in the absence of fire and rope, was as fierce as bloody Mary's. Spies wormed their way into conventicles and prayer-meetings; preachers without a licence were thrown into prison; three hundred rectors and vicars were turned out of their livings; fines and dungeons were the fate of all who resisted the law; and already the awful lessons of the Old Testament were conned over with ominous admiration. Men driven from house and home, despised and insulted by persons whom they considered worse than heathens or idolators, found consolation in the denunciations of evil-doers and the promises of revenge held forth to the people of God. Samuel was a Puritan divine, and Agag lived at Whitehall.

Having thus embroiled himself with one of the orders of the State, he next showed his arbitrary spirit in his treatment of Parliament. His powerful predecessors had shown great skill, as we have said, in their management of the popular assembly. They treated it with respect, and increased its apparent influence in order to turn it to their own advantage. If Elizabeth interfered at an election, it was secretly; if there was any bribery or intimidation, it was denied with the same

affectation of abhorrence as at the present time; but James published a proclamation telling his people what sort of men to return. If any person was nominated contrary to his instructions, the borough was to be fined, and the member sent to gaol. Parliament deserved a good deal of contempt for its remissness of late years, but this was too much. The pride of city and county revolted against this dictation, and Puritans and Presbyterians were returned in great numbers. The first session was passed in disputes. The king made no secret of his belief in his own perfect supremacy over Lords and Commons. The Commons, unaccustomed to such language from sovereigns they had feared and respected, assumed at last the duty of champions of the nation. "Your majesty would be misinformed," they said, "if any man should deliver that the kings of England have any absolute power in themselves either to alter religion, or make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than as in temporal causes, by consent of Parliament."

§ 7. The laws against the Catholics were not in the slightest degree relaxed during these destructive onslaughts on the Puritans. The Church, which had been originally set apart as a neutral ground, was now a strong-walled battery firing against both. The assault became more furious as the cannonade was more fatal, and at last the patience of the Papists could stand no more. In the midst of hunting and feasting, in which James's time was principally spent, the great event happened which is commemorated in our annals as the Gunpowder Plot—a proof at once of the inefficacy and brutalizing effects of penal restrictions on religious beliefs.

The peculiarity of this dreadful deed was that the parties concerned in it were gentlemen of birth and station. It was no base combination of lawless ruffians hired for the perpetration of a wrong. High-minded men, elegant in manner, refined in intellect, were so carried away by the feelings of

vengeance and the perverted casuistry of their Church, that they saw no crime in destroying by one terrible explosion the king, lords, and commons who had been so hostile to their faith.

The circumstances are well known. Catesby, Winter, and Guido, or Guy Fawkes, were all fanatical supporters of the highest claims of Rome. They were soldiers by profession, and celebrated for firmness and courage. A Percy, of the Northumberland family, joined them, and Wright, a connexion of the same great race by marriage. After many meetings and much consultation, a house was hired by Percy—who was a Gentleman Usher of the Court—abutting on the Houses of Parliament, and a hole was resolved on from the back buildings into the vaults under the great chamber of the Lords, where the king was to open the session, and where the whole House of Commons would be assembled. Interrupted more than once by prorogations and other incidents, they never faltered in their purpose, and having at length, with great labour, effected a communication, and filled the cellar with gunpowder-casks, it was resolved that Fawkes, the most resolute of the party, should fire the train on the 5th of November, and effect his escape, if possible, before it reached the barrels; if not, he was quite ready to die in so holy a cause.

But one of them had a friend in the House of Lords whom he was anxious to save. He wrote a mysterious note to Lord Monteagle, warning him not to attend the opening ceremony. Monteagle was puzzled, and showed it to others; at last it reached the king. James had a natural talent for unravelling plots; he smelt them out even where they did not exist, and had therefore no difficulty in following the scent on the present occasion. The cellars were searched, and there, gloomy and firm, they found Guy Fawkes, match in hand, watching for the expected signal. Tortures were applied. Fawkes named his confederates, and among them people were shocked to hear of such men as the young and wealthy Sir Everard

Digby, Rookwood of Coldham, and Tresham, the writer of the warning to Lord Monteagle. The conspirators had taken flight, and found their way to Warwickshire, where there was a meeting of Catholic gentlemen anxiously waiting for the event. They had collected at the house of Sir Everard Digby under pretence of a hunting party on Dunsmoor. The first glance at Rookwood's face revealed the dreadful truth. They were all doomed men, and must fly for their lives. The meeting dispersed, and Catesby, Digby, and four or five more took horse and made for Wales, where they expected the Catholics to rise. They were followed by the sheriff and his men. The house they were in at Holbeach, in Staffordshire, was surrounded. Preferring immediate death to the lingering agonies of an execution, they presented themselves to their besiegers at the windows, and were shot. Some few appeared, sword in hand, at the door, and the house was set on fire. Rookwood, severely wounded, Digby, Littleton, and Winter were taken prisoners, and carried to London; Tresham was arrested in the City; and the plot was at an end.

✓ Priests, and particularly the Jesuits Garnet and Greenway, were suspected of guilty knowledge, if not of more; but the faithfulness of all except Tresham, and Bates, the servant of Catesby,—the only one of ignoble blood concerned in the plan,—was proof against every means used to make them implicate their spiritual guides. The traitors confessed the priests' participation in this and other treasons, the weight, however, of Tresham's revelation being diminished by a retraction of it on his death-bed a few days after; but enough was proved to embitter a hundredfold the national enmity to the old religion. Even the Puritans, subdued and persecuted themselves, urged on more furious laws against the Catholics. The tortured death of all the survivors did not awaken the pity of a single Protestant heart; the crime was too great, the meditated slaughter too remorseless, and the consequences of success in their plans too appalling, to permit any senti-

ment but horror; and even the merit they claimed as zealous and obedient sons of the only true Church was an addition to the hatefulness of their crime. The king and parliament were therefore left at liberty, as far as public opinion went, to trample on the Catholics as they chose. Parliament, accordingly, passed sanguinary laws against the preachers of murder and rebellion, and James imposed fines upon the wealthy Romanists, to the great enlargement of his income. He levied a penalty on the Earl of Northumberland of thirty thousand pounds, principally because he was chief of the family to which Percy the conspirator belonged; and having enriched himself with the spoil, and claimed all the glory of discovering the plot, he ordered a Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for his providential escape, which has defaced the Prayer-book by blasphemy and injustice for two hundred and fifty-four years, having only been authoritatively disused in 1859.

There was great interest felt in the examination of Garnet the Jesuit, as he was expected to make revelations compromising many who were still unsuspected. His talents and acquirements also made him a peculiar object of curiosity, and his "skill of fence" at his trial, though it could not save him from the savage insolence of Coke, gained him the admiration of the king. Nothing was legally proved, beyond his guilty knowledge of the plot, which he said he had obtained under the seal of confession; he had also told the conspirators that for great and useful objects it was lawful to put some innocent persons to death along with the guilty. He was condemned and executed with several other Catholics, clerical and lay, and the Romish Church took its usual revenge by converting a victim of the law into a martyr of the faith. Garnet was canonized as a saint, and was as busy after his death in working miracles as he had been during his life in organizing plots. James had now time to bring forward his scheme for the union of his two kingdoms, which, though supported by the wisdom and eloquence of Bacon, was rendered impossible at that time

by the mutual hatred of the peoples. He had to rest contented therefore with the glory, which is no slight one, of presenting his realm to the eyes of foreigners under the name of Great Britain, and showed by this change of title that, though the Scot detested the Englishman and the Englishman despised the Scot, those family disagreements did not prevent their combination against France or Spain.

§ 8. A kind of compromise seemed after this to be entered into between James and the House of Commons. The king was allowed to bluster, and the Parliament increased its power. There was a long period of internal peace; for prosperity was widely spread over the land. A disturbance indeed took place in the midland counties, where the persons, to whom the forfeited lands of the gunpowder conspirators were conveyed, alarmed the peasantry by encroachments on their rights of common. They enclosed the wastes of their estates, and divided their farms into fields. A band of "Levellers" appeared; not earning that appellation by their desire to do away with the distinctions of rank and dignity, but to throw down the walls and fences. None of the gentry in the district would assist in dispersing these rioters by force; and the king in great alarm despatched soldiers to the spot, who re-established order with unnecessary violence; but with this exception the whole country was in repose.

§ 9. We will therefore take this opportunity of surveying the state of the population, and we shall see the good effects of many of the measures of former rulers which at the time appeared harsh and arbitrary.

The feudal castle had disappeared—a blessed change on everything but the landscape, when you remember the means by which its walls had been built and sustained. A new style of architecture represented a new state of manners. The Tudor mansions were intended for the occupation of peaceful subjects, and no longer frowned on the surrounding country with towers and portcullises. They had spacious dining-halls

and stately drawing-rooms, with the jousting-ground of the old fortalice turned into an orchard, while the moat was filled up and converted into a bowling-green. The rich territorial families lived with a rough hospitality and liberal bestowal of food and liquor, which more than compensated for the routine distribution of bread and victuals at the monastery door. This hospitality indeed was scarcely a virtue, since it arose from the necessity of their position. Their ancestors had been presented with abbey lands, and the growth of agriculture and population had converted those neglected territories into smiling farms. Money, however, was still scarce, and the squire was paid in a great measure in produce. Instead of a cheque on a bank, or a purse filled with sovereigns, the tenant drove forty oxen and a hundred waggons of grain to the "place." What the butcher and the corn-chandler of the nearest market did not take, was forced to be consumed upon the spot, and vast were the sirloins, and gigantic the puddings, and foaming the tankards of ale, which kept up a perpetual festival in the hall. The wives and daughters had little taste for books, and, in fact, found a difficulty in deciphering the few volumes they had. But they were wonderful housewives, and spent the hours in the still-room and pastry-cupboard which are now devoted to the piano. Then they rode and walked, and never had headaches or faints, but visited the village, and attended to the sick, getting up at five in the morning, breakfasting at six, dining at twelve, having a slight collation at four, and winding up with a hot supper and spiced wine at eight, and so to bed. Not a very intellectual life, but fit for the sisters of the Raleighs and Sidneys, and mothers of the Hampdens and Cromwells, who were already boys at school.

Lower down, plenty and coarseness were the characteristics still. The yeomen had learned to be afraid of no one, and pulled off his hat to a lord without losing a particle of self-respect. The peasantry themselves had plenty to eat, and

labour was abundant in the perpetual spread of cultivation. Under these circumstances, as at present in the unexhausted plains of America, poverty was considered a crime, and as it was in truth only another name for idleness or dissipation, it is a waste of indignation to be angry with Henry or Elizabeth for their terrible decrees against beggary and theft. It took a long time to deprive mendicancy of the sort of respectability it had possessed so long, by being an institution of the Romish Church. Begging friars had paved the way for blind fiddlers and helpless cripples. A poor-law had been established by Elizabeth to meet the necessities of illness or unavoidable want of work, but the primal doom—which is not a curse, but a blessing of incalculable price—that man should live by the sweat of his brow, was rigorously enforced; and we may sum up this view by saying, that all inquirers are agreed that in mere physical well-being the inhabitants of this country had never less to complain of.

But the very comfort of their situation gave them time and opportunity for reflection. Easiness of fortune enabled them to mix more with each other and with strangers than they had hitherto done. The effort made, almost without the cognizance of the multitude, to free them from an oppressive and ignorance-loving priesthood, had borne its fruits in calling their attention to the articles in dispute. They could reason and attend to argument; and perhaps the endeavour made by the king and the bishops to avoid shocking the feelings of the Catholics indisposed the majority of the half-informed towards a Church which showed such a lukewarm opposition to forms in themselves of no consequence, but which grew in importance in proportion to the zeal and passions of the parties who objected or adhered to them.

§ 10. The Church of England was not yet a learned Church, nor even a Church of an ordinary standard of education. Its ministers were entirely from the humbler classes of the people, and their emoluments, unsupported by private

fortunes, were scarcely sufficient for their maintenance. Many of them exercised trades and handicrafts to eke out a scanty living, and thatched houses, or made shoes, or kept beershops in the parishes where they were to preach the Gospel. The lay impropiators, who had been bribed into acquiescence by the tithes originally belonging to conventual establishments, took little interest in the welfare of the working vicar, who was paid with a sum not equal to fifteen pounds a year of our present money. Only the very poor or the very zealous, therefore, fought their way to the pulpit. The king and courtiers had no knowledge of the clergy, except through the bishops, who preserved a great portion of the state of their popish predecessors, and the eloquent or influential preachers of London, who hoped in time to rise to the episcopal bench ; and from those interested persons received such a description of the tenets and principles of the Church as showed it to be servile to wealth and slavishly submissive to power ; but our poor friends the curates and vicars in the country, toiling to maintain their families, and unable to study Church history, or decide on Latin controversies, when their attention was required to the more immediate task of finding funds to pay for a new coat, were filled with very different sentiments, both in religion and politics, and became bitter polemics and discontented men.

§ 11. But poverty in the parson, insolence in the courtier, and a blundering love of tyranny in the king, could not repress the natural jollity of a strong-nerved, well-fed population ; and the village wakes, and annual fairs, and Jack-in-the-green continued in all their glory. Even Calvinism was strictly an intellectual exercise, and relaxed amazingly over "lamb's wool" and March ale. It also shot at the butts, and placed its arrow in the bull's-eye, as if it had been Erastianism of the most earthly kind. Cudgel-playing, single-stick, and other games, were so much in vogue, that it was thought a compliment to an Archbishop of Canterbury

when it was said he was a learned prelate and an excellent player at foot-ball. It must have been a merrier land than now, though the pleasures were unrefined, and many of them brutalizing and inhuman. Bear-bating, badger-drawing, and cock-fighting were the recreations of court and town, of lord and lady. Horse-racing, however, was the favourite diversion of high and low—of ranting Presbyterian as of High Churchman. In favour of this national pastime the heart of the Puritan relented, and on the race-course the differences of creed were forgotten. Our taste for many of these manly sports is as strong as ever, with fewer drawbacks to their enjoyment. Theatres, concert-rooms, lecture-halls dispute the palm with them in our crowded cities, but the healthful out-door play will never lose its relish with the great body of our countrymen. The new occupation furnished by rifle clubs will supply the place of the old contests with the six-foot bow; and the vulgar and dangerous quarter-staff and wrestling will continue banished in favour of equally exciting and more amicable trials of skill. In spite of hostile fleets and threatening armies, the liberty of this country will never be endangered while its youth and manhood continue devoted to open-air amusement. While our gentry are the best sportsmen, and our lads the best cricketers in Europe, there will be no lack of Trafalgars and Waterloos if ever the opportunity for them should arise.

§ 12. But the course of events was precipitated by the death of the High Church Bancroft, and the elevation of George Abbot, a Calvinistic divine, to the See of Canterbury. The more serious portion of the clergy had now a friend at the head of the Establishment, and did not despair of introducing great reformatations into the Church without destroying it altogether. At that time the scheme might have been successful, but with so impracticable a sovereign as James it was found that the influence given to the Puritans by the episcopate of their patron only added to their power without

softening their feelings. They held Church livings and advocated dissenting views ; little foreseeing a time when dissent would be openly professed without the necessity of ceasing to preach the Gospel, and every variety of religious opinion could find a pulpit open for its dissemination, without the sacrifice of an honourable profession on the one hand, or the meanness of an unwilling conformity on the other. Almost at the same time with the promotion of a zealous Puritan to the primacy appeared the present authorized translation of the Bible—a work for ever to be valued as the highest and best in the English tongue, for it not only spread a knowledge of the truth throughout the length and breadth of the land at its first publication, but has continued ever since the noblest specimen of our Saxon language, and furnished the surest protection against its corruption by the reverence that has gathered round its glorious revelations and the melodious grandeur of its words.

§ 13. Shortly after this commenced a period of favouritism and injustice, for a parallel to which we must go back to the times of Edward II. and Richard II. James should have reflected on the dungeons of Berkeley and Pontefract when he devoted himself to his Carrs and Buckinghams. Carr was a Scottish adventurer, who owed his promotion to the beauty of his face and figure. He was loaded with wealth and honours, and was soon Lord Chamberlain and Viscount Rochester, with all the Royal influence in his hands. While this unprincipled minion was fawned on by the king, the fate of the Lady Arabella Stuart moved the compassion of the people. She was too near the throne, and had already played too prominent a part in Raleigh's plot, to be looked on without anxiety ; and when it was found that she had privately given her hand to William Seymour, second son of Lord Beauchamp, and almost her equal in rank by his descent from Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, the sister of Henry VIII., the wrath of the timid genealogist knew no bounds. If a

child should arise from their union combining the claims of both the parents, he was afraid his own sons, Henry and Charles, might be exposed to trouble; and to prevent so great a calamity, he imprisoned the fair culprit and her husband in separate houses. By disguising in man's apparel, Arabella effected her escape; Seymour also broke away, and they had appointed a meeting-place abroad. The boat conveying Arabella was taken at sea. She was brought back, locked up, neglected, and harshly used. No interference in her favour was of any avail, and finally, James rejoiced in the conclusion brought to his unfounded apprehensions by the insanity and death of a kinswoman as beautiful and as unfortunate as his mother herself had been.

§ 14. Henry, the Prince of Wales, was of nobler qualities than either his father or brother, if the early manifestations of his character are to be believed. Brave, ambitious, and generous, he attached many friends to his person, and cast the whole nation into sorrow when he died in his nineteenth year—the High Church party looking forward to a reign of enterprise and war from the martial tastes he showed even in his amusements, and the Puritans anticipating a reign of reform and vigour from the strong Protestantism of his expressions and the regularity and sobriety of his life. In a few months after this gloomy event, the Princess Elizabeth was married to the Prince Palatine of the Rhine; and the Court was saddened by the absence of so much grace and beauty, not without some misgivings of the dark fortune through which she had to pass, as the neglected daughter of England and throneless Queen of Bohemia. Charles was now the hope of the nation, and the father began to look about for a fitting match for the inheritor of his crown. First, however, he was to be the go-between in a love adventure of his creature Carr, now Viscount Rochester, which leaves an indelible stain on all the parties concerned.

§ 15. A dishonourable affection sprang up between Ro-

chester and the beautiful wife of the young Earl of Essex, and the ambition of the guilty woman was directed to sharing the name and fortunes of the favourite. A plea was invented against the husband in order to obtain a divorce, and the advocacy of the king was secured by a fee of twenty-five thousand pounds. James argued and canvassed, brow-beat the bishops composing the court of inquiry, and threatened Abbot, who refused his consent, with the weight of his displeasure. The majority were won over, and sentence of separation was pronounced. But Rochester had a friend of the name of Sir Thomas Overbury, who strongly dissuaded him from marrying the divorced countess; and when he confided this opposition to his bride, the evil nature of her heart was roused to madness. She vowed the death of Overbury, and before the celebration of her wedding made interest to have him imprisoned in the Tower. She attempted to bribe a good swordsman to slay him in a duel; she then took the surer way of poison, and Overbury was found dead in his room. Meantime the king celebrated the marriage with royal pomp, created Viscount Rochester Earl of Somerset, and seemed to be glad of Overbury's end, as delivering him from a rival in the new earl's regard.

§ 16. Infamy in the Court was accompanied by outrages in Church and State. Arians were burnt to prove the king's Christian zeal, and the Parliament was harshly used and then contumeliously dismissed, to show his divine right. Every expedient was adopted to replenish the exchequer when the House of Commons had been so grossly insulted by the arrest of some of the opposition members as to be in no humour to grant any more taxes. He sold all the offices of the law and of the government. He debased the coin, and had recourse to some obsolete feudal obligations, such as aids and benevolences. He released Sir Walter Raleigh from his tedious imprisonment, not out of admiration of his genius or pity for his sufferings, but to enable him to lead an expedition to the

coast of America, from which he promised to bring back great store of jewels and gold; and having displayed his eloquence and learning in controversial pamphlets, where he overthrew the arguments of some Dutch sectaries, and royal advices to the Provinces to lose no time in having his adversaries burnt, he would have fallen back with undiminished satisfaction on his drinking bout at Whitehall and huntings at Theobalds, if he had not been disturbed by the change that had taken place in his favourite.

§ 17. From the day of Overbury's death Somerset seemed a miserable man. Cold-eyed and stern-browed the guilty couple looked upon each other; and no one, in the haggard and pale Somerset, could have recognised the gay and graceful Carr, nor in the brazen and yet subdued partner of his crime, the bright and fascinating Frances Howard. Remorse was at work, and made wreck of their happiness and beauty. Nobody, however, would whisper the dark suspicion to the king till it began to be perceived that Somerset's influence was on the wane.

§ 18. One day there appeared at Whitehall a youth of surpassing beauty, whose education in the highest circles of France had given a polish to his manners and motions unknown in the English Court. His name was George Villiers, the youngest son of a good but impoverished family in Leicestershire, and the cunning politicians who had brought him to London, and had schooled him in his behaviour on his presentation, saw that the plan was successful, and that Somerset was in their power. Villiers, by his wit and liveliness, completed the impression his external advantages had made, and in a few days he was cup-bearer, gentleman of the privy chamber, and knight, with a salary of a thousand a year.

§ 19. Somerset and his wife were accused of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury as soon as Villiers was installed. Their accomplices were examined and tortured. One of these, a

beautiful woman of the name of Turner, was a dealer in love philtres to gain the affections; and another, Dr. Forman, an astrologer, who foretold the future by the stars. The philtres had degenerated into poison, and Mrs. Turner was hanged; but her services had been so valuable to the leaders of fashion in that most base and depraved period of our history, that many ladies of the highest rank attended her execution in token of regard. Others of the inferior culprits underwent the same fate; and expectation was on tiptoe for the trial of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, by whose orders the crime had been committed. Some inexplicable reason urged the king to avoid the publicity of a legal process. He promised them pardon, life, and riches if they would only confess, and put an end to all further inquiry. But Somerset was firm, and dared the king to proceed. A compromise was at last arranged, by which the prisoners were to appear, sentence was to be pronounced, and the royal pardon instantly bestowed. Somerset, however, took the double chance of pleading "not guilty," but was unanimously condemned. He abstained from any attack on James, and was rewarded with a retiring allowance of four thousand pounds a year, spending the rest of his life in the hateful company of his accomplice and regrets for his fallen estate.

§ 20. The new favourite rode in on the top of the flood. He was made Earl and Marquis of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral of England, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chief Justice in Eyre, High Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor Castle. All his kindred were provided for in the same extravagant manner. The patronage of Church and State was put into their hands, and bishops, judges, lords, baronets, and knights paid for the honour of their appointment. An earldom could be bought for ten thousand pounds, a baronetcy for one; and sometimes, when the greedy cabal were in want of money, or the king required an advance, a

wealthy commoner, who grudged a loan or gift, was condemned to the peerage, and fined in proportion to his fortune and his reluctance to change his name. A race was run in suberviency to the man the king delighted to honour, between Coke, the greatest of English lawyers, and Bacon, the greatest of human philosophers. When a quarrel, however, arose between them, the cunning and meanness of the wisest of mankind were found irresistible. Coke was dismissed from his office of Chief Justice, and Bacon became Lord Verulam and Lord Chancellor.

§ 21. Supported thus by the greatest pillars of learning and jurisprudence, the designs of Buckingham took a wider range. By the assertion of his superiority over Charles, now Prince of Wales, he had subdued that spiritless individual to follow his guidance in all things. He found the same success by bullying the son which flattery had obtained for him with the father; and after this, relying on the permanency of his power, even if his patron were to die, he affected the statesman as well as the wit and courtier, and began to take an interest in foreign affairs. Raleigh, who had been released from the Tower for the purpose of ransacking the wealth of the Spanish settlements in America, returned repulsed and unsuccessful. He had lost many men by climate and the enemy, and had brought home no diamonds nor moidores. The last was fatal, and the Spanish ambassador formally accused him of piracy and murder.

Piracy and murder, however, were not crimes at that time punishable with death, if committed at a sufficient distance from our own shores; but there were reasons of State for keeping on good terms with Spain, and Raleigh was the victim. James had long wished to obtain a Spanish princess for his son, and was only deterred from openly demanding the hand of a daughter of Philip III. by the Protestant prejudices of his subjects. It was an easy way of gaining favour to sacrifice an unsuccessful soldier, and as the sentence passed

on him at the beginning of the reign had been suspended only, and not reversed, the machinery of destruction was at hand, and the law was ordered to take its course. The accused pleaded in vain the lapse of time (fifteen years) and the grant of the late commission under which he commanded the king's ships, and represented the king's authority. So dignified an office was surely equivalent to a pardon; but the literal interpreters of the law decided that no pardon by implication held good in a case of treason; and Sir Walter Raleigh, in his sixty-sixth year, but with all the courage and vivacity of his former days, underwent the dreadful sentence; and Gondomar, the Spanish minister, was highly pleased.

§ 22. But other steps were to be taken to propitiate the Catholic king. Bohemia, by the votes of a majority, who consisted of Calvinistic reformers, had offered its throne to Frederick of the Rhine, the son-in-law of James; and the new sovereign, along with his fascinating queen, the Princess Elizabeth, had been crowned at Prague. All the remaining chivalry of England was aroused by the charms and position of the queen. Volunteers from all parts of the country flocked to her husband's standard, and the nation was ripe for great exertions in favour of a Protestant champion against the power of Rome, and Austria, and Spain. But James had risked his prophetic reputation on the failure of the popularly elected monarch, and was not sorry to see the fulfilment of his vaticination. He gave no assistance to his son-in-law, and entered into useless negotiations with the Catholic powers. These crafty princes were too well acquainted with the character of James to fear any active opposition on his part; but they were not so well acquainted with the disposition of the English people. Without wishing to mix themselves up in the internal affairs of other States, they perceived that civil liberty and religious progress were interwoven with the present struggle. If the Protestantism of Germany were crushed, the turn of England might come, and at last even

the cautious and despotic James was forced into a demonstration on behalf of his daughter's cause. But, by a compromise, he sent only four thousand men, whose assistance to Frederick was to be limited to his native and undoubted State, the Palatinate of the Rhine. He might be overpowered in his elective kingdom of Bohemia—for the king had foretold his fall—but within his ancient bounds he was safe. Four thousand men was not a large contingent when the great 'Thirty Years' War was on the point of breaking forth, but the effort forced on him by his people hurt James's feelings as a legitimate king, and exhausted his finances. He was obliged, therefore, to taste the humiliation of representative government once more, and, after an interval of six years, Parliament met.

§ 23. Monopolies were attacked, and some of the extortioners punished. James promised freedom of speech and opposition to Popery, but the rage of reformation went on. Many high officers were displaced and banished for malversation and fraud; judges and bishops were convicted of corruption; and at last the scrutiny of the Commons fell upon the loftiest rank and highest intellect in the land. Bacon, who was now Viscount St. Albans, was formally accused of the perversion of justice and greediness of bribes. Everything yielded to the stream. Bacon was timid and undignified, and threw himself on the mercy of the king and the Lords, obtaining a contemptuous forgiveness, after the loss of office and an imprisonment of a few days. But after purifying the public offices and seats of justice, the zeal of the Commons showed itself in increased severity against the Papists. Protestantism and the Palatinate had now become so connected in the national mind, that a Roman Catholic gentleman was fined and imprisoned for rejoicing at the defeat of the King and Queen of Bohemia. No obscure intimations were given of an inquiry into the proceedings connected with the intended alliance of the Prince of Wales with a Catholic princess, and one audacious voice had even mentioned the

favourite Buckingham as enriching himself with the wages of corruption. The bold parliament was prorogued, and then, in spite of the promise of freedom of debate, obnoxious members were seized and lodged in gaol; insulting letters were addressed by the royal pedant to the Speaker, reprimanding the House for its presumption; and the quarrel grew as the time of its re-assembling drew near.

At its meeting a great protest was drawn up, vindicating its right to unlimited discussion and interference with all national affairs. No member was to be drawn in question for anything said within the walls, except by the advice and with the consent of the Commons themselves, or on any private information conveyed to the king. This was entered on the books, and had all the weight of a resolution. James was wrathful beyond control. He prorogued the Parliament, tore out the entry with his own hand, sent the more prominent leaders to prison on different pretexts, and finally dissolved the refractory assemblage, whose actions gave clear indications of the momentous contests which were to come.

§ 24. One of the petitions of the late Parliament had been for a Protestant marriage of the Prince of Wales. But James was ambitious of an alliance with the throne of Castile, and prosecuted his son's suit at Madrid with all his power. He wrote—though very secretly—to the Pope, in hopes of moving his Holiness to grant a dispensation for the Infanta's union with a heretic, and urged his ambassador, Lord Bristol, to settle preliminaries at once. The affair might have been settled in time, but the impatience of Buckingham and his pupil could brook no delay. They started off on a secret expedition to Madrid, passing through Paris on their way, and at last found themselves at the Spanish court. There their reception was stately and magnificent. Feasts, bull-fights, assemblies, and illuminations—all proved the readiness of the bride's family to give her to the heir of England. She was so far betrothed,* that already she took the name and rank

of Princess of Wales. But Buckingham spoilt the negotiation by the madness of his vanity. He offended Castilian pride by his arrogance, and roused Spanish jealousy by his gallantries. He paid ostentatious attention to the Duchess Olivarez, the wife of the prime minister, and as he perceived a change in the manner of the court, he took his obedient master home, where his arrival was hailed as little less than a miracle; for it was not believed that the Spaniards would ever let so valuable a hostage out of their hands. Many excuses and subterfuges were employed to break off the match with the Infanta. But nothing was found so effectual as the demand for the restitution of the Palatinate to the king's son-in-law, as a preliminary to the marriage. Philip perceived the intention of the fickle bridegroom, and actively prepared for war. Lord Bristol came over in hot haste, and ventured in full parliament to throw the odium of the rupture with Spain on the favourite. The accusations were favourably received within the walls; and hopes of some change in his influence which had been so hurtful to the State and intolerable to themselves, began to spread among the members of the assembly when they saw him brought to bay by so respected an antagonist. But if he had been guilty of twice the number of follies and crimes, the nation would have pardoned him for them all, in consideration of his breaking off the Spanish match, and producing a quarrel with its hereditary foe. Trumpets sounded at Charing-cross, and a herald proclaimed war with Philip, amidst the acclamations of the people; and Buckingham was looked on as a patriot who regarded the interests of the Palatinate and the Protestant faith. On the strength of this fleeting popularity he denounced some of his personal enemies, and succeeded in getting one of them fined fifty thousand pounds. He protected his friends also, and the Commons, at his request, declined to prosecute the Lord-Keeper Williams, though the majority of the House were Puritans, and his lordship was a bishop.

§ 25. All men's minds were turned towards the affairs of the Continent, where Protestantism had entered on the fiery trial which lasted thirty years. Count Mansfeldt was carrying on a noble struggle in Germany, and Parliament gave him leave to raise twelve thousand soldiers to aid the Bohemian king, and seemed disposed to be liberal in its subsidies for the expenses of the war. The Prince of Wales, on the recommendation of Buckingham, applied for the hand of Henrietta Maria, the daughter of the gallant Henry IV., whom they had seen as they passed through Paris, and hoped by that alliance to secure the assistance of France. And while James was perplexed with his preparations for the wedding, and his dread of hostilities with Spain and the Empire—quarrelling even with Buckingham, and doubtful of the affection of Charles, eating like a famished hunter, and absorbing wine like a quicksand, quoting Latin like a schoolmaster, and delivering proverbs like Sancho Panza, he was seized with a combined fit of gout and tertian ague, and died at his hunting quarters at Theobalds, after a reign of twenty-two years, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

- 1603. Accession of James I. of Scotland.
- Conspiracy in favour of Lady Arabella Stuart, for which Lord Cobham and others were executed.
- 1603-4. Conference at Hampton Court between the Episcopal divines and the Puritans.
- A new translation of the Bible ordered.
- 1604. James first styled king of Great Britain.
- 1605-6. The gunpowder-plot discovered, and the conspirators executed.
- 1607. Hudson's Bay discovered by the navigator of that name.

A D.

- 1611. Authorized translation of the Bible published.
- The province of Ulster colonized by the English and Scotch, when the new title of Baronet commenced.
- 1618. Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh.
- 1621. Disagreements between the King and the Commons.
- 1623. Prince Charles and the Marquis of Buckingham proceed to Madrid to negotiate a match with the Infanta of Spain, but he afterwards marries Princess Henrietta of France.
- 1625. Death of James.

CHAPTER II.

CHARLES THE FIRST.

A.D. 1625 TO A.D. 1649.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XIII.; Louis XIV.

SPAIN.—Philip IV.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.—Ferdinand II.; Ferdinand III.

POPES.—Urban VIII.; Innocent X.

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- § 1. Accession of Charles I. The reign of favouritism continued.—
 § 2. Buckingham is sent to France, as special ambassador, to bring over Henrietta Maria as the affianced bride of Charles. Her character.—§ 3. Contentions between the Catholics and Protestants.—
 —Charles's treachery.—§ 4. Fruitless expedition against the Spaniards.—
 —§ 5. Buckingham's arrogant conduct.—§ 6. Charles calls a second Parliament. Impeachment of Buckingham. Contests between the king and the House of Commons. Charles dissolves Parliament.—
 § 7. Forced loans and other royal exactions. Popular invectives.—
 § 8. Charles and his assumed prerogative supported by the clergy and high churchmen.—§ 9. Buckingham's hatred of Cardinal Richelieu. Charles declares war against France. Expedition against the Isle of Rhé.—§ 10. Parliament is again assembled, when the "Petition of Right" is granted by Charles.—§ 11. Expedition against Rochelle. Buckingham assassinated by John Felton.—§ 12. Charles's arbitrary exactions. He claims tonnage and poundage for life.—
 § 13. Renewed struggles with Parliament. Arrest of its members. Wentworth and Archbishop Laud.—§ 14. Charles makes peace with France. Continental affairs. Religious contests. Atrocities at Magdeburg.—§ 15. Expedients to which the king is reduced for raising supplies.—§ 16. Dr. Leighton brought before the Star Chamber for writing a seditious pamphlet, and condemned to the pillory and mutilation. Punishment of Prynne. The mysterious word "thorough."—§ 17. Ship-money, and a standing army. Wentworth's arbitrary measures.—§ 18. Resistance to the collection of ship-money. John Hampden.—§ 19. The king's fruitless attempt to introduce episcopacy in Scotland.—§ 20. The Book of Sports. Reli-

gious contentions.—§ 21. Trial of Hampden.—§ 22. Decisions of the king's judges in favour of absolute monarchy. Resistance of the Scotch. The Covenant. Declaration against Episcopacy.—§ 23. War with Scotland.—§ 24. Destruction of the Spanish squadron at Dover by the Dutch.—§ 25. Charles summons a new Parliament for the purpose of raising supplies. Resistance of the Commons. Its dissolution, and imprisonment of some of its members.—§ 26. The Scotch invade England under General Leslie. The English troops routed.—§ 27. The "Long Parliament."—§ 28. Impeachment of Lord Strafford. His attainder and execution.—§ 29. Bold proceedings of the Commons. Abolition of the Star Chamber; high commission, monopolies, ship-money, and all relics of feudal servitude.—§ 30. The king's journey to Scotland.—§ 31. The Irish rebellion.—§ 32. Violent proceedings of the Commons. The Remonstrance. Impeachment of the bishops.—§ 33. The king's accusation of the five members.—§ 34. Revolutionary crisis. Commencement of the civil war. The Commons assume authority over the army.—§ 35. Sanguinary contests between the Royal and Parliamentary forces. Death of Hampden. Oliver Cromwell. His indomitable character. Battle of Newbury. Lord Falkland. § 36. Battle of Marston Moor, in which the royal forces are utterly defeated. Execution of Laud.—§ 37. Cromwell appointed commander of the parliamentary forces. The battle of Naseby, and flight of the king. His treacherous correspondence discovered.—§ 38. The victories of Montrose in the Highlands of Scotland. His cruelties. The king flies to the Scottish camp, closely pursued by the parliamentary troops. He is sold by the Scotch, and delivered up to the English Parliament.—§ 39. Attempt to arrest Cromwell. Mutiny in the army. The king flies to the Isle of Wight. His attempts to escape from Carisbrooke. Fearful state of parties.—§ 40. The House of Commons cleared by the military "Pride's Purge."—§ 41. Cromwell the undisputed master of the army. His great qualities.—§ 42. Proceedings of Parliament against the king. His trial, conviction, and execution.

§ 1. "THE evil that men do liveth after them," and the reign of favouritism, commenced by James, was continued under Charles. No excuse can be made for the affection of either father or son towards its unworthy object. Neither his actions nor his letters give any sign of intellect. His manners had grown coarse and overbearing; he was insultingly familiar in his address to the king and prince, even in the presence of punctilious Spaniards. Arrogance, indeed, had at one time carried him so far, that he gave Charles a box on the ear, and yet while he lived he was ruler of both kings and kingdom, and seemed to grow in power and influence to the last.

§ 2. Buckingham was sent over as special ambassador to bring Henrietta Maria home. Loaded with jewels on every part of his dress, and displaying the graces of person which had first captivated King James, the favourite was treated by the French ministry as if he were as omnipotent in Paris as in London. He acted up to the character he had displayed in Spain, and having made love in that country to the Duchess D'Olivarez, wife of the prime minister, he now professed a devoted admiration for the Queen of France. The famous Cardinal Richelieu was chief adviser of the Court, and very soon turned the insulting envoy out of the realm. Buckingham, cherishing a malice against the cardinal, which afterwards bore fatal fruits, brought his fair charge by solemn journeys to Dover. But the daughter of Henry of Navarre had courage and wit. She saw through the shallow charlatan before they were many days acquainted, and already resolved to free her husband from his degrading servitude to so base a minion. She was remarkably small in stature, with a light and flexible figure. Her eyes were piercing black; her face very sweet in its expression, unless when she frowned, and then her look was frightful. "I suppose nobody but a queen could put on such a scowl," said one of the attendants at court, when something had happened to displease her. But with her gaiety, her playfulness, and beauty, it was never doubted that she would have an easy victory over Buckingham. Charles, however, was of a sombre, saturnine disposition, unmoved by the airy graces of his French bride, and continued steadfast to his friend.

§ 3. A cloud fell on this reign at its very commencement. The queen was a Catholic, and brought over many priests who celebrated mass in the palace, in spite of Acts of Parliament forbidding such idolatrous services. Charles compromised by ordering the ceremonies of the Church to be strictly private; but shaved heads were hooted in the street; the memory of the Gunpowder Plot grew green again; and it was

soon discovered that Richelieu, instead of helping the Protestant cause in Germany, was preparing to crush the Protestants at home. A Huguenot leader, of the name of Soubise, had established himself in Rochelle, the head-quarters of the Reformed, and expected aid from his co-religionists in England. Richelieu also expected aid, in terms of the treaty concluded at the marriage. Ships were fitted out, and soldiers embarked. The word was given for Genoa, which then was held by the Spaniards and Austrians, and Parliament, which had voted money for the Protestant expedition, and the nation at large, which had heard with rapture of the departure of the fleet, learned with irrepressible indignation that the king and Buckingham had ordered the admiral to surrender the vessels for the use of Louis, and the men to be employed against the garrison of Rochelle. Treachery to his people, and sacrilege against his religion, was the immediate imputation thrown upon the king. The captains of the ships of war declined the degrading office; the sailors in great numbers deserted to the Huguenot defenders, and the reputation of Charles for truthfulness and honour received a check from which it never recovered.

§ 4. An effort was made to bury the memory of this expedition by the glories of a successful cruise against the Spaniards. Twice a-year the great treasure galleons came over to the mother country from the colonies in America. They brought cargoes of incalculable value—gold and precious stones and silver—and Buckingham was determined to fit out a strong force and intercept them on their way. Parliament, however, would have nothing more to do with maritime adventures, and would vote no money. But Charles, too surely remembering his father's lessons, believed that the royal prerogative placed him above the law, and ordered large sums to be raised by writs under the Privy Seal, with a promise of repayment. Ships at last were manned, and ten thousand soldiers embarked. Nobody knew their destination.

Landsmen who bribed and flattered Buckingham were appointed to the command. Transports were crowded, and fever broke out, killing hundreds every day. Ships ill steered and crews undisciplined, foundered when the wind began to blow. At last the coast of Spain was made, and a watch kept on Cadiz harbour. The troops were not landed, but pined and sickened on board, and still no appearance of the expected prize. Tired of useless watching, and utterly prostrated by weakness and disaffection, the whole squadron steered for the north, and in two days more the treasure vessels, which had kept close in upon the African coast, sailed triumphantly along the shores of Spain, and deposited their cargoes safe on Cadiz quay.

§ 5. No inquiry was made into the causes of failure. The favourite would permit no trial, but all men knew whose fault it was, and marvelled more and more at the infatuation of the king. At this time, indeed, Charles appears to have had no will of his own. He neglected his wife, and allowed Buckingham to insult her unavenged. To gain credit with the people for Protestant feelings, but principally to show his spite to Henrietta Maria, the favourite induced the king to send away many of the priests and other Catholic attendants who had accompanied her from Paris. He went over to the Dutch and pawned the crown jewels, entering into alliances with the Provinces; and Richelieu saw that the wrath of the vain courtier was unappeasable, and that war was probably at hand. Popish lords and gentlemen were debarred from having arms in their houses, and fined for non-attendance at church; great zeal was manifested for the Protestant cause, and, finally, a Parliament was called. It was considered that the favourite's name would not be in such bad odour after such vigorous persecution of the Catholics, and, to make the assurance greater, the king hit upon the ingenious device of keeping seven of his most declared enemies from their seats, by nominating them sheriffs for the year.

§ 6. But nothing availed to melt the stubborn hearts of the holders of the purse. Charles told them they were the creatures of his will; he could summon or dismiss them as he chose, and therefore would have no interference with his choice of servants or management of affairs. This was his second Parliament within twelve months; the first he had dismissed with disgrace within a few days of its assemblage. To prevent a similar catastrophe, the Commons hurried on their complaints. They protested against the late expeditions, their failure, and expense both of life and money; and at last impeached the master evil of all at the bar of the House of Lords. Impeachments were terrible things in those days, and generally ended in the scaffold on Tower Hill. Charles was in despair; for the very existence of Buckingham was in danger. He tried to soothe or frighten the Lords, but they stood firm, and received the accusation.

The articles of impeachment were stated by several of the members, the leaders being Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot. Charles was offended equally with some of their accusations and their mode of urging them. Buckingham was accused of administering a posset, by the hands of his mother, to the late king, and was called a modern Sejanus. Now, Sejanus was the unprincipled minister of Tiberius, the worst of the Roman emperors, and the classical allusion was a stab to Charles. "By calling Buckingham Sejanus," he said, "they make me out to be Tiberius; by allusion to a posset given to my father, they imply that I am a parricide." And, in an excess of pride and fury, he sent to the House of Commons, summoned the obnoxious members, as if on private business, and, on their appearance, had them seized and carried to the Tower, announcing that their crime was high treason. An outcry arose in the House. This was assaulting their dearest privilege, and overthrowing the first principles of freedom. Charles, weakly angry, was weakly submissive. The incarcerated members were restored, and the king henceforth

hated Parliaments, and Parliaments distrusted and despised the king.

Nothing was done on any consistent principle. Charles agreed to the impeachment of the duke, and while it hung over his head forced him upon the authorities of Oxford as Chancellor of the University. Accepting the long-recognised axiom that a redress of grievances preceded a vote of the supplies, he yet sent his imperative order to the Commons to grant him his demands of subsidies and taxes, to the exclusion of other business, especially the impeachment of his friend. The Commons went on with their accusation, and declined to grant any money till the cause was decided. Charles, again losing temper, and urged by Buckingham himself, who saw no other escape, dissolved Parliament in a hurry. The Lords implored the delay of a few days. "No, not a minute!" said the king, and Buckingham was saved.

§ 7. Prerogative was now on its trial, in opposition to legal government. Forced loans were commanded. Rich and poor were ordered to contribute on the security of the subsidies hereafter to be granted. If the rich refused, they were fined and imprisoned; if the poorer sort, such as small tradesmen and artisans, declined to pay, they were sent to serve on board the fleet as common sailors. Among the first who pined in the gaols, were Sir John Eliot, John Hampden, and Thomas Wentworth; among the second class who were condemned to the then hopeless slavery of a man-of-war, or the army ranks, were several respectable citizens of London. Voices were heard on both sides which would have given pause to Buckingham and Charles if they had been wiser men. The mobs of the great cities shouted "Parliament! Parliament!—no Parliament, no money!" The High Church party, headed by Laud, who had recently been made Bishop of Bath and Wells, uttered the more dangerous cry of "No Parliament!—we will have an absolute king. Everything is his: our lives and fortunes!" Meanwhile, we are to remember that in remoter

districts the spirit of theological discussion was at work. The Church, by the insane conduct of her chiefs, had changed her position since the time of the Armada, and, instead of being the symbol and rallying cry of civil and religious freedom, had become the main support and embodiment of despotism. To be a churchman was to be an enemy to constitutional government. The Thirty-nine Articles had repealed Magna Charta.

§ 8. Clergymen preaching absolute obedience were sure of reward. The late Parliament had protested against some divines, who had brought a verse of Ecclesiasticus to justify the arbitrary taxation of Charles Stuart, and they were made bishops by the grateful king. Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to license the publication of the slavish sermons, and he was suspended from his office, and confined to his country-house. Every day the question became more broadly stated on either side, and before the king was three years on the throne every one understood that the struggle was, whether we were to live under a limited monarchy or as absolute a government as had ever existed in Rome.

§ 9. Buckingham never forgave an insult or even a disappointment. Prevented by Richelieu from renewing his visit to Paris, he resolved to aid the enemies of "that old fox," and, to complete the terror of his antagonist, determined to command a warlike expedition in person. But a gentleman may dance with the most astonishing skill, and not be able to direct an army in the field. He landed on the Isle of Rhé, near Rochelle, and was speedily surprised and forced to re-embark. The Huguenot cause was ruined by this ineffectual aid. English reputation suffered for every quality except courage. All parties agreed that the rashness, the want of plan, the neglect of every rule of art, were attributable to Buckingham, and he had nothing to console him in his disgrace and unpopularity but the letters of his unalterable admirer, the king, who assured him his military genius was

extraordinary, and that he had carried himself nobly throughout.

§ 10. In spite of theoretical dominion over life and purse, it was found indispensable to have recourse to a Parliament again. Money must be raised to vindicate the tarnished honour of the flag, and Buckingham himself was ready to lead another expedition and dispose of all the subsidies that could be got. Even this did not tempt the House of Commons. The king, indeed, took care, with his usual want of tact, to revive all ancient ill-feeling by an insulting speech at the opening of the session, in which he again reminded them of their duty, and of his own unlimited power. Their views of duty and government differed from the king's. They recommenced the work of the last session, and before granting supplies procured the royal assent to the greatest of all our statutes since the original foundation of our freedom. This is the "Petition of Right," and contained the following principal articles.

1. Forced loans or benevolences were declared illegal, as were also

2. Imprisonment, or any other punishment, unless after trial by a man's peers.

3. The billeting of soldiers on private families as a penalty for not lending on the king's writ; and the proclamation of martial law ostensibly for the maintenance of discipline among the troops so lodged, but under which numerous executions of peaceable citizens had taken place, and the action of the ordinary courts had been suspended.

Subsidies were granted after this victory of the Commons—a victory that seems very strange to us four hundred years after the barons' meeting at Runnimeade.

§ 11. Charles, to prevent further aggression on what he still considered his prerogative, prorogued the Parliament, and Buckingham again prepared himself for feats of war.

He went down to Portsmouth to superintend the embarka-

tion of his troops for Rochelle. Soubise, and other French nobles, were waiting to receive him. The town was alive with gaiety ; and Charles himself, to be near his favourite to the last, was living at a house within a few miles of the harbour. On the day before the vessels were to sail, being the 23rd of August, the crowd of attendants and petitioners was very great. Among the rest was a heavy-browed disappointed man, of the name of John Felton, who had been wounded in the expedition to the Isle of Rhé, and besides was half insane with religious melancholy and musings over his fallen fortunes. How long he had cherished the design of assassinating the hated Buckingham is not known ; but he availed himself of the confusion caused by the numerous waiters upon the generalissimo to stab him as he lifted a curtain between his bedroom and the audience-chamber. The knife was thrown away ; —the duke exclaimed, “ I am murdered ; ” —a great clamour arose, and no one had seen the deed. A man, however, was standing grimly silent in the midst of the noise ; a hat was picked up from the floor, and when the owner was inquired for, John Felton claimed it as his. Some writing was sewn to the crown. He was arrested and examined. He made no denial, and was hurried away to prison. Meantime the duke lay dead upon the floor, and people were afraid to communicate the dreadful news to the king. When at length the intelligence reached him he was at prayers. He continued his devotions with an unmoved countenance, and then retired and gave way to his natural grief—a grief embittered, perhaps, by knowing the gladness with which the news would be received everywhere else. He appeared to have a sort of perverted pride in loving and admiring a person whom all the rest of the world hated and contemned.

§ 12. The reputation of the favourite might have been still more darkly shaded if any change had become visible in the conduct of public affairs ; but the same system was pursued, and the odium of ill success fell more personally on the king

than when he had Buckingham to share the blame. The expedition to Rochelle was as great a failure as if Buckingham had been still in command; the quarrel with the Parliament continued as bitter as if he had still been at Charles's ear. During the prorogation, the Petition of Right had been totally ignored. Benevolences were exacted, refusers were imprisoned and mutilated by warrant of the Star Chamber, which grew into an institution as hateful as the Inquisition, and pushed the prerogative to a pitch unknown before. When Parliament accordingly met, the dispute at once began. Charles claimed tonnage and poundage for life; Parliament insisted on redress of grievances and further guarantees against oppression. The Church was too popish in its ceremonial to please the Puritan leaders, and too conservative in its principles to please the practical sectaries who desired its separation from the State. The chief ecclesiastical adviser was Laud, now Bishop of London, who persisted in widening the breach still more, and along with Cosens, Bishop of Durham, offended the moderate Churchmen by a return to the gorgeous forms and thinly-veiled superstitions of the old religion, and moderate lovers of liberty, by an ostentatious prostration of the independence of the clergy at the foot of the throne.

§ 13. Recriminations were interchanged between king and Parliament which rapidly made reconciliation impossible. Charles was accused of publishing a false copy of the Petition of Right, with the royal assent so expressed as not to be binding, while the true copy was suppressed. Parliament, on the other hand, was accused of starving the revenue and refusing supplies for the very war which it had urged the Government to declare. Charles said he had raised forced loans during the recess, in reliance on the grant of tonnage and poundage, which had been voted to many of his predecessors for life, and which he therefore had a right to expect. Each party advanced their boundaries as the strife went on. The Commons complained of promotions in the Church and

neglect of true religion. A broad-shouldered, plain-featured man, of the name of Oliver Cromwell, made his first speech in this session, complaining of a certain High Church divine for preaching "flat popery;" and Charles, encouraged by Laud, and relying on the loyalty of the great body of the gentry, resolved to drive matters to extremity. He took the private opinion of the judges as to whether a member who had the assurance of liberty of speech within the House was not liable for his words, spoken in Parliament, when the session was over, and kept watch on the expressions of his old antagonists, Sir John Eliot, Digges, Wentworth, and the others he had imprisoned before. A violent debate, during which the courtly Speaker was held in his chair by force, that the great protest of the House might be strictly correct in form, was the climax of the quarrel. Charles dissolved the Parliament, and instantly sent the chief promoters of the "Protestation" to the Tower. Eliot, Hollis, Selden, Stroud, and five others, were rigorously confined, and got notice of their trial before the Star Chamber.

Other patriots would have shared their fate, if Charles had not discovered they were made of malleable stuff. Wentworth was made Privy Councillor, Digges was made Master of the Rolls, Littleton and Noy were made Attorney and Solicitor-General, and no more was heard from those right honourable and learned gentlemen of any fault or blemish in Church or State. Mute were the tongues of the newly-appointed officials, and meek the eyes of the fiery and eloquent Wentworth, while Eliot, whose former imprisonment he had shared, and his friends, were tried for their riotous behaviour during the last day of the session, and were accused of a "malevolous attempt to traduce the State, and introduce discord between the king and his people." No voice was raised among the apostate placemen when the sentence inflicted heavy fines on the defendants, with imprisonment in the Tower during his majesty's pleasure. His majesty's pleasure was shown in a

great many ways besides turning the dungeon key on a parliamentary opponent. He made Wentworth, who was now ennobled, President of the Court of York, and never had so much talent been applied to the subjugation of a people as the new-made viscount displayed in his Council of the North. The excesses of the Star Chamber were exceeded by the new institution, and it was perceived that Charles had found another Buckingham, with all the baser qualities of that contemptible favourite ennobled almost into virtues; the rashness of unreasoning vanity into the calculating courage of a statesman; the degrading devotion to the king into a sentiment of loyalty and affection; and men recognised in the new director of the royal conduct not the arrogance and frivolity of the late adviser, but a calm and severe dignity of demeanour, and a countenance infinitely more attractive than his predecessor's regularity of features or freshness of complexion; for the firm lips spoke of inflexibility of purpose, and the grand dark brow equalled in thunderous gloom "the front of Jove himself."

✕A counterpart of Wentworth, but with all his attributes dwarfed and vulgarized, was found in William Laud. This man we shall soon see Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and in him we shall perceive the firmness of Wentworth degenerating into obstinacy, his courage into ignorance of danger, and his wideness of view, which embraced the whole scope of national affairs, narrowed into such a limited horizon as a man of slender talents, residing in a university, and migrating occasionally to a cathedral town, might be expected to command. To these two Charles committed the helm—an impetuous renegade, who hated the principles he had deserted, and a bigoted ecclesiastic who placed equal faith in the efficacy of forms and ceremonies and the truth of dreams. For the same man who whipped fantastic fanatics at the cart's tail for hearing voices in the air, or seeing visions in the field, was a most devout believer in omens and por-

tents. An indigestible supper supplied him with ideas of government; a fit of nightmare sent hundreds of dissenters to prison. A free field was left for the display of their united abilities; for after the dismissal of Parliament, in the spring of 1629, there was no House of Commons to watch their acts. Eliot and the rest were in gaol; there were no newspapers, nor clubs, nor public meetings; the sun shone down on rich harvests, the wind blew into the sails of laden vessels, wealth was growing in the land, and if physical well-doing could satisfy the minds of men the system might have gone on—the rule might have been continued till no one remembered the day of hope and independence—and England, after being habituated to her chains for thirty or forty years, might have been satisfied if they had been hidden with the gilding of a little glory, or manufactured into ornamental shapes, as if they were bracelets and not manacles. But this was not to be. The verdure was still green on the hill's side, but the fires of the volcano were gathering below.

§ 14. For, busy in watching affairs at home, nobody seems to have taken any notice of the foreign operations going on at this time. And yet the heart of the nation was as deeply moved by tidings from the Rhine as by tyrannies on the Thames. Charles used his deliverance from a Parliament to make peace with France, which had crushed the Huguenots, and was laying the foundations of the despotic throne which was soon to be filled by Louis XIV. He made no stipulation in the treaty for the Protestants of Rochelle. He next concluded a peace with Spain and the Emperor, and introduced no stipulation in it in favour of his brother-in-law, the nominal King of Bohemia, whom the nation believed to be the victim of his Protestant beliefs. When at last Gustavus Adolphus, like a later Maccabee, came down from the north, and resisted and overthrew the oppressor, Charles made a feeble and abortive attempt to aid him by giving a secret permission to the Marquis of Hamilton to raise six

thousand men for his service ; but the secrecy deprived the assistance of all its moral weight, and mismanagement deprived it of all its material value. The detachment was starved, decimated by fever, neglected by its chiefs, and Great Britain, in both her kingdoms, lamented that so many gallant lives had been squandered in vain.

Failure abroad is nowhere so sure of creating disaffection at home as among ourselves ; and some of the incidents in the continental struggle had an ominous significance to the prophets of evil in our own country. A cruel and blood-thirsty general of the empire, named Tilly, got possession of the rich and flourishing town of Magdeburg, on the Elbe. The "soldiers of Christ and the pope" rendered the sack of this seat of liberty and commerce memorable to all succeeding time by the extravagance of their crimes. No atrocity was left unpractised which the ingenuity of man has invented against his fellows. It was thought a merciful termination to the scene when flame wrapped the whole city in its purifying embrace, and left only the remembrance of the sufferings of an innocent population,—thirty thousand of whom died by the sword,—to the indignation of mankind. No touch of indignation was perceptible in the hearts of Wentworth or Laud ; but the Puritan men of Leicester, the Calvinists of Glasgow, followed the steps of Tilly, waiting till the avenger of blood was on his track ; and, looking on their wives and daughters, shuddered as they thought of Hamilton's dragoons or Wentworth's musketeers. They shuddered, but knit their brows and clenched their hands at the same time.

§ 15. The expedients to which the majesty of England was reduced to raise a revenue would have been laughable, if they had not brought such misery in their train. His first proceeding was not very severe, but it yielded him a hundred thousand pounds. He threatened every person who held land of the value of forty pounds a-year with knighthood. The fine, however, for exemption was very generally paid, and

the ridicule of a whole nation of Sir Johns and Sir Thomases was avoided.

The next was not so harmless. He produced old acts and proclamations forbidding the enlargement of London, and seized on all the houses built beyond the prescribed limits, surrendering them only on payment of three years' rent. His next was worse. He discovered old definitions of forest bounds on which the neighbouring gentry and freeholders had encroached for hundreds of years. Stately mansions were standing in pastoral regions twenty miles from the limits of the royal chase, as they had been known for ten generations. They were forfeited, and released at a high value, or carried to the king's account. A forest of six miles' circuit was increased to sixty, and no man could feel secure that his estate had never been included in some forgotten hunting ground in the days of the deer-loving kings.

His next was more injurious still. He re-established many monopolies in direct contradiction to the Petition of Right, and enriched himself with the sale of the sole right to sell or make articles of universal use. In all these actions he was prompted by his legal advisers, Littleton and Noy, who had so lately incurred his displeasure by protesting against the slightest exercise of his prerogative. But the good counsel of Laud was not to be rejected, and the next series of performances was under the direction of that spiritual guide.

§ 16. The Rev. Dr. Leighton had written a bitter and fanatical pamphlet against prelacy and priestcraft; a learned man, though crazed, like many of his brethren at that time, on religious subjects. Laud brought him before the Star Chamber, and he was condemned to stand in the pillory, to have his nostrils slit, and his ears cut off, to be publicly whipt, and to be branded on the cheeks with a hot iron bearing the letters S. S., for "Spreader of Sedition." As the man had two nostrils, two ears, and two cheeks, the entertainment was repeated, and he was brought out at the end of a week,

after half the sentence had been executed, and underwent the remainder, to the satisfaction of the admirers of uniformity.

The same measure was dealt to the other learned profession. A barrister of the name of Prynne suffered the same insults and mutilations for writing a book against stage players, called "*Histrion Mastix*," in which an indignant denunciation of women appearing in male apparel, or indeed on the boards at all, was held to be an allusion to the queen, whose interludes and masques were performed by all the court. In all these outrages on law and good feeling the President of the North and the Archbishop of Canterbury encouraged each other by constant letters. In these the word "*Thorough*" was dwelt on with mysterious significance. In Church and State "*Thorough*" was the only way. "You may rule the common lawyers in England as I do here," wrote Wentworth, who combined his Yorkshire presidency with the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, and had effectually tamed the common lawyers in Dublin; and then came in the momentous word "*Thorough*." There was to be no pause or hesitation. And from this time "*Thorough*" became the fate of all the kingdoms.

§ 17. Nothing was wanted to complete the subjugation of the country but a standing army, or funds, independent of Parliament, sufficient to raise one when required. The great idea of ship-money, or an assessment on the maritime counties for the maintenance of a fleet, came into the head of Noy, the attorney-general. It had been practised in ancient days when the land was threatened with invasion, and why not now, if his majesty declared it was necessary for the public service? Wentworth saw the ingenuity of the plan, but lamented it was not carried further. It will never be "*Thorough*," he thought, till an army is at our absolute command as well as a fleet. He compared a king, when he had only ships and not soldiers, to a man with one leg. But the courtiers were in high spirits when they heard that, according to the letter of the law, the king might issue writs

for ship-money, and there was no person to interfere with the expenditure of it when once it was collected. A frigate could be exchanged for a regiment, and Puritans be put down instead of the Barbary rovers; for while *Thorough* was going on at home, the coasts of all the kingdom were insulted by great and small. Cruisers from Algiers picked up quiet merchantmen steering for Plymouth Sound, and no part of the Channel was safe from pirates and buccaneers. The war-ships had all rotted away, while the money was otherwise applied, and great clamours arose all over the country. Now, then, was the time for contributions to re-organize the navy, and writs for ship-money were issued in all the counties.

§ 18. The counties on the seaside complied with a good grace. It would have been against established custom if they had refused to provide vessels for the defence of the shore, and they compounded for the sums at which they were assessed, instead of furnishing the actual ships. But the inland counties had never been subject to this impost. They had defended the land with archers and horsemen, and the men of Warwickshire, Oxford, or Buckingham, had never seen a ship. The collectors, however, went their rounds. When they came to the village of Kimbel Magna, in Bucks, they discovered that the whole population, two squires, twenty-nine yeomen, clerk of the vestry, beadles, bellman, and all, had refused to advance a farthing, and had written a protest to this effect, signed with their names. The first name to this document was one which grew afterwards very great in England. It was John Hampden, Esquire, of Hampden Manor and many other noble domains near the Chiltern Hills; a man to whom the one pound eleven and sixpence, at which he was assessed, was of no consequence, but to whom the arbitrary exaction of the odd sixpence was of very great consequence indeed.

§ 19. Before we detail the fate of Hampden's lawsuit with the king, we will condense into a few lines some other incidents which throw a curious light on the state of things

in the years after the dissolution of the Parliament of 1629. Charles had visited his ancient kingdom of Scotland in 1633, and the moment he arrived at his birth-place began to introduce prelatical government and High Church forms among the sour Presbyterians of the north. Failing in this, as might be supposed, he had not the political perception of Elizabeth, which would have led her to the appearance of a graceful concession, and perhaps to eventual success; he persisted when persistence became a crime. He did the persecutor's work instead of the missionary's, and banished episcopacy for ever from the Scottish affections by the sight he exhibited of its tyrannous and insulting behaviour. X An old woman, whose name, Janet Geddes, has become famous by her one speech, overthrew the whole preparation of archbishop and king. She flung her stool at the head of the officiating priest in the high-church, crying, "Awa, ye fause thief! Wad ye say the mass at my lug?" The effect of this objurgation was tremendous. The congregation rose in fury at the intrusive divine, and the dignified ecclesiastics escaped with difficulty with their lives. Cherishing his favourite scheme, though ceasing for a while to obtrude it on an unwilling nation, Charles returned to England, and found a scarcely more submissive clergy or unrepining people.

§ 20. This was the period he chose for the publication of the Book of Sports. His sagacious father had published it before, commanding all men to be happy on pain of his utmost displeasure. At that time all men were very much inclined to follow the royal injunction. Theology and politics were limited to few, and the only portion of the book objected to was a recommendation to continue their games on Sunday. But theology, which took the form of Calvinism, and politics, which took the form of republicanism, had spread far and wide throughout the land. Young people of course still shot at the butts, and played at cudgels and racket; but Charles and his advisers had the perverse ingenuity to turn those

friendly sports into sources of hatred and dissension. The clergy were to recommend their parishioners to spend their Sunday afternoons in dancing, leaping, and drawing the bow, and instantly a line was drawn between the parties to whom the village green had hitherto been neutral ground. To practise archery after service was considered by one, obedience to lawful authority; by the other, a shameless forsaking of the faith. Both sides became bitter, and called each other names. Erastian, Arminian, Jestling Gallio, and men of Belial were interchanged with Fanatic, Rebel, Hypocrite, Impostor. These discussions had some effect on the national amusements in after years. A portion of the dislike to game-playing on Sunday adhered to the games themselves, and a rigid Precisian would not kick a foot-ball on Monday which had furnished unhallowed amusement on the preceding day. The fathers of the hamlet preferred to retire to the smithy or shoemaker's stall, and there reason about Geneva and Rome, or growl unutterable threats against the disturbers of the Lord's Zion, whom men called Archbishop of Canterbury and President of York.

§ 21. It was at this time the question of ship-money came on. The judges, we are to remember, were either promoted for political subserviency, or had^a bought their places. They were removable by the king, and considered that in representing the majesty of the law they were to attend principally to the personal interests of their master. All England was anxiously on the watch for news of the decision. When it became known that two members of the bench had protested against the verdict which condemned Hampden and established the validity of the hated impost, the adverse decision was attributed to the servility of the majority, and justice and law were believed to have prompted the virtuous pair. But the victory was ostensibly with the Court, and Wentworth and Laud were more resolved on "Thorough" than before.

§ 22. There was nothing now to hinder their wildest

schemes. The judges had proclaimed the legal fact that this was an absolute monarchy. "The law was only a servant of the king." "You cannot have a king without those royal rights, no, not by Act of Parliament." "Acts of Parliament cannot hinder a king from commanding the subjects, their persons and goods, and, I say, their money too. No Acts of Parliament can make any difference." Such was the chorus of falsehood and adulation sung by ten out of the twelve judges of England. The same chorus was sung in Scotland by the Commissioners of the Crown; but the audience was not so submissive, and hissed the performers wherever they appeared. Hamilton was sent down to enforce the canons and liturgy as corrected by Laud. The Scots gathered in ferocious crowds, and terrified the intrusive bishops across the Border. Hamilton endeavoured to dissolve a confederacy, into which nobles, clergy, and people had formed themselves under the name of the Covenant, but saw that the task was hopeless. The recusants called a General Assembly of the Kirk, which immediately passed a resolution against episcopacy, and encouraged its lay leaders to take the government of the country into their hands, to levy taxes, enlist soldiers, and get ready their broadswords to defend their country and religion.

§ 23. The subjugation of Scotland was resolved on by force of arms. An army was raised, and marched to the Border; a fleet was collected, and sent into the Firth of Forth. But Charles drew back when it came to open war. The Covenanters had advanced to meet him, prepared either to parley, or, as they called it, with a grim sort of humour, to petition, or to fight. The parley was accepted, and Commissioners were sent to York. But while protocols were interchanged, the Scots pursued their course, confirmed the abolition of episcopacy, and infringed on the rights of the Crown as laid down by the English judges.

The royal commissioner tried to soothe, to intimidate, and

finally to dissolve the Scottish Parliament; but it would neither be soothed, nor intimidated, nor dissolved. It kept its seat and its hold of power; it persisted also in insulting the king and his advisers, by making no distinction between the Church, as defined by Laud, and "flat popery," as defined by Mr. Oliver Cromwell. The king could endure much, but he could not endure being called a papist, so preparations were again made for war. The Roman Catholics were specially applied to, to aid in the conquest of the Presbyterian north, and answered the appeal with such liberality that the forces now raised were called a Roman army.

Laud was no whit daunted by the attitude of the Scots. He determined to give them the best of church governments, in spite of themselves; and Wentworth, now Lord Strafford, who was admired for his genius almost as much as he was feared for his tyrannical designs, whispered in the king's ear at the council table, on the fatal 5th of May in this year, "You have an army in Ireland that you might employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience." *This* kingdom—what kingdom? On the meaning of that simple pronoun depended the earl's life. If it was Scotland, as he maintained when his day of adversity came, his English accusers had little to do with it; if it was England, as they thought they proved, his fate was sealed.) But at present all seemed safe. There *was* an army in Ireland, furiously devoted to Rome, and hostile equally to England and Scotland; but funds were required; the contributions of Roman Catholics were not enough; monopolies were already disposed of; forest bounds were all defined; London would build no more against the law, and Charles Stuart was the poorest gentleman in his dominions. Yet he had three kingdoms to subdue, a splendid court to maintain, and two imperious masters to submit to, who still flattered him with hopes of "Thorough."

§ 24. He had missed a great windfall by the audacious impetuosity of the Dutch. Van Tromp, the great admiral

of Holland, had chased a Spanish fleet into the Channel, and it had taken shelter in the friendly roadstead of Dover. Here, by all the customs of war, an attack was impossible. But Charles made merchandize of the protection of the English flag, and bargained with the Spanish Admiral to defend him from his enemy for £150,000. Bills were drawn upon Brussels for that amount; but before they could be discounted, down came Van Tromp with a fresh squadron, fired into the Spanish vessels within the shadow of Dover Cliff, sent fire-ships among them, and totally destroyed the fleet. Admiral Pennington looked calmly on, and saw his country degraded without firing a shot. Charles himself felt the disgrace, but regretted the disappointment more. In this extremity there was but one resource. The only unfailing fountain of wealth was a compliant Parliament. A Parliament, therefore, was recommended by Laud and Strafford, who relied on their powers of persuasion to make it obedient to their will. "But if we fail," said Charles, "as we have done in times past, will you assist me in such extraordinary ways as shall be thought fit?" The confederates promised their aid, and the writs were issued.

§ 25. The object of summoning them was declared in the opening speech. It was to put down the Scotch by the sword, and pay for the expense of men, caunon, and provisions which had been already incurred for that purpose. To rouse their patriotism the more, Charles himself read an intercepted letter to the French king, in which the Lords of the Covenant petitioned that ancient ally of their country for assistance in defence of their Kirk and kingdom. Among the names appended to this treasonable document was the celebrated one of Montrose. We shall see how he atoned for this temporary wandering astray into the path of resistance in after years. When this and other papers were read, the debate began. It was on the old subjects—monopolies, ship-money, illegal taxation, tyranny of the Star Chamber, and breach of the

royal word. The Commons commanded inquiry into the sentence passed on Eliot, and the behaviour of Finch, the Speaker in the Parliament of 1629. Eleven years had elapsed since then. Eliot had died in his confinement, of the bad air of the Tower, in 1632. Finch had flourished in the bad air of the Court, and was now Lord-Keeper. Strafford felt at once that a stop must be put to those retrospective committees. Charles summoned them to the Banqueting-hall, and Finch lectured them on the divine right of kings, and the duty of passive obedience. The Lords also interfered, and advised the Commons to grant the supplies, and consider their grievances afterwards. Finch's speech was passed by, as proceeding from his office of spokesman of the Court; but the Lords—by what right did they meddle or make with the proceedings of their house? with the granting of subsidies, or anything whatever debated or decided by their votes? A sharp remonstrance showed the temper of the Commons, and produced a full apology from the Peers.

The Scots were hanging like an angry cloud upon the Borders, and threatening an invasion of Northumberland. Charles, Strafford, and Laud himself were burning to lead an overwhelming army against those new-fangled petitioners who made their appeals for compassion with pistols in their belts. But the gentlemen of England were not roused to fury, as if it had been an invasion of French or Spaniards. They looked on the Blue Bonnets as allies more than enemies, and were far more intent on reversing the judgment on their dead friend, Sir John Eliot, and their living comrade, Hampden. The king gave his word of honour to the Commons that he would take their complaints into consideration if they granted supplies. The Commons assured him they would grant supplies after he had taken their complaints into consideration. Neither would believe the other, and eighteen days after the assembling—with nothing achieved but a perfect knowledge of how widely the parties

differed—Charles summoned the Commons to the bar of the House of Lords, and contumeliously dismissed them. He then cut off the golden bridge of retreat by imprisoning several of the members for their speeches in the late session, and renewed the dark days of Eliot, from which he had suffered so much. Mr. Belasis, Sir John Hotham, and John Crew were sent to the Fleet Prison by warrants under the hands of Strafford and Laud; and Charles, without a parliament, was again every inch a king.

§ 26. He threw himself on the old prerogative of the Crown, and summoned his military array. Noblemen and gentlemen of ancient name led their tenants to the camp. But faint-hearted in the cause, and much disinclined for battle, were the stout old yeomen of England, who had never seen a tented field, and had no animosity to the Scots. The Covenanters, on the other hand, were commanded by a famous general, of the name of Leslie, and had many of them served under Gustavus Adolphus, and smelt powder at Leipzig and Lutzen. They were also commanded by the nobles of their land, and encouraged by the ministrations of enthusiastic, praying, fighting, and un pitying clergymen, who had persuaded themselves and their flocks that Laud was an incarnation of the enemy of mankind, and held Charles under the domain of some spell. The armies marched from Edinburgh on one side, from York on the other. They came face to face on opposite sides of the Tyne at Newburn, near Newcastle, and both parties hesitated to begin the war. A chance shot broke the truce. Leslie, the German campaigner, played upon the English foot with his artillery; and when their attention was thus engaged, he sent a detachment across the ford. There was no possibility of resistance, for horse and infantry poured furiously upon the unaccustomed lines of Lord Conway, and a whole troop of Edinburgh lawyers, who had formed themselves into the body-guard of brave old Leslie, thundered

among the amazed freeholders of Kent and Warwickshire, and put them to ignominious flight, as if they were serving them with a notice of forcible ejection. The English fought unwillingly, or not at all. The rout was complete, but the slaughter very inconsiderable, and the Covenanters, by taking possession of Newcastle, secured the neutrality of London, for they had it in their power to cut off its supply of coals. Durham yielded next, then Darlington, then Northallerton, and the English army at last drew up, under the eyes of Charles and Strafford themselves, beneath the walls of York.

Every town the Scots entered received them kindly. They preserved exact discipline, and professed themselves faithful subjects of the crown. They began their toasts after dinner with the king's health, and then attended the sermons of their chaplains, who made their ears to tingle with Sisera, and Holofernes, and Saul. Nobody would come forward with life and fortune against such very moderate invaders. Many of the lords, and almost all the citizens of London, petitioned for peace and the calling of a Parliament, and Charles appointed commissioners for a treaty. In the meantime the Scots demanded forty thousand pounds a month. The council of peers recommended a loan of £200,000 to be raised from the city of London ; a Parliament was to meet, and the armies to be disbanded in two months ; the Scots collecting their maintenance-money in the districts they held, and keeping possession of Durham, Newcastle, and all the eastern towns beyond the Tees.

§ 27. The second parliament of this eventful year, and the most famous in English history, under the name of the "Long Parliament," met in November. Charles, who had been humbled in his loftiest aspirations, was now to be touched in his tenderest affections. Always feebly trusting to some one else, he had had the good taste to exchange the degrading reliance he reposed on Buckingham for the confidence and friendship he entertained for Strafford. There was something

elevating in listening to the advice of the most firm-souled, bold-hearted of his servants ; and against that great supporter of all his claims, that fiery down-trampler of his enemies, and deep-thoughted counsellor of his most desperate acts, the Commons rose with a ferocious cry as soon as they felt he was in their power. The victims of the Star Chamber—Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, who had lost their ears by its order—were indemnified with money, and their sentences reversed ; Finch, the lord-keeper, and Windbanke, the Secretary of State, made their escape abroad, and Laud himself was complained of by the Scots, and sent into confinement.

§ 28. It soon became known that Strafford had come to London by the king's command ; that he bore as audacious and unabashed a front as ever, and relied on his eloquence when he came to be heard in his defence. He went down to the House of Peers, and almost before he could take his seat, the committee of the Commons, led by Mr. Pym, appeared at the bar, and impeached him of high crimes and misdemeanours. The triumph in the accuser's eye was answered by the indomitable pride of Strafford's. "Alas ! they had been friends in youth ;" and when their political and social union was broken up by Wentworth's secession from the reforming ranks, Pym had said to him, "You leave us, but we will never leave you while there is a head upon your shoulders." This must have recurred to Strafford when the well-known voice was pursuing him to the death. When the denunciation closed he was carried off to the Tower. Some few minor performers in the scenes of oppression and injustice which had marked the last eleven years were visited with fines and imprisonment ; but the attention of the nation was fixed on the fate of the "Grand Apostate," who was brought to trial with all the solemnity befitting so momentous an event. The scene was Westminster Hall. A throne in the centre typified the actual presence of the fountain of justice ; seats in front contained the peers and legal sages of the land, and the audience con-

sisted of the members of the House of Commons, ranged on benches round the walls, and representing the cities and boroughs of the whole of England. Room was also made for a committee of complainers from the Irish parliament; the Scots had their envoys mingled with the vast assembly, so that the three kingdoms were fairly in face of their great adversary; and he stood up with unflinching courage in that tremendous ordeal, rising superior by the sole energy of his mind to the bodily pains which racked his limbs, the consciousness of guilt which lay heavy on his heart, and the doubts he must have entertained of the constancy and support of the man for whose sake he had sacrificed all.

The trial was the greatest forensic display ever known up to that date. Pym and the other managers were the most eloquent men of their time, and pleaded now with their lives in their hands; for it was felt that the losing party on this great arbitrament would certainly fall by the axe. Strafford, greater in his deserted adversity than in the days of his overbearing power, answered his accusers point by point, relying on the wording of his commission and the warrants and personal orders of the king. Acts of violence, of injustice; and libertinage were proved against him beyond denial, but all these stopped short of the great crime which would forfeit his life. Other things he passed lightly by, and showed such readiness, such dignity and vigour in the whole week of taunt and interrogatory during which he stood up to be baited every day from morn till eve, before that hostile, frowning, and prejudiced assemblage, that opinion began to turn; his own distinction began to be generally entertained. No number of misdemeanours can grow by accumulation into treason. The bar was filled with admiration of his acuteness; ladies began to look favourably on the great earl, with his complexion "manly black," and his powerful features raised into poetic grandeur by the exigencies of the cause, when all of a sudden the missing clue was found—the deadly proof came forth.

The speech he had made to the king, in the Council of the 5th of May of the year before, was discovered in the notebook of the Secretary Vane, and was forwarded by his son, young Harry Vane, to the accusers. "You have an army in Ireland that you might employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience." His doom from that hour was assured. The Commons, though continuing his impeachment before the Lords, brought in a Bill of Attainder against him in their own House, and found him guilty by a majority of four to one. The bill was carried to the Upper House, and Charles himself interfered: he addressed the Lords, and assured them no man had advised him to employ force against the malcontents in England. He had attended the trial, he said, and pronounced Lord Strafford free from the stain of treason; but, by a shameful compromise, acknowledged at the same time, that he had disqualified himself for office, and was not fit to serve him or the Commonwealth in the lowest capacity. Nineteen of the peers made a more courageous effort, by voting against the attainder; but alarm maddened the whole country; mobs surrounded the parliament; reports were rife of attempts at rescue—of the approach of the northern army—of fleets ready to receive and protect the oppressor—of the flight of the queen to excite foreign invasion; and the bill was passed by a majority of twenty-six.

Charles was agonized with fear and regret. He tried to save his faithful servant, and consulted his council on the scruples that vexed his conscience. One of the bishops told him that, as Charles Stuart, his conscience ought to interfere to protect Lord Strafford; but as king, he was bound to let his conscience do what his interest commanded. Another bishop (Juxon), who was a safer friend, told him that if he knew the earl to be free from guilt, it would be better to perish along with him than shed one drop of innocent blood. Pausing, hesitating, arguing, and at last yielding, Charles signed the fatal assent; and Strafford exclaimed, "Put not your trust in

princes." He had written, indeed, to beg him not to hesitate in agreeing to his death, if his sacrifice would help in restoring peace between him and his people, and the king accepted the offering of his servant's life. Instead of casting all upon the hazard of refusal, and throwing himself on the generous feelings of the country, he put his name to the order for execution, and only interceded with the inexorable House that they would delay the fatal stroke till Saturday. As he passed to the scaffold, Strafford knelt and received the blessing of Laud, who occupied a chamber, through the barred window of which he could only stretch his hand. Four more years of imprisonment, and a similar death by the hands of the executioner, scarcely glutted the vengeance of the Commons on this zealous and injudicious churchman, whose hatred of dissent and puritanism drove him to the very verge of popery.

§ 29. Parliament proceeded at headlong speed when Strafford was out of their way. They passed an Act continuing their existence till a vote of their own should put an end to it. This was, in fact, assuming a dictatorial authority, and, in the circumstances of the case, it was one of the bold revolutionary steps by which liberty is preserved by a temporary sacrifice of the appearance of it. Without this they were liable at any moment to a dissolution or prorogation, by which the whole machinery of government would have come to a stand, and all improvement been prevented. All the instruments of tyranny were broken; Star Chamber, High Commission, monopolies, ship-money, compulsory knighthood and other relics of feudal servitude, were abrogated at once. Commissioners had already been sent into all parts of England to purify the parish churches of papistical and superstitious ornaments, whether old or new. Both the armies were paid, and an offering of three hundred thousand pounds made to the Covenanters in token of brotherly regard. Hampden, Pym, Cromwell, Hyde, Falkland, Culpepper, and many

others of the Liberal leaders, seemed intent on further alterations, and the country appeared ripe for any alteration either in Church or State.

Yet the king, who had unbounded reliance on the meanness and dishonesty of mankind, encouraged himself with hope. He had won over Wentworth from the popular cause by pandering to his ambition, and many others by coarser and more humiliating bribes. Why should the virtuous and pompous Mr. Hyde, or the sentimental and moral Lord Falkland, be less sensible to the charms of power or the romance of coming to the rescue of an unfriended king? Both had pursued his late favourite to the death—urging the too pliant Pym, as they thought him, to more certain means for his destruction. But this, which to another would have been a reason for looking on those leaders in the Commons as his irreconcilable enemies, was no bar in Charles's eyes to their coming over to his side. He therefore submitted silently to the proceedings of the Parliament, looking forward to the time when he should be able to reverse them.

§ 30. In August he went to Scotland, and immediately the intrigues of all the northern factions began. Charles was graceful and fascinating in manner, and was nearly successful in winning over the Presbyterian leaders by the kindness of his address, and the sanctimonious air with which he listened to interminable discourses from Henderson and the other orators of the Kirk. Plots were discovered or suspected in many quarters. Passions had risen so high that assassination had lost its horror. An attempt was made on Pym's life in England, and Montrose wrote from his prison in Edinburgh to the king, "frankly undertaking to make away" with Hamilton and Argyle, whom he accused of being false to his majesty's cause. This offer was not accepted, but the threatened nobles were alarmed in a short time by the discovery of a scheme to seize their persons and carry them out of the country. Common opinion pointed to the king as cognizant

of the "incident," as it was called, which, however, he denied, and of which he was pronounced innocent by the persons appointed to inquire into the facts. The affair ended with Hamilton being made a duke, and Argyle a marquis, and Montrose becoming a hero.

The crown jewels which Charles had taken with him were judiciously employed in buying over support. Earldoms and other honours were lavished on the covenanting chiefs, and Church lands bestowed upon needy lairds. The Scotch could not resist the chance of titles and estates, and the popular feeling was becoming favourable to the descendant of a hundred and eight, as they boasted, of their ancient kings, when an event occurred which threw him into greater discredit than ever.

§ 31. The Irish burst into rebellion; they murdered many thousands of peaceable English settlers with circumstances of atrocity, prompted by religious hatred. The large army of Irish Catholics, on which Charles had relied, was only in part disbanded, and still held the Protestants of the Pale in a state of alarm. Injudicious friends of the king had tampered with those soldiers to incite them against the Parliament, and made promises in his name of the rewards dearest to their hearts, if they restored him to his supreme authority. The Roman Catholic members of the Irish House of Commons sympathized with the rebels; the noblemen of the same persuasion openly joined them. Charles saw at once the blow this would give to his cause in England, for although probably guiltless of the actual rising, he felt conscious of dangerous negotiations into which he had entered with the leaders of the rebellion, and dreaded the effects of their discovery if they were published to his Protestant kingdoms.

§ 32. He returned to London in November, and seems to have had intimation that Parliament was not so unanimous against him as before, for his conduct was almost as rash and overbearing as if the bold earl were still beside him. He ordered the Commons to dismiss the guard of halberdmen

whom they stationed at their door. He accepted from Lord Essex the resignation of his command as General south of the Trent; and the reason of these decided measures was soon revealed. The Grand Remonstrance (of which we have an admirable description, with many new circumstances, in the Essays of Mr. Forster) occupied the Commons for many days. It was an appalling survey of the state into which the king's attempt at absolute government had brought the kingdom. It described the steps they had taken to remedy some of the evils, and gave a catalogue of their remaining wrongs. In the session before, its clauses had been proposed and seconded with fiery eloquence by Lord Falkland, with legal acuteness by Mr. Holbourne, and with manly indignation by Mr. Edward Hyde. The most furious opponents of those clauses now, the fiercest advocates for the royal prerogative and slavish adherents to the right divine, were Lord Falkland, Mr. Holbourne, and Mr. Hyde. Strafford's death had opened the way for fresh advisers, and Charles had caught them with his gilded bait. He answered the petition accompanying the Remonstrance with significant hints of his popularity in Scotland. He attempted to replace the old guard of the House of Commons, which he had ordered them to dismiss, with one of his own. The queen—a more evil genius to his house than Strafford or Laud had been—was open in her professions of contempt, and relied on the rich crown jewels she had sent to Holland to be pawned. People were almost terrified into submission by the details which reached them every day of the massacres in Ireland, and even the courageous might well have been excused if they began to despair. Charles gained strength from the general fear; he interfered with the privileges of debate, and attempted to nominate a favourite of his own to the governorship of the Tower. But Colonel Lunsford was so notorious a brawler and desperado, that town and parliament equally resisted his appointment. Affairs grew daily worse. Twelve of the bishops, who had been impeached

along with Laud, but admitted to bail, now took their seats, and protested against the legality of everything that had been done during their absence. This would have vitiated all the acts of reformation on which the Grand Remonstrance dwelt with such satisfaction. But the Commons renewed the lapsed impeachment, and sent ten of them into confinement.

§ 33. This was depriving the Court of its most reliable votes, and Charles resolved to thin his opponents in the Lower House in the same way. He accused, by special message, five members of high treason. These were Pym, Hampden, Hazlerig, Hollis, and Strode; but as their names were included in the paper of charges laid before the Lords (to justify the arrest of Lord Kimbolton, a member of their House), the Commons had timely notice of the approaching struggle. They received the message, and promised to take it into consideration; but Charles, who was still animated with his ancient confidence in his prerogative, and was as weakly audacious at the wrong time as he was weakly dilatory at the right one, posted various parties of his adherents round the hall, surrounded himself with his gentlemen pensioners, and some hundreds of less regular allies, and marched down to Palace-yard to seize his enemies himself. He hurried across Westminster Hall, and knocked at the door. The five members meantime had been ordered to withdraw, and the king, casting angry glances round the apartment, perceived that his prey had escaped—luckily for himself; for there is no doubt, as all the members wore swords in those days, and Cromwell was on the benches, that blood would have been shed in defence of the illegally arrested members, and every drop of it laid at the king's door. This was the wildest and most inexcusable of all his excesses. He was only impelled to it by the reproaches of Henrietta Maria, who had got intimation of a design on the part of the five members to impeach her. "Go, you coward," she said to Charles, "and pull those rogues out by the ears, or never see me more." In a few days he left Whitehall, which he

was doomed never to enter again, except at the sorrowful time when he laid his grey, discrowned head upon the block.

§ 34. The great majority of persons, on both sides of the great argument which had lasted so long, were tired of legal delays, and, from conflicting evidence and changes of sentiment among the leaders, were incapable of deciding the legal question at all. After Charles's attempt to arrest his enemies by force, the fiction of legality was at an end. One portion of the people were satisfied to submit to such an arbitrary government as they perceived consolidating in France and established in Spain; the other was ready to die in defence of a representative assembly, and was prepared to secure that blessing even at the sacrifice of the monarchical form. King or Parliament was henceforth the cry. King, simply and frankly, *without* a Parliament. Parliament, more guardedly and mildly, *with* a limited and constitutional king.

These are the steps which led to the civil war, over which we will pass more lightly; for results and principles are more important to us in a summary like this than details. The command of the militia was the point on which greatest stress was laid. Neither party having farther confidence in law, the sword was felt to be the ultimate resource, and whoever held that held all. The Parliament demanded the right to nominate the commanders—men in whom they could trust. They then appointed their confederate, Lord Northumberland, Lord High Admiral, and told him to guard the coasts and harbours against the ships, soldiers, and military stores sent over by the queen. Hull and Portsmouth were seized by their orders, and Hotham, the governor of the former town, refused permission to the king to enter within the walls. The gallant men of York formed round the insulted sovereign, and Charles, burning with wrath against the parliament, and almost with his foot in the stirrup, made a solemn declaration of his intention to rule with equity, and according to the laws and customs. In spite of manifold experience, the gentry

were inclined to believe in him once more. Parliamentary benches became empty. Hyde and Falkland joined his court ; the great law dignitaries resigned their seals of office. Manor-houses in all parts of the country were filled with strife and commotion ; village divided against village. Long-haired gentlemen, mounted and armed, trotting along byeways towards the north, frowned on stalwart, plain dressed pikemen and musketeers marching towards the south. Cavalier was the proud name of the one, and Roundhead the contemptuous name of the other. Parliament, in reply to the king's summoning a guard for his person, raised an army for their defence under Essex and Bedford. Charles proclaimed them rebels, the Parliament proclaimed the king's commissioners traitors ; and finally, on Monday, the 23rd of August, the royal standard was hoisted with all solemnity at Nottingham, and the dreadful contest began.

§ 35. The names of marches and battlefields are strange in our ears with such a home sound in them as Shrewsbury, Northampton, Worcester. Strange must those familiar words have sounded in the ears even of that generation as connected with blood and suffering, for no hostile swords had been drawn in England in regular array since the battles of the Roses. Since Bosworth, in 1485, the land had lain in peace, spreading year by year richer harvests to the sun, and beautified year by year with houses, gardens, stately parks, and comfortable farms. And now all this was at an end. Blood was poured forth like water on the desecrated hill-side of Edgehill—a gentle elevation near Kineton, in Warwickshire. The result was indecisive in every respect, save that it showed the undiminished vigour and courage of the English heart. Cressy and Poitiers were there in the raw material ; Blenheim and Waterloo might have been seen in the stubborn endurance of both the hosts. Each party had recourse to the quarter where its influence lay. Charles went to loyal and High-Church Oxford ; the Parliament applied to the repub-

lican and puritanic Scots. Every stricken field widened the political differences. Fiery Prince Rupert, the son of the unhappy Queen of Bohemia, and nephew of Charles, dashed at the head of his cavalry from shire to shire, burning, slaying, and terrifying as if in an enemy's country. The farmer whose stacks were ravaged by the High Church troops became a Low Churchman or sectary in revenge. The ecclesiastical aspect of this contest was always in view. When Parliament received a check in the field, it passed resolutions against ministers of the Church. The Grand Remonstrance had spoken respectfully of the established religion, and contained the explicit declaration—"We do here declare that it is far from our purpose or desire to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the Church, leaving private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of divine service they please; for we hold it requisite that there should be, throughout the whole realm, a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin according to the word of God." But Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Brownists, and a hundred other combinations of intolerance, lost no time in endeavouring to destroy the Church and each other in the name of the gospel.

Fights and skirmishes occupied the remainder of the year. London was threatened in November, and great charges and countercharges of horse and infantry took place at Brentford and Hounslow. Charles and Rupert retired from their ineffectual attempt, and the king reposed at Oxford while negotiations were entered into for a truce. But men's passions were too bitterly excited to allow them to meet for treaties; each party was still too confident of its strength, and another battle was looked forward to as the only solution of the question. Hampden pressed for an assault on Oxford, but Essex was cautious and slow, and Charles availed himself of an opportunity to send commissions to various people in London to rise in his behalf. Among these were several

members of Parliament. Fear and uncertainty perplexed the House when it found it was divided against itself, and with difficulty it restrained its wrath, so as only to punish Edmund Waller, an elegant poet but most unprincipled politician, with a heavy fine. Rupert was again in the saddle, and encountered the Parliamentarians in Chalgrove Field, near Thame. Here Hampden had the chance he had longed for, of measuring swords with the roystering Cavaliers. Instead of waiting for the advance of Essex, who was actually on the march, he dashed at the enemy with a handful of his friends, and was shot in the shoulder. Bleeding and sick with pain he turned his face homeward, and, with the old hunting spirit of happier times, put spurs to his horse and cleared a brook, which placed him in safety. He was seen "slowly riding with his head down and his hands resting on the saddle." The last that was seen of the great leader in the fight for freedom, for in six days more he died.

The siege and assault of Bristol, where Rupert displayed his usual courage and more than his usual cruelty, and the discovery of a plot of Hotham, the governor, for the surrender of Hull, created a new panic in London, and proportionately elated the king. Several peers who had continued to sit at Westminster joined the winning cause, and there was every prospect of a complete triumph to the royal arms, and the unconcealed inauguration of a despotic reign, when Cromwell rose. This man was the first to see the weakness of the military organization which was to resist the gentry and the king. He dismissed the serving men, as he contemptuously called them, who filled the parliamentary ranks, and supplied their place with the fiercest zealots and most submissive soldiers the world had ever seen. Taking Gustavus for his exemplar, he would have no man in his regiment who had not the fear of God, and no fear of man, in his heart. By training them in firing with the pistol, and expounding knotty passages in Sacred Writ, by manœuvring

them with instinctive skill in the morning, and listening to their inspired and nasal exhortations in the evening, Colonel Cromwell found himself at the head of his Ironsides—a body of men uniting religious enthusiasm with exactest discipline, and utterly irresistible whenever the terrible word was given “On, Ironsides, in the name of the Lord.”

It was high time that some commanding intellect should arise to regulate the chaos into which the whole land had fallen. In every county the struggle was going on with great loss of individual life, but no effect on the final settlement of the quarrel. Successes and reverses on a petty scale merely balanced each other, and even the greater battles had no decisive weight. At Newbury a fight which drove Essex into retreat, cost Charles three of his chief supporters. Among these was Lord Falkland, whom we remember as a fiery denouncer of abuses and curber of the royal authority. He had joined the royal army, and longed, as he was constantly exclaiming, for nothing so much as peace. Injudicious praise has hidden the great fault of this man's conduct, and tried to convert it into a merit. He is described as still clinging to the principles of his youth—still opposed to the pretensions of the king, and yet he is held forth as a martyr to his convictions because he died fighting against them, and a protester against absolutism, although he died fighting in its favour. Rather he was a man whose refinement of mind revolted from the coarseness of the instruments by which his convictions were to be worked out, and who was attracted to the side of the Cavaliers by the fact that it was professedly an army of gentle blood, and then disgusted with his companions by their grossness and profanity. If revolutions could have been made with rosewater, Lord Falkland would have made an excellent chief.

§ 36. The first great victory on either side was won by the Parliament. This was at Marston Moor, in Yorkshire. From all points the armies for several months had been converging

upon York. Leslie, now Earl of Leven, had brought up his Scots, and fought his way to the camp of the Parliamentary Fairfax, who was besieging the archiepiscopal city. Rupert was no less determined to rescue the garrison ; and as his junction with the Marquis of Newcastle raised the army to twenty thousand men, Leslie and Fairfax left the trenches unoccupied, and drew up their forces on Marston Moor. Under their command were the various detachments engaged in the blockade, and fourteen thousand fresh arrivals from the south, among whom were some thousand troopers of the Ironsides in the personal charge of Cromwell.

Rupert waited till the enemy grew tired of standing under arms upon the moor, and had commenced their march towards Tadcaster. He galloped against their rear, and the regiments in advance came back at the run, and formed. After a cannonade of some hours, the second and final charge was made by Rupert, and he succeeded in driving the Scots and English, under Manchester, Fairfax, and Leslie, from their position. But the cry was heard, "God with us !" from the Ironsides, and Cromwell poured down upon the Cavaliers sword in hand. The struggle was dreadful for a time. Horseman against horseman, and both English. No quarter, and no wish for it. "Down with the crop-eared rebels !" "Down with the priests of Dagon !" and many of both those distinguished services went down. But Dagon lost most, and the Cavaliers fled, entertaining very different notions henceforth of the seat on horseback of the base mechanicals they formerly despised. Each army had been defeated on one of its wings, but the great success was on the side of the Roundheads. For on the return of the Ironsides from their short pursuit, they found the enemy on the ground their own friends had occupied ; and gathering up the broken columns of his defeated army, Leslie made a fresh attack. Cromwell charged with the same irresistible weight as before. Everything went down before them. Horse, foot, guns, nobles, and esquires, all were

driven headlong down ; and when eleven o'clock struck on that 2nd of May, the military hopes of the Royalists were crushed for ever. The Marquis of Newcastle himself, and many other chief officers, gave up the contest in despair, and sought safety in foreign lands. This example was followed by the queen, who effected her escape from Exeter.

So great a blow might have had the effect of producing an accommodation between the parties ; but the bad fortune of the king was shown as much in his ill-timed successes as his defeats. Montrose, who had deserted the Covenant, headed the Cavaliers of the north, and gained some battles against Argyle. Essex was nearly captured in Cornwall, while most of his army surrendered ; Henrietta wrote encouraging letters from abroad ; and in a short time the king was more intractable than ever. A better grounded cause for his hopefulness was found in the darker fanaticism which now began to get the upper hand in the army of the Parliament. Laud, who had been imprisoned so long, was executed on Tower Hill ; and while the ground was yet wet with his blood, and public horror was raised by the sight of his bleeding body, overtures were made for peace. Meetings were held at Uxbridge ; but how was any agreement possible where the more powerful of the negotiating parties was at enmity with itself ? Presbyterianism had shown its imperious love of power in more offensive measure than the Papists or the Churchmen ; and, with the aid of its Scottish adherents, now insisted on abolishing Episcopacy and the English forms of prayer. Its leaders claimed the command of all the forces of the kingdom, and were as inflexible to their Independent allies as to their Royalist enemies. Charles, if he had been politic, would have availed himself of these divisions, and might have re-established his authority, by giving securities for the public liberties against these sectaries, as well as against the crown. But he would not aid his own friends by the least real concession. He insisted on the utmost limits of his

irresponsible power, and when his Commissioners were lost in wonder at his obstinacy, the news came out that Montrose had gained some more victories in Scotland, and that still more hopeful letters had come from Henrietta Maria.

§ 37. Cromwell saw the crisis of the war. If some change did not take place in the management of affairs, the cause of freedom was ruined. The Self-denying Ordinance was carried in the Commons, by which no member of either House could hold a military command, and the Presbyterian majority was thus deprived of influence over the army. Cromwell himself, however, was so indispensable in the field that he was appointed general of the cavalry, while Fairfax was nominated commander-in-chief, in place of the Earl of Essex. The troops were new modelled with sole reference to their fighting qualities, and Cromwell's wonderful powers of organization brought the whole body into such a state of discipline and subordination, that the preaching emissaries of the sects found it impossible to sow disunion in their ranks. Naseby was the result. In this famous battle the king distinguished himself by taking the chief command, and showed personal courage in the midst of the confusion of the final assault. "One charge more, and we recover the day!" he cried, but no one answered the appeal. Rupert was in full retreat; five thousand dead encumbered the field, and Charles was lost in the mass of fugitives, and never paused till he got to Hereford. More fatal than the loss of men, more powerful against him than the swords of the Ironsides, was the capture of his private cabinet, and the discovery of his correspondence. All his duplicity, even during the conferences at Uxbridge; all his tenacity of purpose in the midst of such fickleness of conduct; his hopes of aid from foreign power; his pitiful petition to the French king, and even to the Pope himself—all were revealed. The letters were published by the Parliament, and men's faith in the royal word was rendered impossible once more. There was a spirit of revenge against his foes,

and even his lukewarm supporters, if he ever came to his own again, which disgusted Cavalier and Puritan alike. And here another of his inopportune triumphs came in to prevent his bating a jot of the highest of his claims.

§ 38. Montrose was master of the Western Highlands of Scotland. He ravaged Argyleshire with the bitterness of personal dislike to the earl, whom he drove from Inverary. Fire and sword were let loose, with the cruelty of irritated savages destroying a peaceful settlement "on Susquehanna's side," when he forced his way into the Lowlands. Glasgow compounded with a fine, Edinburgh escaped his personal presence by submission, and Montrose went further south. Charles was in Ragland Castle, in Monmouthshire, and felt that the broadswords of auld Scotland were his only hope against the Ironsides. Could he find his way to the camp of his gallant supporter? Could he rouse once more the loyalty of his ancient subjects? England might go for a time. With the Scots at his back, he could regain his old inheritance, and simplify his title by claiming the kingdom as a conquest. He dismissed Rupert from his service and the country, for his tame surrender of Bristol, and placed all his confidence in Montrose. Starting from Cardiff with his cavalry, he resolved to cut his way across the Scottish border, and unite his forces with those of the gallant Graham. But Sir David Leslie was on his track, with all the horse of the Covenant, and kept him in view from the Wye to the Trent. From Carlisle the English foot advanced to meet him, and when the expedition had got as far as Doncaster, he felt the way was hopelessly closed. To go back was nearly as dangerous as to go on. He made a detour among the eastern counties, loaded his followers with booty, and on arriving at Oxford was greeted with the glad news of the victory of Kilsyth. Montrose, even without his assistance, was able to scatter the Presbyterian Blue Bonnets to shouts of God save the King, and loftier notions than ever pervaded the royal mind.

Another attempt was made to get across the Tweed. As far as Chester the march was safely accomplished. Visions of glory and revenge fluttered before his eyes all the way, and he ought to have been suspicious of so sunny an interval as only the precursor of a darker cloud. It came, and overshadowed him beyond relief. At Rawton Heath, near Chester, he was defeated with great slaughter. He fled to Denbigh, and heard of the total discomfiture of Montrose at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk. A fugitive king could only condole with the evil fortune of his fugitive partisan.

Finding it at last impossible to obtain the aid of the Royalist Scots, he was decided by the advice of a French envoy—who offered him the guarantee of France—to throw himself on the protection of the Covenanters. Managing still to keep the English Independents in hopes of a reasonable accommodation, and caballing at the same time with the northern Presbyterians, who gave him timely warning that he must conform to their views, Charles at last, after a number of strange adventures, gave himself up to the Scottish army at Kelham, near Newark, and the quarrel between Presbyterian and Independent was embittered, as he had anticipated, by the event. Parliament sent hostile messages to the Scots; but the canny Caledonians knew the value of their golden prize, and took it with them as far on their homeward way as Newcastle. Charles being thus a guest of one nation and a prisoner in the eyes of the other, could no longer be treated with as if he were free. But the forms of law and the course of justice, which were never interrupted during all this period, must still be maintained. All the old ceremonial of seal and patent must continue to give validity to public acts and private conveyances; so the Parliament met in solemn session, and, to prevent an improper use of those implements of government in incompetent hands, publicly broke the great seal, and supplied its place with a new design.

Of all the trials the king at this time underwent, the

hardest was to resist the efforts of his entertainers to win him over to the Covenant. True to his usual policy of concealment and deceit, he gave them hopes of success, and went so far as to consult Bishop Juxon as to the lawfulness of pretending to accept their opinions and join their communion, with the full resolution of overthrowing them, root and branch, if ever he recovered the power. Glimpses of good news, however, lured him to his doom, and he resolved once more to take the desperate chance of a despotic throne or none. Henrietta Maria, who was living in almost open profligacy with her favourite Jermyn, wrote great things from Cardinal Mazarin, who was the husband of the queen-mother and ruler of France—ten thousand troops from Dieppe, an equal number of Irish, money from Spain, and blessings from the Pope—and Charles rejected the offers of a compromise made by the Parliament, which feared the Scottish Presbyterians more than the English Cavaliers. The monarchical feeling was still so strong that even the reformers would rather have had a bad king than none at all. Charles knew this, and was firm. “You will take me on my own terms,” he said, “you can do nothing without me.”

Meantime the Scots held his majesty, in the double capacity of guest and pledge. England owed them long arrears of pay, and when thirty thousand well-armed creditors send in their bill, the debtor has no disposition to dispute the items. It was known to the Parliament that when the money was paid the security would be given up. Scotland had no right to the custody of the King of England after her expenses were refunded; and accordingly, when the sale of bishops' lands and a loan in London enabled the commissioners to carry the stipulated sum in solid silver to Newcastle, the act was consummated, the king was delivered up, like a cancelled bill, and the Blue Bonnets went over the Border carrying with them the almost fabulous amount of four hundred thousand pounds.

Charles was removed to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire, and was treated with the reverence due to his rank and his misfortunes. Attempts, indeed, were made to shake his religious, or rather his ecclesiastical convictions, and Presbyterian chaplains overwhelmed him with texts; but a new element had come into the strife. Greatest of English Churchmen and purest of Christian men, Jeremy Taylor had lost influence with both parties by advocating the cause of toleration in his "Liberty of Prophesying" (preaching). But now the Independent leaders took the same upward path, and Cromwell himself extended to other sects the freedom he claimed for his own. In this widening of range the Church was comprehended, and the majority of the Presbyterian party, which still ruled the Parliament, saw some chance of a union against them of their two most dangerous enemies.

§ 39. And so did Charles. Cromwell was in London, and got notice, just in time, of a design to arrest him the moment he entered Westminster Hall. He galloped eastward while the officers were waiting to seize him, and threw himself into the midst of the army. The Ironsides were all Independents, the other fighting men were disgusted with the arrogance of the Presbyterian majority; and the race between the legislators in London and the troopers at Saffron Waldon was for the custody of the king. The troopers won. Cornet Joyce of Whalley's regiment got to Holmby House in the middle of the night, and conducted him in all honour to Newmarket. Here the chief commanders presented themselves to his majesty. Among these was Cromwell, who professed ignorance of Joyce's intention, and advocated a return to Holmby. But Charles liked the army, and hoped to win them over. They were certainly more liberal than his former entertainers. They left him the appearance at least of personal freedom, and gratified him still more by permitting him to have service according to the Prayer-book, and chaplains of the regular clergy. They agreed to any

change of quarters he chose, and he moved from house to house, till finally the royal standard floated once more over the towers of Windsor.

His confidence rose with his fortunes. He must have inherited some portion of the fascination of manner which had been so fatal to his grandmother, Mary Queen of Scots; for whoever went near him felt the charm of his presence. Cromwell himself was melted to tears when he saw the meeting between the king and his children, whom the Parliament had kept away from him so long. The happiness lasted but two days, and then they were taken from his embraces. But the kindness of his present custodiers emboldened him for the future. London rebelled against the tyranny of the Presbyterian members, who published an ordinance shutting up all places of worship except their own. The Independents, Churchmen, moderate monarchy-men, and all the Cavalier gentry were determined to put down the narrow sectaries who put down every sect beside. The army marched to London, and took military possession of the posts. Then, tired of anarchy, tired of delay, tired of taxes, battles, sermons, puritanism, and lack of trade, the citizens called out incessantly for the king. Cromwell and the other chiefs submitted certain proposals to him, on the acceptance of which they would guard him to Whitehall. These were only a little too far advanced for the period when they were made. They spoke of religious liberty to the ears of Brownists, Puritans, and Presbyterians; of freedom of trade to the generation which had submitted to monopolies; and of limitations of the royal power to the son of James I. They proposed a reform in Parliament on the basis of wealth and population; they shared the command of the militia for ten years between the Crown and a Council; and restored the jurisdiction of the Church over every matter not involving civil penalties. They also took away compulsory attendance at church, as well as compulsory adoption of the Covenant. In addition, they ex-

cluded all known royalists from a seat in the next parliament, and excepted seven names of Charles's supporters from the Act of Indemnity which was to heal all the wounds and sufferings of the State:

The king availed himself of these two last clauses to decline the whole of the proposals, and Cromwell for the first time spoke openly of the "happy condition the people would be in if our Government were on the model of that so firmly established in Holland." Such an approval of a republic was just in time, for the Royalists had had the art to create a belief that Cromwell had joined their cause. He was to be continued in his command, they said, with the earldom of Essex, which had been held by his ancestor in Henry the Eighth's time. Religious fanaticism is always akin to assassination, and no suspected man was safe. Cromwell was suspected, and threw himself once more on the army. They believed the conqueror of Naseby to be still true to the Independent cause. But republicanism increased. A body of Levellers, as they called themselves, maddened by the preaching of the fanatical Hugh Peters, obtained mastery in the ranks, and turned on the king, as tampering a second time with their enemies the Scots, and being the cause of all the blood that had been shed; and Charles fled to the Isle of Wight. If he got safely to Sir John Oglander's he could either negotiate for his untrammelled restoration or go over to France. Hammond, the governor, received him in Carisbroke Castle with a promise of all the kindness which his condition as officer of the Parliament allowed; and the republican party, now released by the king's flight, from engagements on either side, determined to carry the affair to the end.

The first person the king thought of in this extremity was Oliver Cromwell. He sent one of his attendants with confidential letters to the great Independent; but things had changed. Cromwell promised still as much forbearance towards Charles as did not entail destruction on himself, but

X declined further interference. (Driven thus from his hope of separating the army and people, no way was left but one. The nations must again be stirred up to war if the sects continued united; and the king, after a tedious negotiation at Newport, gulped down many of his previous scruples on the subject of episcopacy, renounced bishops as indispensable governors of the Church, and took the Covenant into consideration in return for the aid of Scotland. He attempted to escape from Carisbroke, but miscalculated the size of the window, and stuck fast. The Scottish Commissioners having secured the treaty, went home to prepare their forces to support it, and England began to relent towards the captive. Perhaps he was never nearer triumph than while he seemed at the lowest point of fortune. Some Royalists had smuggled themselves into Parliament on false pretences. They joined the Presbyterians, and again formed a majority hostile to the army, and the lives of Cromwell, Ireton, Vane, and Fairfax himself were in the utmost peril. Insurrections broke out in various places in the king's cause. His acts of tyranny had been forgotten; nobody could fear a fallen monarch pining in the dungeons of a distant fortress; everybody could feel for a man separated from wife and children, and surrounded by enemies even at his meals. Old officers of the defeated armies appeared again. Cavaliers swore and vapoured, and wore their lovelocks in places of public resort. The 'prentices of London wore the royal favours, and threw mud and sometimes brickbats at the soldiers on guard. Scotland rose up in arms to overthrow heresy, prelacy, and all sorts of wickedness, and restore the Covenanting Charles Stuart to the throne. A Scottish army advanced into England, but few in numbers and lukewarm in spirit, for the Solemn Leaguers did not believe in the sincerity of the king's repentance, and hated the assistance of the Royalist gentlemen who joined them in Yorkshire and offended them by the small reverence they manifested for the spiritual pretensions of those "watchmen of Zion."

It was life or death on both sides. Each had proclaimed the other guilty of treason, and executed its enemies found with swords in their hands, without further trial. Yet even in these circumstances English dislike of slaughter was shown in the fewness of the sufferers. Cromwell shot one officer only of the royal garrison of Pembroke. Fairfax shot two of the captured defenders of Colchester. There was again war and horror over a great part of the land. Half the fleet declared for the king, and put itself under the orders of the Prince of Wales. Lord Warwick was appointed to command the ships still continuing true to the Parliament, and effectually guarded the coast; but the issue seemed as doubtful as before the fight of Marston Moor. The victor of Marston Moor saw the danger of the king's union with the Presbyterians, and knew how little either party would scruple on points of conscience in order to be revenged on their foes. Charles at the treaty of Newport only bargained for prelacy so far as "that the order of bishops should be suspended, not abolished, and their estates sequestrated, not sold." He had defended the Prayer-book with great zeal, but only requested that the Covenant might not be forced upon him till his mind was more enlightened. Cromwell understood what all this meant, and sent his adherent, Colonel Ewer, to supplant Hammond, the governor of the Isle; and Charles was conveyed to Hurst Castle, a melancholy point of land projecting into the Solent.

§ 40. Petitions from towns and counties now poured in for justice against all wrong-doers, and the authors of the civil war, whether high or low. Several regiments named King Charles as the great incendiary, and one of them proclaimed him a traitor and demanded his head. Parliament inclined to the king. The Presbyterians and Royalists carried a resolution that "the king's concessions at Newport were a sufficient foundation for a treaty of peace." The Independents—outvoted by thirty-five—showed their real majority in buff jerkins and jack-boots in Palace-yard, and sent Colonel Pride

to clear the House. This operation, which is known as "Pride's Purge," effectually purified the representation from any mixture hostile to the bearers of the sword. The army was undisputed master of the kingdom, and Cromwell was undisputed master of the army.

§ 41. Cromwell was one of the men who are blest with a conscience which tells them they are never wrong. He was persuaded that the king was dangerous to the country, and that he himself could be of incalculable use to it. He had satisfied himself, after many prayers and deep meditation, that the path he entered on was agreeable to God; and always allowing the sagacity of the politician to regulate the action of the religious enthusiast, he advanced his worldly honour and spiritual perfection at the same time. The greatness of his qualities, and the success which crowned his efforts, have attracted so much admiration to his career, that attempts are made at the present day to invest him with all the virtues and none of the failings of mankind. More virtues and fewer failings he had than most of those who have waded through slaughter to a throne; but nothing ought to blind us to the blemishes of a man who stirred up fanatical feelings in order to increase his following; who preached freedom and used his power like a despot; who owed everything to a Parliamentary form, and introduced a military sway such as England had never known; crushing opposition by despotism, ruining enemies by confiscation, wresting the law to his own designs, and thinking he repaid the nation for all with an increase of its foreign influence and military fame.

§ 42. The purified Parliament henceforth knew no cold delay. Accusers were summoned by heralds and town-criers to come forward with all they knew against the king. A day was appointed for his trial, and Bradshaw, a lawyer, sat as President. Westminster Hall was again fitted up for a more august occasion than the impeachment of Strafford. The king sat at the bar on a gilded chair, and maintained his

royal dignity throughout. Now that the great hour had come, the finer qualities of his nature came forth. Adversity at last had schooled him to be true; and no lurking hope of the future induced him to palter in a double sense. Thousands of the people filled the great apartment, silent and awestruck. The judges sat on raised forms, and kept on their hats. There were sixty of them present, and not a glance among them all was turned in pity on the prisoner. His fate was already decided. On his return to St. James's, after the first day's trial, some voices were raised in his favour, but "God save the King!" was drowned by the harsher cries of "Justice! justice!" and even the popular sympathy that waits on unsuccessful greatness was denied.

The next day's proceedings advanced the cause a step. The king refused to plead, and denied the jurisdiction of the court. He took higher ground, and maintained that in resisting this illegal authority he was maintaining the liberties of England. But the time had come, in the opinion of the court, when the magnitude of the question had burst the ordinary boundaries of the law. It was a revolution of unexampled greatness, and must stand or fall on its own merits. Forms are only of secondary importance when first principles are at stake; and the accusation was read by the clerk. It arraigned Charles Stuart of various high crimes and misdemeanours against the laws and safety of the commonwealth. He made no confession of these crimes, and the judges considered them so notorious as scarcely to require proof. Witnesses, however, were examined in the absence of the king, and on the 26th of January the sentence was prepared, and was to be pronounced on the following day. London had little sleep that night. There were shouts of triumph, and brutal exultation hidden in profane allusions to the Jebusites and Hivites; but in many private houses there were tears and prayers, as if some great calamity overhung the land. Charles was a king, and looked so kingly in his fall, spoke so gently when he was

insulted, and looked round for sympathy among the crowd with so kind an expression in his soft hazel eye, that hearts were melted in the most rugged bosoms. A man, on this supreme day of his suspense, was near him as he passed to hear the condemnation, and said, "God bless you, sir." "Thank you," said Charles; and when an officer struck the sympathizing citizen with his cane, he added, sternly, "Methinks the punishment exceeds the offence."

He saw at a glance the inevitable doom about to be uttered, and pleaded for his life. "Let me be heard before sentence is pronounced. Let me explain before the Lords and Commons. What I have to say deserves their hearing." But Bradshaw spoke harshly, and ordered the clerk to proceed. The sentence was read. It pronounced him guilty, and condemned him to death. One of the judges rose. "Have we hearts of stone?" he cried. "Are we men? I am not satisfied to give my consent to this sentence. I have reasons against it." Alas! the worthy citizen, John Downes by name, was coughed down, and ordered to be quiet. Lady Fairfax, the wife of the Presbyterian general, interrupted the president when he said the charge was brought in the name of the people of England, with a scream of "No, not half of them!" Other spirits were subdued or softened in that vast assemblage when the frightful words were uttered that his head should be severed from his body; and Charles, with natural clinging to existence, still pleaded anxiously to be heard. "You cannot be heard after sentence," said Bradshaw, coldly. Cries of obloquy were heard, but quickly quelled; compassion was hushed into silence, and in the midst of unrelenting looks from his judges, and the breathless attention of the crowd, the king was removed.

He sent for Bishop Juxon on his arrival at St. James's. More liberal than the Presbyterians would have been, the Independents allowed the meeting of the friends, and far into the night their conference held. "I am not afraid of death,"

said Charles; "and bless my God I am prepared." With Colonel Hacker to guard him and Juxon by his side, he walked next morning through the park to the palace of Whitehall, in front of which the scaffold had been built. On his way there was no indecent rejoicing. He was a man about to die, and the shouts of exultation were not fitted for his ears. Rather there were sighs and blessings poured on his now humbled head as he passed. Women's voices uttered words of grief, men were silent, and he entered the banqueting-room of Wolsey's mansion, where he had presided so often, and long ago celebrated the happy espousals of his sister with the Elector of the Rhine.

When he stepped from the window upon the scaffold, the soldiers themselves felt the solemnness of the hour. Charles spoke at some length, explaining, justifying, extenuating his conduct, and professing his good intentions through it all. When he came to speak of Strafford his voice failed him, and the thought of his ingratitude to that unfailing friend broke forth in words:—"That unjust sentence that I allowed to take effect has brought this unjust judgment upon me." Then he renewed his declaration of forgiveness of all his enemies, and inculcated once more his political faith. The people should have no power in this realm; "that being a thing nothing pertaining to them." "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown," was the last sentence uttered by the king. "A good exchange," replied the bishop; and before laying his head upon the block he gave his George to Juxon, with the strange and mysterious word, "Remember," and died at one blow of the axe.

Once more that oval face, now indented with the lines of care, and the rich auburn hair, now grizzled with premature old age, and the peaked beard which gave such a manly expression to his countenance, were to revisit the light of day. In the month of April, 1813, the late Sir Henry Hallford, the physician, was requested by the Prince Regent to open Charles's

tomb. They descended into the vault at Windsor, and breaking open the coffin known as King Charles's, they saw the body, with the separated head lying at the top. The features were easily recognisable. For a moment the light of the nineteenth century shone upon the brown eye and illuminated the auburn locks, but the action of the air mouldered them both away, and the tomb was restored to its old condition. The reason of introducing this anecdote here will be seen when we come to the strange rumours which were current about the disposal of the corpse. But malevolence and friendship might have saved themselves the inventions. The headless Charles slept in the royal cemetery of our kings, and the world went on its course with swifter steps than before.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

- 1625. Accession of Charles I. His marriage with Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. of France.
- Charles dissolves Parliament for refusing to settle the revenue of tonnage and poundage, or to grant supplies.
- 1626. The second Parliament met at Westminster.
- Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham, who is defended by the king.
- The king raises money by the sale of crown lands, by loans, and by ship-money, in disregard of the Commons.
- 1627. Charles declares war against France.
- The Duke of Buckingham's fruitless expedition to the Isle of Rhé.
- 1628. Assembling of the third Parliament, and its dissolution. "Petition of Right" obtained.
- Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham.
- 1629. The king enforces the levying of tonnage and ship-money without the consent of Parliament.

A.D.

- 1635. Old Parr was presented to the king at 152 years of age.
- 1635-38. Resistance to ship-money. Trial of the patriot Hampden.
- 1639. War with Scotland.
- 1640. Meeting of the fourth Parliament, after eleven years' cessation, and its dissolution.
- Invasion of England by the Scots, and the battle of Newburn.
- Meeting of the "Long Parliament."
- 1640-41. Attainder and execution of Strafford.
- 1641. Abolition of the Star Chamber and High Commission.
- The Irish rebellion, and massacre of the Protestants.
- 1642. Civil war commences in England, arising from the contests between the King and the Commons.
- The battle of Edge-hill.
- 1643. Death of the patriot Hampden.
- 1644. Cromwell defeats the royal army at Marston Moor.
- 1645. The King's forces totally defeated at Naseby.
- 1647. The Scots give up the king to the English.
- 1649. Trial and execution of Charles I.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

A.D. 1649 TO A.D. 1660.

CHAPTER III.

CROMWELL (THE LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH).

A.D. 1653 TO A.D. 1658.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XIV.

SPAIN.—Philip IV.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.—Ferdinand III.; Leopold I.

POPES.—Innocent X.; Alexander VII.

- § 1. State of parties. The Bible perverted to the justification of the most odious crimes. Saints and Cavaliers.—§ 2. The Commonwealth proclaimed. The House of Lords declared “useless and dangerous.” Publication of “Icon Basilike.” Its authorship.—§ 3. Vigorous measures of the Commonwealth. Cromwell’s successful campaign in Ireland.—§ 4. Rebellion in Scotland in favour of Charles II. Execution of Montrose. Cromwell’s campaign in Scotland. Victory of Dunbar. Charles crowned at Scone. He advances into England.—§ 5. Cromwell captures Perth, and follows Charles to Worcester. Battle of Worcester. Flight of Charles.—§ 6. Cromwell’s great ascendancy. He becomes Lord Protector of the Commonwealth.—§ 7. At war with Holland. Van Tromp and De Ruyter. Blake and Monk. Severe naval contests, in which the Dutch are finally defeated, and sue for peace.—§ 8. Cromwell expels the Parliament. His vigorous administration. His first Parliament.—§ 9. The Protector’s energetic measures and conciliating policy.—§ 10. He inspires respect abroad as well as at home. He punishes the Duke of Tuscany and the Bey of Tunis, and captures Jamaica.—§ 11. “Humble Petition and Advice” of the Commons. A House of Lords summoned. Cromwell refuses the crown, but accepts the proposition that he should name his successor.—§ 12. Successes against Spain. The new Parliament. Apparent hopelessness of Charles’s restoration.—§ 13. Cromwell’s overwrought mind. His sickness and death. His exalted character.

§ 1. LET us not value the Bible one whit the less for the dreadful use to which some of its language was turned in the political contests of the seventeenth century. Wherever there is a free Bible there will be a free people; but the sudden opening of its pages was like the opening of the prison-doors to the captives of the Inquisition.) The light was too much at first, and men thrust into the glare of sunlight, staggered and wandered in mind like drunken men. Both parties desecrated the holy volume by appealing to its decision in their temporary quarrels. Kings were declared to be of divine appointment, and to be the ministers and representatives of Heaven. But the saints, on the other hand, were the people of God, red with the blood of the Canaanites, before kings were known in Israel. There was a vast amount of sincerity on both sides in this great argument; but hypocrisy soon mingled with reality. There was hypocrisy of vice as well as of virtue. Troopers, with strange names derived from Holy Writ, Boanerges Brown and Melchizedeck Smith, robbed and pillaged, on the strength of a text in the Old Testament, and the Cavaliers became as profane in language as they were dissolute in conduct, to distinguish themselves from the rabble who snuffled through the nose, and prayed with no respect for grammar. To curse, to brawl, to drink with excess, and break all the commandments, was the sign of a gentleman. They had been disappointed of a despotic king and a fiercely dominant Church, and revenged themselves by a contemptuous disregard for the decencies of life. Well pleased with the reports they heard of their new chief, who had now exchanged the shadowy title of Prince of Wales for the still more shadowy name of King of England, the boisterous youth of that time saw a bright vista before it of unlimited licence under a sovereign who already showed a jovial selfishness and voluptuary enjoyment of the present hour, which contrasted favourably in their eyes with the stately manners and external moralities of their murdered lord.

§ 2. On the day after the king's death the Commonwealth was proclaimed. The small remains of the original Long Parliament, which had met in 1641, were now ignominiously known as the Rump, and consisted of none but rigid Independents, all other sects having been carefully swept away by Pride's Purge in the preceding year. The number of members of the Lower House did not exceed a hundred, and as they very soon passed a resolution declaring the House of Lords "useless and dangerous," they openly took the whole power into their own hands, and governed through a Council of State consisting of forty-one. But their entrance on authority was not unopposed. The Scots, who hated civil intolerance, hated religious toleration more; they would have no fellowship with a class of people who permitted liberty of worship to all sects, and even winked at the Roman Catholic ceremonial. A great army therefore quickly gathered in the north, in order to overthrow the latitudinarian council, and revenge the martyred king. Holland also gave aid and influence to the newly-recognised Charles, and a greater friend of the royal cause than armies and money, arose in the shape of a little book. How changed the times were since the last conflicts between contending Englishmen will be seen in this curious fact. A book in the Wars of the Roses would have been of no value to either side; but here a single volume, purporting to be written by the victim himself, called by the affected name of *Icon Basilike*, or portraiture of the king, was studied by the thousands and hundreds of thousands who had learned the art of reading, and a strange revulsion of feeling shook every heart. It was so filled with meekness and devotion, inculcated such precepts, and conveyed them all in so telling and rhetorical a style, that men could no longer believe in the dangerous designs and dishonourable duplicity of the author. The book to our cooler judgments may be filled with commonplace remarks; but when it came fresh upon the public, it was the spirit breathing through it

which subdued the reader's mind. Milton tried to answer it in vain. His reply fell dead upon the public ear, and Charles, who had practised deceit as a part of kingcraft all his life, was made a partaker in this final falsehood by its author, Bishop Gauden. The book was guarded from censure or suppression by the name of its reputed writer; but when better days came, and the acknowledgment was safe, the bishop confessed the imposture, and claimed the authorship of the work. The controversy has been prolonged into the present day; but the belief is now universal, that Charles had no hand in the composition.

§ 3. The Commonwealth was vigorous with the strength of fever. It condemned Hamilton and Capel to the block; and when it had appointed Blake admiral of the fleet, and Cromwell general of the army, all men felt that thenceforth the Channel was secure, and the troops assured of victory. Cromwell went over to Ireland, which was in open resistance to the Parliament, and assumed the office of Deputy. In less than six weeks from the day of his landing the country was at his feet. He stormed Drogheda and Wexford, giving way in both instances to the politic cruelty which sometimes produces a peace by exaggerating the horrors of war; and having pacified all the districts of the south, left Limerick and Waterford to be reduced by his son-in-law, Ireton, in the following year.

§ 4. Meanwhile the successful general was received with acclamations by the English. He was thanked by the Parliament and the municipality of London for his exploits against the Irish rebels; and as he had long discovered his own genius for war, he saw openings for future distinction on all sides. Foreign nations were making preparations in support of Charles. Some of the outlying dependencies of England itself, such as the Scilly Isles and Jersey, hoisted the royal flag; the Scottish armies were ready for battle against the rival sect, and on the 16th of June hailed the arrival of

the jocund and religious king, who had sworn to maintain the Covenant, and would have sworn anything else; for why should he grudge an oath or two to keep his friends in good humour?

One man of Belial, though devoted to the service of the same king, they had already smitten with the rod of affliction. Montrose had landed in the Northern Highlands, shouting his Cavalier war-cries as of old. But royalism had died out of the Presbyterian heart as completely as the Independent, and the fanatical swordsmen in blue bonnets only remembered, when he was their prisoner after the fight of Corbiesdale in Caithness, that he was excommunicated by the Kirk, and had spilt the blood of the saints. They heaped all the ignominy they could on the head of the conqueror of their champion, Argyle; they tied him with cords in a cart which was driven by the executioner, and hanged him like a common felon under an attainder passed on him in 1644. And greatly was Montrose indebted to their vulgar hate, for it gave him the opportunity of bearing up against all their designs to lower him. The hurdle became a triumphal chariot; the halter as noble as the collar of the Garter; and the Tolbooth, where the tragedy took place, a scene which has glowed on canvas and in verse, with the victory of "man's unconquerable mind."

But the Puritans of Marston and Naseby were now to be confronted with the fanatics of Philiphaugh. Cromwell advanced to Dunbar, passed on to Haddington, and, pushing farther forward, seized on Arthur's seat, and saw the grey metropolis of the north lying below. A very different town, with its narrow streets and high stone houses breaking the sky-line with fantastic gables and stacks of chimneys; with lanes painfully climbing up steep eminences on either side to establish a communication with the Canongate and High-street, which ran in irregular outline from Holyrood to the Castle—very different from the cities, in two distant ages born, which stand on the opposite sides of their separating valley—the wild, romantic,

and grim-featured city of the Stuart kings towering above the calm and splendid regularity of its sister of the present century—the city of the bloody Douglasses and furious Crawfords contrasting, and yet combining in perfect unison, with the quiet and majestic capital where Jeffrey, and Cockburn, and Scott, and Wilson were the honoured names. Cromwell looked down on it from his lofty rock, and judged of its powers of resistance.

Meanwhile Leslie and the Covenanters had got between the invaders and Dunbar. All the heights and passes were seized; English vessels could not bring provisions or recruits, and the prospect of an involuntary fast was not pleasant to the Independent taste. Cromwell went eastward to the neighbourhood of Dunbar, and if the Scots had merely waited on the upper grounds, guarding the roads and harassing the outposts, a few days would have settled the fate of the Ironsides. But the drum ecclesiastic was beaten from morning till night in the Scottish camp. Preachers proved incontestably from the history of Sennacherib that Cromwell would be overthrown, and neither generals nor men could resist the statement made by a very eloquent divine that the Lord had delivered him into their hands.

They came down from the hill, and charged the English lines. They might as well have charged the Berwick Law. Cromwell shouted, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" and a long file of dead showed the advance of his force. Four thousand killed and ten thousand prisoners constituted the victory of Dunbar, and Scotland's shield and spear were equally broken. Charles had not had a hearty laugh since the ill-omened day when he trod on Scottish ground. He tried to get off from the kind custody of his friends, who oppressed him with care for his religious safety, and nearly preached him to death. They caught him in the act of escape, and preached longer than ever. They carried him to Perth, and crowned him at Scone. But Cromwell

was almost in time to be witness of the ceremony. Charles fled from Perth to Stirling; from Stirling he hurried through the southern counties, and crossed into the north of England. Everywhere he made vain appeals to his adherents to join him, and finally found himself at Worcester, where the Royalists at length gathered round him, and resolved to try the fortunes of a battle.

§ 5. Cromwell took Perth on the 2nd of August; on the 28th he was before Worcester. His fortunate day, the 3rd of September, the day of Dunbar, was at hand, and he resolved to celebrate the anniversary with a victory as decisive. Great preparations were made in both camps. The Royalists, proud to have a crowned king among them again, drank with the most fervent loyalty, and cursed with enormous perseverance, while the opposite party sharpened their swords, and listened to disquisitions on the fate of Absalom. When the day came, the fight began. It was the stoutest contested of the war, and ended in being known as the "Crowning Mercy" of the Parliamentary arms. England after this was no place for Charles. He fled, and put on many disguises, met with many friends and no betrayer, and finally effected his escape from Shoreham, carrying with him his imperturbable gaiety and heartless spirit of enjoyment, till the whirligig of time brought him back to Windsor again.

§ 6. A feeble mind than Cromwell's would have been inflated by his success. Hampton Court was fitted up for his reception, and a large estate settled on him; the people were silenced, and Parliament itself was dependent on his nod; but higher things than vanity were to be found in that deep and sagacious mind. Saying little, and clothing that little in impenetrable mysteries of language, hinting, portending, but all the time retaining the power of withdrawing from his enigmatical suggestions, nobody could fathom his designs,—nobody could foretell his conduct. Perhaps he saw that the want of a mastering hand would let loose the curse of dissension again;

perhaps he sincerely felt that Providence had called him to the great task of ruling a people with equity and a nation with judgment; perhaps it might be that the promptings of personal ambition were mistaken for voices from the holy place; but whatever was his motive—whether mixed with evil, or uncontaminated by a base or selfish thought—circumstances performed the same act for him which the pope, ages before, had performed for Pepin the king, and pronounced him “foremost man of all that time, in right of his great deeds.”

The name of power was naturally to be united to the real possession of it, and by the end of this year we shall see Cromwell conqueror in battle, master in council, firm in character, strong in will, become Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, and take his place, as if to the manner born, among the potentates of Europe. We shall see foreign ministers vying with each other in the servility of their deportment before the new ruler, and Cromwell preserving the inscrutable obscurity of expression which had served his purpose so well in his rise, puzzling the hereditary statesmen to guess at the next move of the man who had the finest army and one of the strongest navies in the world.

§ 7. On Cromwell's accession to power he found himself at war with Holland, at that time among the greatest of maritime States. The Rump had quarrelled with the Provinces, and the two Republics fought with the fury of a family feud. Great men arose on both sides. Van Tromp and De Ruyter were worthy rivals of Blake and Monk. A three days' fight, with only the intermission of the hours of darkness, had ended in the triumph of England in September, but in November all Holland came to the rescue. The Texel, the Scheldt, and the Rhine poured forth all their vessels, and Van Tromp put up a broom at his masthead, in sign that he swept the English Channel. Gnawing his proud heart in secret, Blake retreated before the overwhelming force after a running fight, in which he suffered great loss, and sent round for aid.

When aid came, the fleet hoisted all sail in search of the enemy, and Blake fixed a horsewhip to his masthead in return for Van Tromp's broom, as the sign he would flog the presumptuous Dutchman out of the narrow seas. Since that time every ship of war carries a streaming pennant, which is the beautified substitute for the original whip. Dean, Monk, and the great admiral fell in with the Dutch off Portland. They counted a hundred sail, including their armed merchantmen, and the English had eighty ships. A tremendous cannonade, which was heard all up the Channel, showed the course of the running fight. Van Tromp was in retreat towards Boulogne. Each day renewed the contest at a point farther to the east, and at last, when the enemy got into Calais roads, they found they had lost forty vessels and nearly four thousand men. To conclude the story of Van Tromp. He was blockaded in the Texel by Admirals Monk and Penn in June and July, and maddened with rage, and some say brandy, dashed out to break their line. A shot in the thick of the fiercest battle of the war put an end to the heroic Dutchman, and so humiliated his countrymen that they applied for peace.

§ 8. It was while these victories by sea consolidated his domestic power, that Cromwell, perceiving the Parliament not to be so submissive as he expected, performed a stroke of State which delivered him from a rival power. The members were preparing numbers of reforms; they were going to secularize still farther the estates of the Church, make alterations in the franchise, lessen expense, and greatly diminish the army. Oliver summoned his generals and friends. It was a race between him and the legislature; a few more votes and his influence would be gone. He marched a file of soldiers to the House, pointed contemptuously to the mace before the Speaker, and said, "Remove the bauble!" The members were expelled, and the Man of Destiny had reached the summit of his career.

But the forms of legal government were to be retained. There were to be a Council of State and a House of Commons. No tax was to be raised without the vote of the four hundred and sixty representatives, but the Lord Protector and his council could exercise all the functions of the Legislature, and pass any ordinance they chose, which was to have the full force of law. This was in fact creating a despotism by Act of Parliament. After this abnegation of authority, it would have been wiser in the legislative body to have submitted to their lot; but the Parliament, summoned under the new arrangement, pretended to independence though it appeared in the Protector's livery, and disputed some of his commands; it declined to declare the Protectorship hereditary in his family, and also to bind themselves for ever to the present form of government by one person and a Parliament. Oliver cashiered the recusants, and treated the compliant remainder with extraordinary respect. They registered his decrees, and shared the obloquy of his unpopular measures. He had all the advantages of a monarchy and a parliamentary constitution—combined power as in one, divided responsibility as in the other. He took the generous and patriotic department into his own hands, and left the unpopular business to his workmen in St. Stephen's.

§ 9. It cannot be doubted that after the dissensions of past years, and the universal anarchy of thought, if not of action, which had been introduced by the forcible overthrow of all established authority in Church and State, the country required a strong hand to keep it in its course. It soon discovered that the hand which held the reins was a very strong hand indeed. A gentle hand, too, when the bit needed to be loosened, or the sides of the patient courser kindly smoothed. At first there were risings of the Royalists, which were instantly put down and harshly punished; Scotland was held in chains, and Ireland gagged and fettered. Nobody could rise in opposition with the slightest chance of impunity; but submission blunted

the sword. Oliver would not gratify his followers with the confiscation of cavaliers' lands. The cavaliers began to think him a good fellow, and rejoiced when his blows fell upon the sour Presbyterians or stiff-necked Anabaptists. He settled pensions on the widows and children of gentlemen who had died in arms against him, and seemed more placable to all classes than to his old allies, the professed Republicans. It was a vigorous, active, all-commanding government. Obedience was both wealth and safety. Ireland itself grew so quiet that English settlers carried over their riches and skill, and the value of land became ten times higher than it had ever been before. Life and property were safe even in Scotland, where every man hitherto had been his own lawyer, and lairds tracing in unbroken descent from kings and heroes before King Fergus, thought it no disgrace to live by stealing their neighbours' cattle, or by taking bribes to abstain from robbery and murder. The name of Cromwell was as good as a mounted police from Berwick to Inverness, and every year added to the peace if not the contentment of the three kingdoms.

§ 10. Abroad the Protector's policy was the same. He overawed the proud, and encouraged the humble. Assuming a statelier dignity than France or Spain, he admitted the United Provinces to his equal alliance. He protected the Protestant dwellers among the valleys of Piedmont, and as he could not reach that inland country with his fleets, he gave a very decided notice to the minister of France that if any more persecution of the Vaudois reached his ear, he would hold him responsible. The Roman cardinal was glad to escape the Independent's wrath by defending the enemies of his Church against their Catholic prince. As to the Tuscans, who had allowed Prince Rupert to sell his English prizes at Leghorn, and the Bey of Tunis, who had made many Englishmen slaves, he sent his fleets to thunder on both shores of the Mediterranean, fining the Duke of Tuscany sixty thou-

sand pounds, and delivering the Christian captives out of the prisons of the barbarian. At the same time Penn and Venables sailed with a great expedition to the west, and the next news that came of them was that they had taken full possession of Jamaica, and he was thereby in a condition to make a landing on the Spanish colonies whenever he chose.

§ 11. A Parliament without a House of Lords was scarcely such a continuation of the old form as to satisfy the English mind. And if an Upper Chamber were restored, who could tell whether the machinery of government might not be found still incomplete without a king? Cromwell accepted the "Petition and Advice" of his faithful Commons, and determined to summon a House of Peers. The more zealous Cromwellians had attached to this paper a request that he would assume the royal title; but here the Protector paused. He knew what clamours and opposition would be raised, particularly by his military supporters. The conduct of the eleven major-generals, to whom he had assigned districts in order to secure their obedience, had excited great ill-will towards their rough rule, and were not likely to submit to so great an elevation of their chief as would enable him to dispense with their assistance. The bitterness of the Royalists, also, would be increased by the conversion of what they thought a temporary interregnum into the foundation of a new dynasty. The cautious soldier resolved therefore to bide his time. He accepted the minor proposition, that he should name his successor.

§ 12. The effect of military successes was tried once more. Treasure-ships of Spain, towed into port, and Mardyke captured by a joint army of English and French, again set the bonfires blazing; and deadening the sense of the loss of liberty by the anodyne of Fame, the Lord Protector summoned a new Parliament on the ancient model. Sixty noble lords responded to his call; but of these only seven were of the old nobility, and the remainder not very distinguished

men. The majority of the Commons disowned the Upper House; and authority, in fact, became more concentrated in his "Highness" than before. The first man to give up all hope of restoration was Charles II. himself. A nation which had beheaded his father was not very likely to crown him. His adherents were as poor as himself. Foreign potentates were terrified at a growl from the usurper, and sent him on his travels at a hint from the English resident at their courts. Yet money must be supplied—pleasure must be had and paid for. Selfishness had the same effect as magnanimity; and Marius in the ruins of Carthage did not moralize more wisely on the nothingness of earthly grandeur than Charles amid the broken bottles and sick headaches of his riotous entertainments. He applied for the hand of Oliver's daughter, and looked forward, of course, to a suitable dowry with his bride.

§ 13. But the end was drawing near. Oliver, still vigorous in mind, wrought too hard for the strength of his worn-out frame. He had to guard against open enmity and secret assassination. His friends departed from him when they supposed, rightly or wrongly, that he had forsaken his ancient opinions. The whole business of the nation, fleet, army, law, religion, policy, passed through his hands. No mind of that period had so clear a perception of the requirements of a good government. He wished to reform the law—that sink of sorrow and shame, even for the present generation—which, by a slavish adherence to precedent and narrow interpretation of principles, enables a wealthy litigant to ruin his adversary by unfounded and even unsuccessful claims. He saw clearly that Popery in its full development is inconsistent with civil freedom, and held that England could only continue great while she took her stand as the first of Protestant powers. He would have secured the freedom of trade, the growth of manufactures, the maintenance of the fleet, and the influence of the people on the policy of Europe; but the struggle was too great.

London knew at the beginning of August that the Protector was seriously ill. All the churches were filled with multitudes weeping and pouring forth prayers for his recovery. But the great man was on his death-bed. Drawing his breath in this harsh world with pain, he nominated his eldest son, Richard, to succeed him in the Protectorate, and then turned his thoughts to God. He prayed for his enemies, and pardoned them their hostility, confessing his shortcomings and sins, but glorying that he was "a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Jesus Christ, which strengthened him." His family knelt round him. He missed the faces of his favourite children, Robert, who died in youth, Oliver, who had been killed in Ireland, and Mrs. Claypole, who had died the year before; but all his earthly affairs were settled; he sank into unconsciousness, and passed away on the anniversary of his great battles of Worcester and Dunbar, making the 3rd of September again memorable by the demise of the greatest soldier, statesman, and ruler whom England has ever seen.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

1649. On the death of Charles I. England is declared a Commonwealth.

— An act passed for abolishing kingly government and the House of Lords.

— Prince Charles declared at Edinburgh and in Ireland under the title of Charles II.

— Cromwell is made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, defeats the Earl of Ormond's forces, takes Drogheda by storm, and is everywhere victorious.

1650. Charles II. lands in Scotland, which Cromwell invades, and gains the battle of Dunbar.

1651. Charles, with an army of 16,000 men, invades England, and is proclaimed King of Great Britain. He is defeated at the battle of Worcester, and flies to France.

A.D.

1653. Expulsion of the "Long Parliament," and assembling of Cromwell's first Parliament, commonly called "Barebones Parliament."

— Cromwell made Protector of the Commonwealth, with power to make war and peace, assemble Parliament, make laws, &c.

1655. War with Spain. Naval expeditions of Blake, and capture of Jamaica.

1657. The Protector is invited to take upon himself the style and title of king, which he refuses.

— Blake attacks the fleet of Spanish galleons under the castle of the Canaries, and burns them all.

1658. Capture of Dunkirk.

— Death of Oliver Cromwell, and nomination of his son Richard as Protector.

CHAPTER IV.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

A.D. 1658 TO A.D. 1660.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XIV.

SPAIN.—Philip IV.

EMPEROR OF GERMANY.—Leopold I.

POPE.—Alexander VII.

§ 1. Richard Cromwell, Protector. Feebleness of his government. The new Parliament. Contentions of the different parties.—§ 2. The army resolves to retain its supremacy, and compels Richard to dissolve the newly-summoned Parliament. Restoration of the "Long Parliament."—§ 3. Its declaration against any head of a government. Resignation of Richard. His contemptible character.—§ 4. Government of the "Rump." Popular discontent and confusion.—§ 5. General Monk and his army. His march through England. His designs kept secret. His terms with Charles II.—§ 6. A new Parliament assembled, and Charles II. proclaimed king.

§ 1. THE two portraits in Hamlet were not more dissimilar than Oliver and his son. When we look on that picture and on this, we see the fortunes of the two men dependent on their personal qualities. The great broad views and persistent energies of the Protector are contrasted with the feeble will and uncertain aims of his successor. When Richard, therefore, was peacefully installed in the seat of power, all men felt that it was the name of his father which conveyed to him this authority, but that he was not the man to retain a sceptre which had nothing to hold it up but the force of his own right hand. Dissension and difficulties accordingly soon began. A Parliament was called, which failed to obtain the public confidence, as it was elected by the burgesses of small and rotten boroughs, instead of the large and rising towns to

which Oliver had transferred the franchise. It was divided into sections, of which for a while the strongest adhered to the new Protector. But when cabals began, and the military connexions of the family, Fleetwood, who had married the new Protector's sister, and Desborough, who had married his aunt, quarrelled for the command of the army, and only agreed on the point that it should not be continued in Richard, the sects and political parties perceived their opportunity. There were Independents and Presbyterians as before, but their acts became complicated by the mixed nature of their motives; there were kingsmen, who had bought their seats from the corrupt constituencies; absolute republicans who had been sent up by the enemies of all authority; and people who called themselves fifth monarchy-men, acknowledging no king nor ruler but the Saviour; and intriguing, promising, threatening, and flattering among all these divisions, were two or three who were intent on succeeding Oliver as chiefs of the army; two or three who wished to rule by their eloquence or skill in parliament; and a number of persons who waited patiently to see which side was strongest, with the purpose of joining it at once.

§ 2. The army took the alarm, and resolved to retain the supremacy of the sword. While the Protector was consulting his friends, and anxious to allay the animosities which were spreading in the House itself, a deputation of officers put an end to his hesitation, and forced him to dissolve the newly-summoned Parliament, and recal from its dishonoured tomb the remains of the old one, which Oliver had so unceremoniously ejected six years before. It had still retained in the popular mind some of the reputation it had earned in the great days of its early existence, when it bore the first brunt of the civil war, and fought the battle of freedom against the king and the Cavaliers. Many of course were dead, several had changed their opinions, some had fallen into old age and upon evil days; but the survivors were ferreted out. Lenthal,

the old Speaker, was still sound and talkative, and the reanimated Rump again took its seat, and called itself the Parliament of England.

§ 3. The first thing they did was to astonish the head of the government with a resolution that they required no head of a government whatever, whether called king or protector. They would also have nothing to do with a House of Lords, but would secure the wealth and happiness of all classes of the people by their own infallible wisdom and immaculate virtue. Charles, over at Breda, must have thought the Rump the truest friends of monarchy who had yet appeared. His adherents became so numerous that they scarcely concealed their hopes. Men who remembered the struggles of old, the orations of Pym and Hampden, the sacrifice of Eliot, so heroically made, and even the oracular sentences, half smoke, half fire, of Oliver himself, in the debates on the Grand Remonstrance, were ashamed of the pitiful race which had succeeded. Richard himself, who might have submitted to be schooled by the assailants of Laud and Strafford, could not condescend to take lessons from Lambert and Harrison. Moreover, he was of a gentle nature which hated blood; he was of a domestic nature which made him long for the charities of home; and he retired, after an angry discussion at Whitehall, to the quietude of Hampton Court; there he drew up and signed a resignation of his office, left the regal apartments and the guarded coach; and all that we hear of him is, that when a great debate, fifty years after this, was taking place in the reign of Queen Anne, an old gentleman was present, and deeply interested in the scene. "Were you ever here before," he was asked by one of the audience. "Ay," he said; "when last I was here I sat in that chair," and pointed to the throne. It was Richard Cromwell, who was content to descend to posterity as a weak and contemptible character, because he preferred tranquil happiness to uneasy power. He died in 1712.

§ 4. Some slight appearance of government was still kept up by the Rump; but the country had become distrustful of its designs, and alarmed at the appearance of the army. Sects were howling in all the villages against each other; property had so increased, that the number of persons interested in the maintenance of order was everywhere enlarged; fanaticism had had its day, and was found only to make earth less enjoyable without making heaven more sure. Old men recalled the peaceful days of quiet submission to authority, before ship-money or remonstrances were heard of; middle-aged men remembered their merry meetings on the village green, and junketings at the feasts of the church. There had been no Whitsun-ale for a long time, the Puritans were so very virtuous; and all the young people were greedily drinking in rumours of the gay doings at the court of the young king, the hero of all the Cavalier tales and ballads: how he had hidden in the royal oak after Worcester, and been entertained by Royalist ladies, and smuggled out of the country, like a paladin in the books of chivalry delivered by a sage enchantress, and the land was ripe for a return to the old order in Church and State.

The changes in the form of Government were still further to be increased by the ignominious expulsion even of the Rump. While there remained a Speaker and a mace, with a ministerial majority and a party in opposition, people might have been lulled into the belief that they were ruled by a constitutional Parliament; but Lambert, the most ambitious of the military adventurers produced by the revolution, was alarmed lest the apparent freedom of discussion within the Chamber might lead to dangerous consequences on the public mind. He marched a few regiments to Westminster, and dismissed the miserable relics of the greatest of English Parliaments amid the derision and contempt of the nation, and established a Committee of Safety. This most revolutionary form of government was a symptom of what was

designed. Safety, it was evident, could only be found, in Major-General Lambert's opinion, under the protection of the sword, and in a very short time a Provisional Government was announced, from which all the civil elements of authority were rigorously excluded. A board of officers sat at Whitehall under the presidency of Fleetwood; and Royalists and Presbyterians perceived, when too late, that their divisions had exposed the country to the horrors of a military despotism.

§ 5. Desborough, Lambert, Fleetwood, and the rest of the military prefects under the Protector, had no reliance but on the army. But the only unspoiled portion of the troops were eight thousand well-disciplined, firmly-commanded old Parliamentarians, under the command of Monk, in Scotland. As to the preaching, bible-quoting, text-disputing brawlers in the different districts of England, the original spirit had died out, and left only the dregs. They discussed the prophecies and neglected drill. So king, and parliament, and people, and even the enthusiasts of the fifth monarchy, felt that the decision lay with the Ironsides of the north. Parliament would have made Monk their commander-in-chief; the people would have made him Protector; the fifth monarchy-men would have made him prime minister under the new dispensation; but Monk kept his own counsel, and listened to the more reasonable offers of the king.

There was nothing Charles would not have offered for a prize of half the value. He sent over his agents, rising in his promises and increasing in his prayers for restoration. Monk marched on, crossed the Border, and learned the state of opinion as he came through England. There were no huzzaings, except among the Cavaliers, who had strangely divined the secret, and claimed him as one of themselves. But the navy also divined the secret, and uttered warnings against him. Still the imperturbable gravity of the man carried him through, and a new aid came to the king's cause from the difficulty of discovering the general's real design.

If there was to be a traitor, which of the parties was to win the prize of betrayal? The Presbyterians would have received the king on conditions securing the ascendancy of their church, and their right to persecute all others; others would have made more valuable agreements, and have limited the royal power within legal bounds; but events marched too fast. A new parliament was called in April, and Monk and Charles had finally come to terms. The terms were very easy. Monk was to restore the king, and the king was to enrich and ennoble Monk. The nation was to do the best it could. The high contracting parties left it out of consideration altogether.

§ 6. When the Parliament met, the House of Lords was as fully recognised as the Lower House. Letters were presented to both the assemblies from his Majesty King Charles. In these he promised a general pardon and full liberty of conscience. The fever of loyalty was so strong, he need not have promised anything. Lords and Commons accepted the Declaration of Breda as a new edition of Magna Charta, and sent over fifty thousand pounds to the penniless king; and on the 2nd of May a formal speech was made by the Speaker, which ended, amid the cheers of the whole body, with the words, "Long live King Charles the Second!"

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.

- 1658. Richard Cromwell, eldest son of the Protector, proclaimed Lord Protector.
- 1658-59. Richard assembles a Parliament, and endeavours to make himself master of the army, but without success.
- 1659 Desborough enforces the dissolution of Parliament.
- The principal officers of the army seize the government, and choose Fleetwood as their general, when they publish a declaration inviting the members of the "Long Parliament" to return to their seats.
- Richard Cromwell makes his

A.D.

- submission to Parliament, and resigns the Protectorate.
- 1659. Prevalence of anarchy during the absence of a settled government.
- A Committee of Safety, consisting chiefly of general officers, established to take upon them the exercise of the government.
- 1659-60. General Monk summons a convention in Scotland, and marches with his army towards England. He enters London.
- 1660. A new parliament assembled, which recognises the restoration of Charles II.

RESTORATION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.

CHAPTER V.

CHARLES THE SECOND.

A.D. 1660 TO A.D. 1685.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XIV.

SPAIN.—Philip IV.; Charles II.

EMPEROR OF GERMANY.—Leopold I.

POPES.—Alexander VII.; Clement IX.; Clement X.; Innocent XI.

- § 1. Restoration of Charles II. Great national rejoicings. Special acts of indemnity.—§ 2. Trial and execution of several of the regicides.—§ 3. Sanguinary prosecutions in Scotland. General Monk made Duke of Albemarle.—§ 4. Contentions among the ministers of different sects.—§ 5. Profligacy of Charles and his court. James, Duke of York, married to the daughter of Lord Clarendon.—§ 6. The king married to Catherine, daughter of the King of Portugal.—§ 7. Charles sells Dunkirk to the King of France.—§ 8. Act of Uniformity passed. Religious intolerance.—§ 9. War with the Dutch. Capture of New York. Naval victory over the Dutch.—§ 10. Great efforts made by the Dutch, who are joined by Louis XIV. The Dutch squadron sails up the Medway, destroys the dockyard of Chatham, and burns several ships of war.—§ 11. Political degradation of England. Charles becomes a pensioner to Louis XIV. Plague of London, the great fire, and universal misrule. The Cabal ministry.—§ 12. Stringency of the measures of Parliament to resist the domination of Popery on the one hand and Puritanism on the other. The Five-mile Act.—§ 13. Charles's secret alliance with France against the Dutch for the destruction of Protestantism. He seizes the bankers' funds in the Exchequer.—§ 14. The French and English forces overrun Holland. Prince William of Orange.—§ 15. Efforts of Charles and his brother in favour of popery. Passing of the Test and Corporation Act.—§ 16. Charles's treacherous con-

duct. Interference of Louis XIV. with the British Parliament.—§ 17. The Popish plot. Titus Oates. Earl of Danby, prime minister. General alarm through the nation. Execution of Coleman, secretary to the Duke of York.—§ 18. The Habeas Corpus Act.—§ 19. Insurrection of the Covenanters of Scotland. They are defeated at Bothwell Bridge.—§ 20. Bitterness of political parties. Whigs and Tories.—§ 21. Claims of the Duke of Monmouth to the throne. The Cameronians of Scotland.—§ 22. Despotism measures of the king. The Rye-house Plot. Execution of Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney. Judge Jeffreys.—§ 23. Cowardice and treachery of Howard of Estrich and the Duke of Monmouth. Sanguinary persecutions in Scotland.—§ 24. Atrocious cruelties of the king, and infamous character of his brother James. The king's death-bed scene. He dies a Roman Catholic. His frivolous character.

§ 1. If ever there was a nation intoxicated—not merely by a figure of speech, but actually drunk with excitement and strong potations—it was England on the 25th of May, 1660, when his sacred Majesty Charles II. set foot on the shore at Dover. For days and weeks the delirious joy continued—bonfires, joy-bells, cavalcades, and addresses were everywhere to be heard and seen; and the exile of Breda could only wonder, since his return had created so much happiness, that the nation had deprived itself of his presence so long. Profuse in pleasant speeches and promises of future reward, the restored king was the idol of all his subjects. The first acts of his Parliament confirmed their good impressions, for the past was declared forgotten and forgiven; no men, with very few exceptions, were to be called in question for their behaviour; the army and navy were paid off or greatly reduced; the clergy, who had survived their deprivation during the rebellion and usurpation, were restored to their livings; feudal privileges interfering with trade and property were formally abolished; an income was settled on the king for life; and, finally, the anniversary of his glorious restoration was ordered to be kept with solemn thanksgivings for all generations.

§ 2. Yet the joyous Cavalier was not to be altogether deprived of the luxury of revenge. The persons excepted from the Act of Oblivion were arrested. Among these were twenty-nine who had sat on the trial of the late king, of whom ten

were executed with the barbarities of the law. Harrison was also put to death, along with his confederates in the seizure of the king's person; and fiery Hugh Peters, the fighting chaplain of the Commonwealth, shared their fate. The rest of those deeply implicated were declared traitors, and their estates confiscated whether they were living or dead. And death was no protection against the deeper malignity which burned towards Cromwell. His body was removed from its tomb in Westminster Abbey, and hung on the gibbet at Tyburn. Stories were afterwards spread abroad, to the confusion of the loyalists, that an exchange of corpses had taken place, and that Charles had been substituted on the gallows for Oliver. We know, however, from the opening of the grave at Windsor, that Charles's remains were undisturbed, and the whole disgrace of profaning the sanctuary of the grave is left with the champions, as they called themselves, of the mitre and crown. The bodies of Ireton and Bradshaw were suspended at the same time, and the half-drunken Cavalier could hiccup insolent ballads in presence of the decayed and unrecognisable features of the three men he had chiefly feared while they were alive.

§ 3. In Scotland the prosecutions were more bitter, as the passions had been more excited. Argyle, the leader of the Presbyterians, was pronounced guilty of having aided the Protector, and executed at the market-cross of Edinburgh—an offering to the manes of the Cavalier Montrose. Vengeance followed the enemies of the king, till, in the eyes of the furious Covenanters, they became martyrs in the cause of truth. Some of their ministers were imprisoned, and one put to death, for having preached against Charles ten years before. The smaller lairds paid in purse for their faults in politics, and the stiff persistents in their republican ideas were hanged. A herd of renegades from the Commonwealth, who had served Cromwell with the servility of slaves, now atoned for their crime by cringing to Charles. The price they paid for office and salary was the blood of their late allies. Monk, in this

hideous work, was badly eminent. He was ready with the confidential letters he had received, when in the service of the usurper, to convict his friends of having helped the same cause. Fletcher, the Lord Advocate, had been a tool of the late government as of the present, and could be both counsel and witness against the accused. In both countries baseness and cruelty were passports to rank and riches. Monk was made Duke of Albemarle and commander-in-chief—a traitor to all sides in turn, with the sole advantage of an impenetrable face and a genius for holding his tongue. Milton, on the other hand, the greatest of poets and most consistent of politicians, narrowly escaped with his life for having acted as Latin Secretary to Cromwell, and written a very eloquent defence of the English people in the matter of the king's death. He was only reduced to poverty, and debarred from public employment; owing his comparative immunity to the obscurity which fortunately hung over his name. He was only known as a blind old man who wrote poetry, and was not thought worthy of further notice.

§ 4. For a while at first the unanimity of the nation, in hailing the king's return, extended to the theological parties. An attempt was even made to widen the platform of the Establishment sufficiently to admit the Presbyterian ministers within its pale, and certain compromises were proposed on the subject of surplices and attitudes; but as the king, for purposes of his own, attempted to extend toleration to the sectaries and the Papists, the Protestantism of such distinguished men as Calamy and Baxter took the alarm, and they continued firm in their dissent. The Church, deprived of the strong support of the Puritan divines, was driven into the other excess, and there were soon prominent, in many of the pulpits, orators declaiming about divine right and absolute power in a style to which Laud himself had not ventured to aspire. It was not till many years had elapsed that the middle space between those two extremes was filled up by a

clergy uniting the adherence to Gospel plainness characteristic of the one, and the decency of worship and reverence for ancient usage characteristic of the other. Canterbury has been called an isthmus, with equal firmness resisting the waves of Geneva and Rome.

§ 5. Meantime the Court went on its way rejoicing, and inflicting as much injury on public morals as the counsels of Strafford had prepared for national freedom. Henrietta Maria, the widow of Charles, and now the wife of Jermyn, came over to share the prosperity of her son. James, Duke of York, was sunk in low debauchery which he did not appear to enjoy, and Charles in a round of pleasure which he seemed to enjoy so much, and relieved with such vivacity and wit, that it scarcely appeared to be debauchery at all. James seduced the daughter of Hyde, who was now Lord Chancellor, and married her a few weeks before the birth of her child. Hyde, or Lord Clarendon as he was created, desired to appear more affectionate as a subject than as a father, and professed to wish his daughter rather to be the mistress of so great a prince, than to degrade the royal family by a misalliance; but that specious Joseph Surface of the law only made this declaration in public; in private he secured the hand of the unwilling bridegroom, and became grandfather of Queen Anne.

§ 6. The glimpses we get into the interior of the bright circle where the merry monarch sat enthroned, give no good impression of anything but the reckless buoyancy of his disposition. He married Catherine of Braganza, daughter of the King of Portugal, and introduced her to a scene of revelry and indecorum which struck her with dismay. He forced the services of his favourite, Lady Castlemaine, upon the bride, and employed the Lord Chancellor of England to reconcile the queen to her companionship. Executing his dignified office with his accustomed skill, Lord Clarendon frightened the timid princess by a threat to dismiss all her native atten-

dants, and so lectured her on the divine authority of kings and the duty of submission, that Catherine, who had begun with fits of outraged temper and ostentatious coldness and insult to her rival, reconciled herself to her fate, took the brazen-faced paramour into her confidence and friendship, and left Charles to pursue his course unmolested by reproach as uncheered by affection.

§ 7. Charles speedily got through the supplies granted by Parliament, and the three hundred and fifty thousand pounds he received with his wife. Yet money must be had, for he had many mistresses, and without jewels and entertainments their favour could not be retained. Fortunately he remembered that he had some properties he could pawn or sell, and among these he reckoned the town and citadel of Dunkirk. These had been taken by the French king with Cromwell's aid, and the Protector had retained them in satisfaction of his expenses. It was not only a valuable possession as removing a source of danger to this country, but a pledge for the quiet conduct of France. Whatever Cherbourg and Brest are at the present day as threats of enmity, Dunkirk was at that time. It is therefore clear that Louis was as anxious to buy as Charles to sell. Four millions of livres supplied Charles with pocket money for a month or two, and gave Louis the power of threatening our eastern shores.

§ 8. The first Parliament of Charles had restored the Established Church, having passed an act for uniformity of worship, and ordered a subscription of assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer on pain of deprivation. Reordination was also required, at the hands of a bishop, of those who had been consecrated according to the Presbyterian form. Another act made conventicle meetings illegal, and even the Quakers could not assemble for silent prayer, unless upon paying a fine of five pounds, with transportation for the third offence. Some time, however, was allowed for the intrusive clergy to signify their conformity. Some few,

under the pressure of circumstances or from laxity of principle, acquiesced at once; but when St. Bartholomew's Day came—the last delay allowed for coming to a decision—two thousand ministers left their livings, and threw themselves into want of bread, rather than submit to bishops and use the English Litany. Henceforth they could only look upon the Episcopal Church as a tyrant who disowned and wronged them; and the children's children of those ruined and exasperated men cherish a hereditary hatred against the Establishment, without perhaps inquiring what were the original grounds of the dislike, or whether, in the state of angry feelings at the time, politics had not as much to do with the Presbyterian exodus as religion. They should remember that the martyrs of the Act of Uniformity were the aggressors under the Long Parliament, and in many instances merely surrendered their vicarages to their ejected predecessors. A hierarchy at the same time was imposed upon Scotland, and all the efforts of James and Charles seemed at last crowned with success.

§ 9. Having humiliated dissent at home, the returned patriots resolved to attack republicanism abroad. A war was got up with Holland, and only showed the last flicker of the martial fire which had burned so brightly during the Protectorate. The pupils of Blake were still to be found on board the fleet, and remembered the fights with Van Tromp. Merchants in those days were not a set of portly gentlemen sitting in carpeted offices and casting pleased looks upon a ledger. They united the sword with the pen, and embarking on board their own vessels, ran all the dangers of the sea, and disposed of the cargoes with arms in their hands. Not only against the half-civilized tribes they visited were those arms required, but against their rival traders from Amsterdam or Cadiz. Having literally fought his way into wealth and eminence, the predecessor of the Hopes and Barings retired to the comparative comforts of his London mansion, visited

'Change in a sedate and dignified manner, and rose perhaps to be Lord Mayor.

Some of these merchant adventurers quarrelled with the Dutch on the coast of Guinea, and an English fleet captured the possessions of Holland both in Africa and America. Sir Robert Holmes, the admiral appointed by the African Company, bore across the Atlantic, and disturbed the meditations of the Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, who was smoking his pipe, utterly unconscious of the troubles between his countrymen and the English; and unceremoniously degrading him from his authority, retained possession of the town. It is now better known as New York, and seems destined to dispute with London the glory of being the commercial capital of the whole civilized world.

A foreign power sending its ships to Long Island now, and displacing the civic dignitaries of New York, would create such a disturbance as would reach from pole to pole. In 1664 intelligence did not fly so fast, nor was indignation so volcanic. De Ruyter merely returned the English visit to New York by taking a squadron to Jamaica and the English forts on the African coast. But Holland remained at peace, and England was on good terms with the Hague. As in the days of Drake and Raleigh it was allowable for people to kill each other, if at a sufficient distance from home, without a breach of the peace. But when ships from Amboyna, and other possessions of the Hollanders, were audaciously captured in the Channel, and the shipmasters of the Texel retaliated by laying hold of English barks almost in sight of the Thames, it was impossible to blink the matter any more. Parliament voted funds for the increase of the navy (which Charles spent in a far more agreeable manner), and war was declared.

The first great battle was fought off the Norfolk coast, within sight of Lowestoft. James Duke of York commanded the English ships, amounting to a hundred sail, and Opdam,

the Dutch admiral, had a hundred and thirteen. When the fight was at its fiercest, a sudden explosion darkened all the air, and Opdam's flagship blew up with a dreadful noise. His countrymen lost courage at the event, and hoisted all sail for the Texel. James pursued for a short time, and the loss inflicted on the enemy amounted to eighteen ships taken or destroyed, and seven thousand men.

§ 10. It was an unjust war from the beginning, and conducted on the same buccaneering principles to the end. James was rewarded for his success with a large donation in money, and all the uneasy spirits of the nation were alive in search of plunder. But Holland rose with the danger of her position, and though the English Parliament voted great supplies for the fleet and army, the enemy knew that none of them would be applied to the professed objects of the grant, and felt sure that the navy, which had been so powerful under the Protector, would dwindle away from want of repairs, and from loss by battle and storm. A fight of three days, therefore, between Monk (or Albemarle) and De Ruyter, called the "Mad Battle," as admirals and captains were either drunk or furious, or probably both, consoled the Dutch for the apparent success of their adversaries, by the loss to the English fleet of three or four ships, which they knew would never be replaced. But De Witt, the great pensionary, and De Ruyter devoted every florin they could raise to the enlargement of their navy, and when Louis XIV. joined the Republicans, and encouraged them to attack their rivals, a cry of revenge against England was heard from all the Provinces. De Ruyter sailed into the Channel with eighty sail, and found the coast unguarded from Yarmouth to Dover. The English sailors had not been paid for many months, and were starving in the streets of London. The damaged vessels had never been refitted, and Charles had spent the money intended for the national defence.

De Ruyter came on, and encountered no opposition. He

blockaded the mouths of the Thames and Medway, and the Court, amid the gaieties of Whitehall, might have heard the boom of the Dutchman's guns as he burnt the dockyard at Chatham, and battered down the walls of Sheerness. All that Prince Rupert and Albemarle could do was to throw up temporary fortifications at Woolwich, and De Ruyter, satisfied with the disgrace he had inflicted, and the destruction of all the line-of-battle ships that fell in his way, withdrew from the Thames, and, covered with flags, and firing insulting salutes all along the coast, returned home.

§ 11. This was in June, and in July the Peace of Breda showed how spiritless the English had become. But Louis and Charles now formed a union far more humiliating to England than the victories of the Dutch, for it made our king a recipient of the wages of an imperious master. Louis settled a yearly salary upon his servant, who was bound to execute his commands, and rejoiced in the price of his infamy, as it made him, in some measure, independent of Parliament for his annual supplies.

This is the lowest point of degradation this old English nation has ever reached; her fleets swept from the sea, and her king the menial of a foreign power. Nor was her position more honourable at home. The Great Plague in 1665 had thinned the population of the capital, and perhaps lowered the national courage by the hopelessness of relief. The Great Fire of London, in the succeeding year, was viewed as a farther judgment on the sins of the people; and the popular belief had some foundation in the shameless profligacy prevailing in the upper ranks. Clarendon himself, the sententious speaker of moral maxims, was impeached for dishonesty and extortion. Lauderdale produced an insurrection in Scotland by the cold-blooded ferocity of his rule—himself an old Covenanter, and aided in the torture of his late allies by Archbishop Sharp, at one time an uncompromising Presbyterian. The old Government was superseded by the most

unprincipled administration in our annals, called the Cabal, from the initials of its chief members' names—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale; and men began to despair.

§ 12. The whole reliance of Parliament against the Court tendencies towards Popery and absolutism on one hand, and the Sects and republicanism on the other, was in the stringency of their measures for the defence of the Established Church. The great words, conscience and toleration, had been too often used as cloaks for strengthening Rome, to deceive the Protestants, who felt that their lives and fortunes depended on the maintenance of the Reformation; and the reign of the Saints was too recent to tempt them to renew the supremacy of Barebones and his friends. The cause of freedom was therefore supported by very tyrannic laws. The Five-Mile Act was passed, by which all persons in holy orders, who had declined to take the Oath of Uniformity, should now swear "that it is unlawful to take arms against the king on any pretence whatever," or be debarred from coming within five miles of any city or borough, under heavy penalties.

§ 13. The first move was made on behalf of Rome. A secret treaty was entered into with Louis, by which, in return for his wages of two hundred thousand a year, and the loan of six thousand men, Charles was to declare himself a Catholic, as his brother had already done, and aid the Most Christian King in overthrowing the Protestant Dutch. This private arrangement had the double charm in the eyes of Charles of filling his purse and deceiving the parties to the Triple Alliance, which had been negotiated by Sir William Temple between the three Protestant powers of England, Denmark, and Holland, to curb the ambition of the French. A little deceit enhanced the pleasure of a success. He accordingly redoubled his professions of regard for Holland, and sent his ships against her homeward-bound fleet, which he heard was of enormous value. The Hollanders, however, were pre-

pared, and beat off the piratical attack; and Charles, having broken open the coffers of the Exchequer, where the bankers kept their funds, declared war on the United Provinces, and trusted to his royal employer for assistance to subdue his own subjects at home.

§ 14. France overran the Netherlands with the aid of English forces, commanded by the Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of the king. With Turenne, Condé, and Luxembourg to fight his battles by land, and the furious animosity of Dutch and English to cripple each other effectually by sea, Louis soon saw himself supreme dictator of Europe. But the stamp of the French armies on the soil of Holland had roused the old patriotism of the House of Orange; and the present representative of that princely line, though displaced from the Stadtholdership on account of his father's tyranny, and occupying only a private station, remembered the succession of noble ancestors who had humbled the pride of Spain, and cherished from that moment a determination to quell the Grand Monarque. This was William, son of the daughter of Charles I. If he could have looked through the "seeds of time," he might have seen himself upon his grandfather's throne under the name of William III., and fulfilling all the conditions he had settled for himself, as head of the Protestant interest and antagonist of Louis XIV.

§ 15. From this time we perceive a perpetual contest between the arbitrary designs of the king and the Protestant zeal of his subjects. The Duke of York was more earnest in his attachment both to his religion and to despotic power than his brother, and took the chief management of the measures intended to advance them. While the ministers of Charles endeavoured to win over the dissenters by making common cause between them and the Papists, James, who was deceived by the lofty professions of the High Churchmen, and believed that only a narrow gulf separated them from Rome, followed a different plan, and encouraged the ecclesiastical

chiefs to oppress the Nonconformists with the utmost severity. They might be driven, he hoped, to the shelter of the Pope, when they found they were so bitterly pursued by the Church. But the Nonconformists would not fall into the snare, and the High Churchman hated Rome almost more intensely than dissent. Charles, therefore, was disappointed in the effects of a Declaration of Indulgence which he issued, by a stretch of his prerogative suspending the provisions of an Act of Parliament, and James was disappointed in his hopes of a wider separation between the sects and the Church on the subject of his faith. Toleration indeed was so little understood in those days, that the offerer of it was always suspected of some bad motive. And the result of the king's indulgence and the duke's tampering with the prelates was an increase of Parliamentary disabilities thrown on the Nonconformists, and the passing of the Test and Corporation Act to exclude the Catholics from power. By the effect of this statute, the Duke of York himself was forced to resign his office of High Admiral; and his religious animosity became embittered by the sufferings his conversion entailed.

§ 16. Charles also had become a Catholic, as far as that frivolous and polluted mind could be said to have any religion at all; but peace was of more value to him than the glory of all the martyrs, and he resolved to retain his throne and give his conscience over to the keeping of the Duchess of Cleveland and the Duchess of Portsmouth. To conceal his apostasy from the faith of his fathers, he sent for the Protestant Prince of Orange, and married him to his brother's daughter, Mary, without the duke's consent. He also gave himself with apparent confidence to the counsels of his treasurer, Lord Danby, whose vices and imperfections were compensated for, in the eyes of his countrymen, by his steady attachment to Protestantism and hatred of France. The marriage, indeed, was a proof of both; and Louis was so irritated by it that he withdrew the pension for a while, and

would not even pay the eighty thousand pounds which he had promised to the king for proroguing Parliament for six months. It is curious to see a foreign despot interfering with the meetings of our House of Commons, but a still more curious custom arose at this time, by which the French monarch sent presents to the members of our Parliament, and rewarded them in proportion as they thwarted the wishes of the king. Those wishes, we must remember, were to render his throne as despotic as Louis's own. But Louis had no desire to see his menial rise into the independence of an absolute sovereign, and preferred to strengthen a dishonest party in Parliament, as the means of retaining the English crown in his power. Some of the leaders of the national cause considered it excusable to use the despot's assistance in advancing freedom and gaining all the great purposes they proposed. But the assistance of enemies is proverbially suspicious, and it was stretching his influence too far, when we find the most bloated and presumptuous of tyrants endeavouring to corrupt the representatives of a neighbouring State, either by deliberate bribes or honorary gifts. Success, however, by these and other means, crowned all his efforts in every part of Europe for a time. He forced the Dutch into a hurried peace at Nimeguen, by a sum given to Charles, in consideration of which he engaged to turn his arms against his allies (with whom his minister was at that very time concerting a closer connexion); and 1678 saw the highest point of Louis the Fourteenth's career.

§ 17. It saw also the lowest of King Charles's; for it is the period of the Popish Plot. The heir-presumptive was an avowed and zealous Papist. The reconciliation with the true and infallible Church had become fashionable among those who hated dissent because it was vulgar, and the Church because it was too moderate. The king was known to consider it the only religion fit for a gentleman, and many were persuaded of its restoration to supremacy when the next king

came to the throne. The people had taken the alarm long ago—tyranny was found to be in proportion to departure from the Protestant faith; and now the Church itself became conscious that the final struggle had come; no longer with Presbyterians and Independents, but with the faith professed by almost all the crowned heads in Europe, and supported by old tradition, by fanatical conviction in the sincere and political predilections in the worldly. The sects drew nearer to the Church as the common danger increased, and nothing was too bad or unlikely to be believed of Papist by Protestant or of Protestant by Papist.

The Protestants were first in the field, with a tale so horrible that, if credited, it would for ever destroy the reputation and influence of their enemies. A certain Titus Oates, who had gone through every grade of infamy, had attended schools and colleges, and been expelled from all, had been brought up an Independent, and then taken orders in the Church, who had tired of the poverty of a friendless curate, and won favour of the Jesuits by pretending to conform to their faith, now came forward and accused the Roman Catholics of a design to murder the king unless he openly joined their Church. He maintained that the pope had claimed all England as lapsed by heresy, and was resolved to bring it round to his communion by force; that assassins were engaged, and a new conflagration in preparation which was to exceed the destruction the Papists had caused by the Great Fire of London; that bishops were already appointed to the English Sees, and Catholics to the offices of Government; and all this was sworn to as within his own knowledge, by a person dressed like an English clergyman, and fortifying his statement with the utmost solemnity of word and manner.

All these circumstances had been communicated in secret to a Dr. Tonge, and by him had been reported to Danby, the chief minister. Danby was prevented by Charles from acting on the information and arresting the parties implicated,

perhaps with the object of proving their innocence ; but the Protestant leaders took it up. Shaftesbury, who had hidden the genius and infamy of his name of Ashley under that title, saw what political influence was to be gained, and affected the greatest alarm. Danby himself joined in the agitation, and when Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a magistrate before whom Oates had made a deposition of all his incredible information, was found dead a few days after, the public could no longer be restrained. A Jesuit was pictured at every door with a sword in his hand ; no man's life was safe ; poison by unknown drugs, strangulation by concealed priests, or open murder by bludgeon and dagger, were the fate reserved for the Protestants of England. The body of the martyred magistrate lay in state, with its hideous wound exposed—a sword ran through his breast, and his neck was broken after he had been suffocated with a cord. And first the cry was for protection. When Parliament reassembled, the Catholic peers were rendered incapable of sitting in the House of Lords, and James was removed from his seat in the Council, to which, by an act of prerogative, he had been summoned by his brother without taking the Test. Oates was rewarded with a pension of twelve hundred a year, and other informers came forward in hopes of a similar prize. But though Bedloe, a new discoverer, swore a hundred things which could not possibly be true, Oates, the great father of the inventions, would not be left behind. He swore the Popish queen, the neglected Catherine, had urged the murder of her husband, and impeached her of treason at the bar of the House of Commons.

The Catholic opponents and victims of this popular frenzy had themselves to blame for the excitement produced by Titus Oates. The secret negotiations they had held with Louis and his confessor, Père la Chaise, had gone beyond the limits of justice and reason. Coleman, a secretary of the Duke of York, had asked money from the French king and the Pope, to enable his master to uproot heresy by the sword,

and restore the British Isles to their old planetary place as satellites round the central sun of St. Peter. He was condemned and executed, and the calmest minds in England began to perceive that there was indeed a Popish plot, but carried on by very different agents from those mendaciously named by the perjured and pensioned witnesses. Popular anger was rising in a storm which already sent its waves to the steps of the throne. Catherine's three servants were executed as the assassins of Sir Edinondbury Godfrey, and James was removed from England on account of his religion.

§ 18. The Parliament met in the spring, more Protestant and intolerant than ever. Before proceeding to measures connected with the plot, it passed the Act of Habeas Corpus, which confirmed, by express declaration, the right secured by Magna Charta, but which had been impaired by the tyranny of the crown and pliancy of the judges. By the new statute the chancellor, the law courts, and any of the judges were bound, under penalties, to issue a writ on the demand of any person sent into confinement, in order that the court might judge of the legality of the committal, and henceforth the possibility of secret or arbitrary imprisonment was for ever destroyed. The same statute imposed the highest penalties known to the law on any person who should send an inhabitant of England into the prisons of Scotland; Ireland, or any of the foreign settlements of the crown. "These remedies were so effectual," says Mr. Hallam, "that no man can possibly endure any long imprisonment on a criminal charge; nor could any minister venture to exercise a sort of oppression so dangerous to himself." A bill to exclude the Duke of York from the throne was the next motion on the books, but the king interfered and dissolved the Parliament.

§ 19. An insurrection of the Covenanters in Scotland was commenced by the murder of Sharp, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and quelled by their defeat at Bothwell Brig, by the English forces under the Duke of Monmouth. The

madness of alarm about the Popish plot began to subside. Some of the accused, including the Court Physician, were occasionally acquitted; and when the king found himself strong enough, he changed his fiercely Protestant ministry, and recalled the Duke of York to London, and was gratified by the quiescence with which he was received.

§ 20. But the political parties, which were now known as Whigs and Tories, were as bitterly opposed as ever. The Whigs renewed their Bill of Exclusion, and even protested against the infliction of penal laws upon Protestant dissenters. The Tories went almost to the full extent of the Roman Catholics, and professed unlimited submission to the crown, although it should be worn by a popish king. A new Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford, but even in that noble city, the head-quarters of orthodoxy and obedience, the Whigs were in the majority. The Exclusion was again brought forward with the certainty of success; and Charles again dissolved. It was a perilous imitation of his father's acts, and would probably have had the same end, if the very vices of the man had not proved his safety. If he had had the political perseverance of Charles I., or the conscientious stubbornness of James II., he would either have been executed or removed; but his attachment to duchesses and feasts, to tennis and spaniels, and his firm resolution—the only firm resolution of his life—to risk nothing whatever on any consideration of conscience or duty, preserved the country from the real danger of losing its liberties, and only exposed it to the disgrace of losing its honour. A mere voluptuary can neither gain a kingdom nor ruin one.

§ 21. Blood had now been shed in torrents by the executioner. The Duke of York had so far compromised himself by his cruelties in Scotland and his furious zeal for his religion, that the weak and ignorant Duke of Monmouth, forgetting or denying the illegitimacy of his birth, had been encouraged by Shaftesbury and the Whigs to set up some claims to the

crown. There was therefore a death-feud between uncle and nephew. The same may be said of Shaftesbury himself and the presumptive heir. Scotland was again in arms in defence of the Cameronian worship. These fanatics afforded another opportunity to James of showing his merciless disposition. He superintended the tortures which he ordered to be inflicted, and enjoyed the frenzied and irrepressible cries of the sufferers as they writhed under the infliction of the "boots." A wedge was driven between the knee-pan and an iron boot till the pain became intolerable or the bones were shattered; but to enthusiasts like the preachers of this strange sect, his tender mercies were more cruel still. He drafted them into popish regiments, and sent them to fight for the Most Catholic king.

When the king threw down the gauntlet by dismissing the Oxford Parliament, there was nobody to take it up. The nation was not ripe for civil war, and both parties had been in the wrong. Parliament had been as aggressive as the king, with the sole difference that it stretched its authority in support of freedom, and he his prerogative against it.

§ 22. The only check of despotic power being now removed, and no other parliament being intended, the king displayed the possibility of a union between the most truculent heart and the pleasantest manners. He laughed, and flirted, and sauntered as usual, while the prisons were choked with his enemies, and the scaffolds were loaded with the opponents of his brother. The tide, he thought, had so completely turned, that he ventured to attack the Protestant leaders, high and low. A man of the name of College, known as the Protestant joiner, was hanged at Oxford, ostensibly for rebellion, but really for some ballads against the Court. Lord Shaftesbury, the least principled but highest gifted of the men of the time, was committed, on a charge of treason, to the Tower, and fines of enormous amount were levied by venal judges and packed juries in London on persons of all ranks and degrees. A

X reign of retaliation for the attempts which had been made to curtail the absolute power to which the Stuarts never dropped their claims, soon degenerated into a reign of terror. Shaftesbury, when the bill against him was ignored by the grand jury, fled to Holland; the other chief Whigs kept as quiet as they could, and London paid for its desertion of the popular cause by being prosecuted for an illegal extension of its municipal powers, and condemned to lose its charters. This put the City in the hands of the king. He fined it for his private advantage, and altered its franchises for his political support. The same thing was done with many of the other towns and boroughs. Breaches of their charters were discovered, and sentence always given for the Crown. The nation knowing no other way to emerge from this state of fear and degradation, was ready to believe anything that gave it a hope of help; a plot therefore was prepared for its entertainment, in which the leading Whigs were made to take a principal part, in revenge for the many divertissements of the same kind in which the Royalists and Papists had performed. This was called the Rye-house plot, from a small house called the Rye-house, belonging to one of the conspirators, in which the meetings were held, and where it was arranged to seize and imprison the king on his return from Newmarket. The first accusation by the informer was very moderate, but grew in importance as he saw his revelations were agreeable to the Court. From point to point the wondrous story grew, as in the similar instance of Titus Oates; and at last Lord Essex, Lord Russell, Algernon Sydney, Lord Howard, and several others, either of high rank or political eminence, were implicated in the design to murder Charles and his brother, instal Monmouth as a kind of Venetian Doge, and regulate the kingdom as they desired.

Some truth at the foundation furnished room for all this superstructure. Russell and the other accused knew that there was a plan under consideration to rouse the people

against the tyranny which was growing stronger every day ; but as to assassination, and the other items of guilt, they were the invention of the creatures employed to ruin them, and the still more infamous beings, like Lord Howard, who curried favour and safety from the king by false charges against their friends. But the struggle was recognised by both parties as a renewal of the old days of Strafford and Laud. It was despotism once more, or constitutional government, which depended on the result. The first blow was on the noblest blood of the land, and Russell and Sydney perished on the scaffold. A peculiar interest attaches to the fate of Lord Russell, from the loftiness of his character and the heroic devotion of his wife. Charles himself acquitted him of any intention to use violence against his person, like the confederates in the Rye House Plot ; but neither Charles nor James could be moved to compassion by the high qualities of the illustrious couple, which they probably could not understand, and hated Russell as much for his ideas of a limited monarchy as Sydney for his notions of a pure republic. In all the measures by which tyranny was advanced, the king had the assistance of two very powerful friends, one the University of Oxford, which issued at this time a solemn declaration in favour of unlimited submission, with an excommunication of all books containing an opposite doctrine ; and the other Judge Jeffreys, a man who has stained the English judgment-seat with a darker hue than was ever known by the worst tribunals in Rome. He roared, and stormed, and bullied both jury and bar, till the prisoner was left alone ; then with a howl of gratified rage, he passed the last sentence of the law, and glared on his victim with a ferocity which sometimes found vent in vulgar oaths, sometimes in insulting jokes.

§ 23. Another aid to these despotie attempts was the cowardice and dishonesty of many of their opponents. Meaner characters than Howard of Escrick and the Duke of Monmouth have seldom appeared in history. Both anxious to

save their lives and fortunes at the expense of the friends they had encouraged to join in their schemes, they never scrupled to accuse the innocent or reveal the most private letters of their confederates. A disposition so like his own endeared the duke to his father, and he was on the eve of renewing all his former influence when the jealousy of James was awakened. He protested against his nephew's presence in London, and the disappointed courtier became a patriot again. He returned to Holland, the refuge of the oppressed, and protested against the tyranny whose favours he could not share. Scotland, also, had sent over her discontented sons, but of far more honourable natures than the miserable offspring of a harlot and a buffoon. Endurance in that ill-fated country had reached its limits. Bailey of Jerviswood was convicted on illegal evidence of being a Whig, and, as he was so old and so enfeebled that he might die a natural death if the punishment were long delayed, he was executed on the day of his condemnation. Torture was daily administered to the adherents of the kirk and conventicle, and barren isles in the stormy firths were peopled with thousands of the Cameronians, who perished by cruelty and neglect. Gentlemen of high birth—Scott of Galashiels, Pringle of Torwoodlee, and other proprietors in Selkirkshire—were alarmed or racked into confession; and William of Orange, looking round his apartment at the Hague, and seeing the nobility, wealth, and influence of the two kingdoms represented by the refugees from such hideous oppression, might be pardoned if he already felt a desire to overthrow so unhallowed a dominion, and bring peace and freedom to those distracted countries. Nor was his interest in these great questions remote or unfounded; for his wife, in case of the exclusion or death of her father, was heir-apparent to the crown.

§ 24. But this reign fortunately is drawing to a close, for the period of the "Merry Monarch" is the most melancholy date in our annals. The fugitive of Worcester and exile

of Breda had made himself an absolute king. Parliaments were abolished, and public opinion crushed by pillory and torture. A little glimpse of satisfaction reaches us from the sight of Titus Oates tried, bullied, and convicted by his former patron, Jeffreys, and fined a hundred thousand pounds for a libel on the Duke of York. The fine was a mere excuse for indefinite confinement, for the sentence included imprisonment till the full amount was paid; but in all other quarters the horizon was hopelessly dark. The frivolous and ungenerous king was to be succeeded by a serious bigot, who would consider generosity a crime, and men's hearts were variously affected when the news spread that Charles had had a fit, and was dying. The Whigs saw an aggravation of their present state, and even the Tories doubted whether their submission would save them and the religion they professed from so zealous a servant of the papacy. Charles recovered his consciousness, and knew his hour was come. One of his favourites, the foreign Duchess of Portsmouth, was anxious for the rites of the Church, and told the French ambassador the king had long been a Catholic. What was to be done? The dying couch was surrounded by English bishops, and it was illegal or indeed unsafe for a confessor to officiate. In this distress a priest was disguised and smuggled into the room (by the door which used to give admission to the dissolute beauties who visited the king), and administered the last offices of the Church, while the lords and bishops in waiting were huddled into a neighbouring closet, from which nothing could be seen of what was going on. Having thus delivered his conscience by conformity to Rome, he carried on the hypocrisy to the end, of listening to the prayers and admonitions of the Protestant prelates. He made an edifying confession of his behaviour to his wife, which was in some degree qualified by the blessings he bestowed on his natural sons, and their bronzed and infamous mothers. One only trait of tenderness on this occasion redeems the heart-

lessness of the scene. He thought of the beautiful actress, Nell Gwynne, whom he had not had time to provide for, and said "Don't let poor Nelly starve." He died on the 6th of February, having done more to lower the character of his kingdom, and undermine the morality as well as the liberties of his people, than any of our kings. "In truth, he was a jolly king," and laughed in a free and easy manner at all the restraints of law or religion. For a long time people thought there could be no great harm in a man who had a squeeze of the hand for every visitor, and a jest for every occasion; but it was found, before the end of his career, that in England as well as Denmark, a man "can smile, and smile, and be a villain,"—the villany being the more dangerous and infectious from the smile with which it was accompanied. The witty epigram of his courtier may be quoted in serious faith as his epitaph:—

Here lies our sovereign lord, the king,
Whose word no man relies on;
Who never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1660. Restoration of Charles II.	1668. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
— Trial and execution of several of the regicides.	— Treaty of alliance between England, Sweden, and Holland, commonly known as the Triple League.
— The Convention Parliament dissolved.	1670. The Cabal Ministry.
1662. Act of Uniformity passed.	1672. Hostilities with Holland, and various severe naval actions.
— Marriage of Charles with Catherine of Braganza.	1673. Passing of the Test and Corporation Act.
— The Royal Society instituted by royal charter.	1678. Popish plot.
1664. The Conventicle Act passed.	1679. Habeas Corpus Act passed.
1665. War with the Dutch.	— The Covenanters defeated at Bothwell Bridge.
— Great Plague of London.	1688. Rye-house Plot. Trial and execution of Lord William Russell and Algernon Sydney.
— Naval victory over the Dutch.	1684-85. Sanguinary persecutions of this period.
1666. Tremendous naval action with the Dutch.	1685. Death of Charles II.
— Great Fire of London.	
1667. The Dutch sail up the Medway as far as Chatham, and burn several English men-of-war, magazines, &c.	

CHAPTER VI.

JAMES THE SECOND.

A.D. 1685 TO A.D. 1688.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XIV.

SPAIN.—Charles II.

EMPEROR OF GERMANY.—Leopold I.

POPE.—Innocent XI.

- § 1. Accession of James II. Struggles between the supremacy of the crown and the liberties of the people. Papists and Puritans. — § 2. James's declaration in favour of the Protestant Church, which is falsified by his conduct. Assumes the power of dispensing with the laws. Punishment of Titus Oates — § 3. The measures adopted by James to raise supplies. — § 4. Rebellion in England and Scotland. Invasion of the Dukes of Argyle and Monmouth. They are both defeated and executed. — § 5. Judge Jeffreys and the "Bloody Assizes." His heartless cruelties. Execution of Lady Alice Lisle. — § 6. Jeffreys' sanguinary career. — § 7. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Its important results. — § 8. James assumes the power of dispensing with the laws, restores the Roman Catholic services, and establishes religious orders. — § 9. Increasing prevalence of the Romish religion. — § 10. James's despotic measures at Oxford. — § 11. His proceeding against the seven bishops for petitioning against the "Declaration of Indulgence." Resistance to the reading of the Declaration; the bishops committed to the Tower. Their trial and acquittal. — § 12. Feeling exhibited by the army. James's power at an end. Invitation to the Prince of Orange. The royal issue suspected to be spurious. — § 13. James's terror and pretended repentance. The Prince of Orange lands at Torbay. — § 14. The king, forsaken by his relatives and friends, flies ignominiously from the kingdom, and thus abdicates the throne.

- § 1. THE war between the supremacy of the crown and the liberties of the people, which, with the brief interval of the

Commonwealth, had lasted since the accession of James I., was continued with greater bitterness than ever after the death of Charles II. The idle sensualist, who coveted unlimited power for the gratification of his tastes and passions, was succeeded by a sincere zealot, who desired to enslave his people, that he might place them, bound hand and foot, at the footstool of the Pope. It was fortunate for England that his ultimate object was incapable of concealment, for the fear of Rome was more effectual in arming the public feeling against him than if his efforts had been limited to his personal claims. The papist, in fact, was more feared than the despot. The strange thing to us—who look upon our freedom as unassailable by friend or foe, and can scarcely conceive a time when it was in danger—is to see, in the few years of this reign, how nearly the battle was lost.

The great cause of this was the immorality which had sapped the foundations of society and the honour of public men during the last reign. The overstrained preciseness of the Puritans had driven the Cavaliers, and all who pretended to be gentlemen, into the opposite extreme. Everything was debauched—manners, books, theatres, court, and camp. There was nothing left, except in some few quaint old manor-houses and distant farms, on which to build up the family connection, and without that free government is impossible. The hearthstone of the dwelling-house is the altar of national liberty. In this state of sentiment and conduct came James, furious with a real faith—a man with a belief, and what his Ironside predecessor would have named a call. His call was to restore the Catholic Church; and the means he used were the religious indifference of the upper classes, the fear of fanaticism, the machinery of an established government, and the divinity which hedged a king.

§ 2. His proclamation was received with applause; his declaration also of attachment to the Church of England and principles of moderation encouraged the hopes of the nation;

but on the first Sunday after his accession a difference was perceptible between his words and actions. He went openly to the mass, and was angry with the Duke of Norfolk for not going into the chapel with the sword of state before him. "Your grace's father would have gone farther," said the king, when Norfolk stopped at the outer door. "Your majesty's father would not have gone so far," replied the duke, and would not move. He next continued the collection of the revenue which had been settled on his brother for life, by his own royal prerogative, and began the use of the dispensing power, on which he placed the whole value of his crown. With that he could do anything, without it, nothing. His dispensing power was a right he claimed to dispense in any particular instance with the action of a law; uniting in this one privilege the qualities of a veto on a law before it was passed, and a commutation or abrogation of a penalty after it was incurred. The first use he made of it was cunningly contrived to disarm opposition; for it was to deliver, by royal warrant, all the Papists and Dissenters who were imprisoned for infringement of the statutes. His next step was to punish his enemies; and the survivors of the Popish plot felt his power. Titus Oates, already condemned to gaol till he paid an impossible fine, was brought up once more, and whipt till people were amazed how he survived the torture. Dangerfield, a worthy rival of Titus, also was scourged, till a barrister, not satisfied even with that amount of pain, murdered him as he staggered behind the cart. It is pleasant to know that this legal aspirant for Court favour was hanged for the brutal deed; and after these two sacrifices to his Church and his revenge, the king took note of his funds, and found it necessary to summon a parliament.

§ 3. In answer to his humble supplication, Louis had continued his brother's pension, and had sent him over half a million of livres, which James received with tears of gratitude. But he required a larger and more secure income, and

took great care to get as many of the Tory party returned for the boroughs as he could. They met, and voted him, almost by acclamation, twelve hundred thousand a-year for life, and their dutiful thanks (which, perhaps, he valued more, as showing the success of his manœuvres,) for the declaration in the royal speech against arbitrary power, and in favour of the Church of England. The Scottish Parliament had been equally complaisant, and Ireland was secured by the dismissal of the Duke of Ormond and the appointment of Lord Clarendon, with the real power in the hands of his partisan Tyrconnel. With three kingdoms at his feet, by the consent of the legal functionaries of them all, it needed only the command of a sufficient number of troops to make his power irresistible. An opportunity for this was presented by the occurrence of an insurrection in England and Scotland at the same time.

§ 4. Argyle was the inadequate leader of the northern rebels; and, almost immediately after landing from Holland, where the plans were laid, he was defeated by the militia of Cantyre, and executed at Edinburgh on the sentence he had incurred in 1681, for objecting to take "the test against any alteration in the government;" and the king turned his undivided attention to the English insurrection under the equally inadequate Duke of Monmouth. This weak and spiritless pretender had married the heiress of Buccleuch, and in other ways become associated with the nobility; but nothing short of fatuity could have tempted him to claim the crown. This, however, he did, and on reaching Taunton, in Somersetshire, assumed the title of king. Parliament gave him no countenance, and issued an act of attainder condemning him to death, which was read, passed, and received the royal assent all in one day.

At Sedgemoor the armies met—rustics and townsmen forming a confused rabble on one side, and regular troops, commanded by trained soldiers, on the other. Among these

last was a Lord Churchill, a personal favourite of the king's, who had learned the art of war under the great Turenne, and afterwards, under the name of Marlborough, eclipsed all the generals whom England has produced, till Wellington arose to surpass, or at least to equal, his exploits. Monmouth had led his motley followers a wild succession of marches to the borders of Wiltshire, and back again. He was disheartened by the coldness or hostility of the places he passed through, and longed for a safe retreat. When the battle was joined, his unpractised levies performed miracles of useless valour, but he soon saw their efforts would be vain. He turned horse and fled, and when the victorious royalists were tired with the slaughter of the peasants, they sent in pursuit and found the wretched Monmouth crouching in a field of beans, and carried him in triumph into his uncle's presence.

The gratification of James was complete. The young man, who had opposed him so long, and who had ended by assuming his rank and position, disgraced himself by humiliating entreaties for pardon. The king frowned with ferocious hatred, and spurned him as he knelt before him. When hope was finally at an end, Monmouth determined to die with more firmness and courage than he had lived; but his last hour on the scaffold was rendered miserable by the ministrations of the bishops who pretended to prepare him for death. They insisted on his declaration of passive obedience and non-resistance as essential articles of the Christian faith. He professed sorrow for his invasion, and prayed for the king, but steadily declined to make his dying statement "that, under no circumstances, and for no purpose of saving religion and morality, was any opposition to the worst of men and tyrants justifiable by the Divine law." A light on this subject broke in upon their lordships before many years were over, when the decision of the question came home to their own business.

§ 5. And now began a campaign far fiercer and more —

bloody than many a hostile invasion. Jeffreys, the most bloodthirsty and unjust of judges, was let loose upon the western counties with all the terrors of the law. He held the "Bloody Assizes," at the name of which a Somersetshire man flushes with indignation at the present hour. Even the atrocities of Faversham and Kirk, commanders of the troops who murdered their prisoners in cold blood, and rode down the suspected townsfolk without any attempt at trial, were thrown into the shade by the judicial infamy of the Lord Chief Justice of England. The standard of Kirk's regiment bore the Christian Lamb, and had been carried against the Moors; but the emblem of Divine redemption was not more desecrated by his cruelties upon the peasantry than the ermine of Jeffreys, the emblem of purity, by the horrors of his iniquitous decisions. The army, in all the districts he passed through, was placed under his orders; parties were sent out to scour the country, and bring in prisoners to certain death: for whenever the red, inflamed eyes of the bloated drunkard on the bench were fixed on the accused there was no further hope. The jury dared not acquit; his coadjutors on the judgment-seat dared not interfere to rectify his law or moderate his anger; the audience dared not move, and in silence and awe listened to the brutal tones of the licensed murderer, and saw their friends carried to the scaffold with the scurril jests of their condemner still ringing in their ears.

One instance of heartless cruelty is always quoted, as combining all the elements which make a crime detestable; but we are to remember it is but a specimen of many other cases as indefensible in themselves, though not accompanied by circumstances of such personal interest. The Lady Alice Lisle was widow of a gentleman who had sat in Cromwell's House of Peers, and had perished by the pistol of a Royalist assassin, in Switzerland, twenty-one years before. The lady was now old; she was of ancient lineage, and had never shared in her husband's political feelings. On the contrary, she had

wept more tears than any woman in England on Charles the First's death, and all through the Commonwealth had been the friend and protector of her neighbours who adhered to the royal cause. A few days after the battle of Sedgemoor two men knocked at her door, and claimed the charity of a lodging for the night—one was a Presbyterian minister—and the kind hostess took them in, and for this was tried. They had been present at Sedgemoor, and it was high treason to shelter a traitor. The jury could not be persuaded that she knew who or what they were, only she saw they were poor and destitute. But Jeffreys silenced the jury and perverted the evidence of a terrified witness; and Alice Lisle, deaf, and very feeble from grief and age, was condemned to be burnt alive. The king was appealed to by ladies of rank who had experienced the protection of the Commonwealth's woman in her palmy days. They represented that her son was in the royal ranks against Monmouth, and that she had given the refugees a cup of cold water in the name of Christ, to be assured of her heavenly reward. James was sensible to one touch of pity, and would not suffer her to perish in the flames, but he commanded her to be slain by the axe of the public executioner, and she died on the scaffold at Winchester, a sacrifice to the unrelenting enmity of the king and the baseness of the judge.

§ 6. At Dorchester, his next stage, Jeffreys discovered a new method of shortening law proceedings. He terrified or cajoled his prisoners to plead guilty, in the hope of mercy, and hanged them on their own confession. Eighty perished in that town, and his lordship, now Lord Chancellor in reward of his brave doings at Winchester, continued his baleful path to Exeter, and came to the summit of his pride and glory when he took his seat on the red cushions of the judgment-seat at Taunton. Upwards of two hundred, in this small circuit, were put to death, and some hundreds more imprisoned or sent as slaves to the plantations. All round

the pleasant roads, which now lead from orchard to orchard, till in the spring we travel for thirty miles under a bower of buds and blossoms, the corpses of those miserable rebels were hung on posts, and their heads and quarters left to pollute the air, till journeying became impossible, from the horror of the sight and smell. Jeffreys returned to London to receive the approbation of his sovereign, and invest the proceeds of his campaign. For he sold pardons as well as pronounced sentence, and in this manner was certain either of the gratification of his avarice or his thirst of blood.

But others sold pardons, too; and the story of the maids of honour and the maidens of Taunton has become famous by a controversy as to the principal performer in these disgraceful proceedings. The maidens of Taunton—two dozen young ladies, mostly under twenty years of age, all dressed in white, and bearing a silken banner—had walked before the Duke of Monmouth when he entered their town. They were all within the meshes of the law for this act of high treason; but their pardon—that is, the right of exempting them from trial—was given to the ladies of the queen, and they sold them their safety for a sum of two thousand pounds. The bargain was not thought exorbitant, for it was not more than eighty or ninety pounds for each life, and they were the daughters of the chief citizens of Taunton. The intermediary employed in this transaction between the maids of honour and the fair girls of the provincial town was a person of the name of Penn, and the most brilliant of our historians has identified him with the famous William Penn, the leader of the sect of the Quakers. Many other acts of mean submission to the Court, and personal interest with James are not disputed; but after the masterly inquiries of Mr. Hepworth Dixon and Mr. Paget, it is impossible to doubt that of this infamous pandering to the avarice of the high-born damsels of the queen, and extortion of money, to save life and honour, from the children of country tradesmen, the Penn of Pennsylvania is innocent.

Another person of the same name is more likely to be the culprit. But enough of that fatal summer of 1685, which saw the accession of James, the campaign of Jeffreys, the terror of all the country, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

§ 7. This last is classed with the domestic transactions of that fatal time, for it exercised a paramount influence on our fate. The Edict of Nantes was a formal deed by which Henry IV., on succeeding to the French throne in 1598, had guaranteed religious toleration to his Protestant subjects, and so put an end to the civil war. Trade and manufactures had made great progress when domestic quarrels had ceased. Wealth had poured into the realm in return for the tapestries and velvets, the porcelain and glass, for which the Huguenots were famous. Louis XIV. had succeeded in diverting all this wealth into military channels, and was paid for it with influence and glory. But the spirit of independence which seems inseparable from the Protestant mind gave him uneasiness in the heyday of his power. His Court was the most depraved and devout of all the courts in Europe; his mistresses spoke like saints in the midst of their sins; and Louis, indulging every propensity, and wallowing in luxurious enjoyment, determined to make a name for himself in history as the destroyer of a false belief. He could not venture on the bold stroke of offending the most industrious and intelligent of his people as long as England was powerful and heretical enough to take advantage of the weakness it would cause; but now that England was itself not only powerless by disunion, but orthodox by compulsion, he could take what step he pleased; and as a peace-offering for the excesses of his youth, and a sample of the good deeds his old age would produce, he cancelled and repealed the edict of toleration, and let the fiercest persecution loose upon the land. Many of the Protestants died, most were ruined, and thousands escaped to England, Switzerland, and Germany. Wherever the French

came there came taste and elegance. Our looms gave forth fabrics which only Lyons had hitherto produced, our furniture became rich with sculpture and ornament, our china and glass felt the effect of their artistic skill; and what France lost in the affection of so many sons and the labour of so many workmen, England gained. Protestantism gained no less from the zeal of so many martyrs, and it is not too much to say that a portion of our hereditary dislike of French institutions is owing to the embittered feelings of those naturalized refugees. They mingled with our population far more freely than the chiefs and nobles of a later emigration; and in the first generation nothing was left of the French element but the quickness of perception and delicacy of talent which have given us, in the descendants of those Huguenot exiles, some of the greatest merchants and most accomplished gentlemen of our land.

§ 8. If James resolved to imitate his brother of France, the French exiles were at hand to watch him; he seemed, indeed, blind to everything but the love of power and the influence of his Church. Having degraded the judicial bench by the elevation of the most unprincipled lawyers, he procured from the judges a recognition of his dispensing power; and relying on this professional judgment, he dispensed with all acts and declarations against the celebration of Romish worship and the establishment of Religious Orders. He restored the Roman Catholic services throughout the country, and settled monks of all cloths and colours in various parts of London; but he did not venture on this till he had securely encamped an army on Hounslow Heath, officered by Roman Catholics, who obeyed him for the sake of his religion, or Tory gentlemen, whom he expected to obey him for the sake of his holy office. Church and king had become so combined in the minds of the high old Cavaliers, that they could not now separate the interests of the Protestant faith from those of the Catholic monarch, whose religious duty and solemn

undertaking was to destroy it. They contented themselves with drinking deep draughts to the confusion of Puritans and Dissenters, and blasphemed in a most loyal and orthodox manner against anybody who doubted the honour of the king.

But at the end of this year their eyes began to be opened. Mass was openly celebrated in one of the chapels at Oxford; several popish lords and gentlemen were admitted to the Privy Council; a Roman Catholic was appointed dean of Christchurch; and finally a clergyman, who was convicted of a seditious libel, was publicly flogged through the streets. Church and university were degraded by this insult; long-suffering Oxford began to have doubts about the divine sanction of absolute and unlimited submission, and the Tory gentlemen of the counties, much musing amidst their beer, thought that flogging a parson, and installing a papist, and permitting processions and mummeries, while he allowed no Protestant minister to preach against the faith of Rome, was going a little too far. They did not drink such total destruction to the Puritans and Dissenters, nor believe quite so implicitly in the "honour of the king."

§ 9. This year was worse than the last. A contagion of conversion broke out in the higher ranks, and noble lords and elegant ladies conformed to the Catholic Church. The streets were filled with shaven-crowned ecclesiastics, and bells were perpetually ringing for prayer. The true way to Court favour was through the confessional, and people were almost as much scandalized at the persons who resisted the king's allurements as at those who yielded. Foremost as pillars of the English Church, and ready apparently to be martyrs to their faith, were Jeffreys, the most irreligious of lawyers, and Catherine Sedley, the ugliest and wittiest of James's seraglio. Neither the chancellor nor the mistress would desert what they called their religion, though Jeffreys was ready to send to the gallows as many as followed his example and disobeyed his majesty's orders.

§ 10. The privileges of the towns were again assaulted, and their constitutions changed so as to admit Catholic mayors and aldermen, and encouraged by success James carried his pretensions into the very citadel of orthodoxy and obedience, and ordered the Fellows of Magdalen College, in Oxford, to elect a pervert of the name of Farmer to be their president. They nominated a Protestant Fellow, Dr. Hough. The king then withdrew his candidate, and went down in person, and commanded the Fellows to elect Parker, a hidden papist, whom he had made Bishop of Oxford. They still refused, and continued true to Dr. Hough. A commission was sent down; Parker was installed by violence; the Fellows were expelled from the University, and declared incapable of holding any preferment in the Church. Success followed every move; for who could resist a man who had the command of fifteen thousand soldiers encamped on Hounslow Heath, and ready to set London in flames at a signal from their popish commanders?

§ 11. A triumph over the fellows of a college was not much to boast of, though they were the representatives of chartered rights; and he next flew at higher game, and swooped on the bishops. Seven of them lay exposed to his stroke, and this was the crime they committed. James had published a Declaration of Indulgence, by which all penal laws were abrogated against the Roman Catholics and other dissenters, as he hoped by so specious a document to throw the appearance of illiberality on his opponents, and win over the Presbyterians to his cause; but the Presbyterians and all the other religious denominations saw the snare, and gathered with affection and confidence round the Established Church. She became once more an emblem of Protestant freedom, and they forgave her subserviency to power and harshness to themselves, in consideration of the stand she was now prepared to make against arbitrary government and the popish superstition. The seven bishops, with Sancroft of

Canterbury at their head, prepared a humble and respectful petition against the Declaration and the Mandate appended to it that the clergy should read it in all the churches. The language was loyal and submissive, and the paper was presented to his majesty on their knees.

Surprise and rage were equally fierce in that royal heart when he read that his hitherto devoted clergy declined to act against the law, as established by Parliament and Convocation. He called their conduct libellous and rebellious, and gave them notice that as God had given him the dispensing power he would be obeyed at whatever cost. The bishops solemnly protested their loyalty, and left the room. Next morning the petition was everywhere spread, and all the country took fire. Only two hundred out of the ten thousand clergymen of the Church read the Declaration, and they were hooted by their congregations. Other bishops gave in their adhesion to the petition. The original signers were sent to the Tower, and as the boat containing them passed down the Thames, the banks were lined by kneeling thousands, who prayed the old men's blessing; and no distinction was made in the warmth of support to the episcopal culprits between churchmen and dissenters. Their journey to the place of trial was a similar ovation; they were recognised on both sides as the champions of the national cause, and James felt that the death struggle was come. The judges he considered safe, and some of his trustworthy tradesmen were on the jury; but the popular feeling was infectious, and penetrated the sacred precincts of the bench and jury-box. One of the judges decided at once against the dispensing power, for that was the real point in dispute. "If such a power be allowed," he said, "there will need no parliament; all power will be in the king!" For fifteen hours the public expectation was at the highest, for the jurors had retired at six the evening before, and were to give in their verdict at nine o'clock. There was little repose in court or city that anxious night;

and shouts of delirious joy echoing at the appointed hour from the great rafters of Westminster Hall, and taken up in still advancing thunder by the thousands crowding all the spaces outside, till in a storm of sound it reached the farthest end of London, told James that the judgment was for the accused, that the fight was lost, and the dream of his life at an end.

§ 12. One shout had struck more terror to the soul of James than all the acclamation of the city. When the verdict was pronounced he was on Hounslow Heath, where his army was encamped. This was his final trust. If judges, juries, bishops, and everything should fail—the sword remained. Suddenly he heard great sounds surging up the Heath, as the news reached the outskirts of the tents. He asked Lord Faversham, his foreign and papist general, the cause. “It is the soldiers hurraing at the acquittal of the bishops, that’s all,” replied the thoughtless chief. But James had a deeper sense,—“Call you that all!” he said, and sank into moody thought. The end was indeed at hand. This was the end of June. At the end of September, the Prince of Orange, invited by the powerful party which had assumed the championship of civil and religious liberty, issued a proclamation announcing his approaching arrival in England to aid in the restoration of freedom, and to inquire (as regarded the right of his wife, the daughter and heiress of the king) into the suspicious circumstance of the birth of a son, which had been announced on the 10th of June. In England the belief was almost universal that this was a supposititious child, imposed on the nation to destroy the chances of a Protestant successor. Nine months before its birth, James had gone in solemn pilgrimage to the well of the Welsh saint, Winefred, who had a special faculty for dispelling the curse of barrenness. In due time the pregnancy was announced, and assurances were delivered from several popish shrines that the coming infant was a boy. The Princess Anne narrowly watched her step-mother, but could detect no symptom of

her approaching maternity, and at the moment of confinement a careful nurse was seen to introduce a large warming-pan into the queen's apartment; and while the Romanists persisted in calling the unhappy infant the child of prayer, the less ceremonious Protestants maintained that the warming-pan had been used for the deception, and that her majesty had not been confined at all. As time went on, and bitterness expired, the reality of the birth was tacitly admitted; and if there were circumstances which might still cast a doubt upon the fact, the weakness, obstinacy, and ignorance of the Chevalier St. George, or the Old Pretender (under which appellation this prince, or impostor, will meet us again), will be an additional evidence in favour of his legitimacy, as bearing traces of his father's character, and proving him a Stuart in every thought.

§ 13. Henceforth every step was in a downward course. William of Orange completed his preparations, and the English king, finding that even the Catholic princes considered him beyond their aid, threw himself in trembling repentance on the bishops he had attempted to destroy. He prayed for their advice, and promised all the reforms required. They advised gentleness and justice in his rule, and a parliament to be immediately called. If they added a recommendation to him to return to the Anglican faith, it must have been in fulfilment of their professional duty without a hope of success. But he went as far as he could. He dismissed his Jesuit prime minister, Father Petre, and his renegade adviser, Lord Sunderland. He restored Dr. Hough to Magdalen, and the franchises to the corporations; and in the midst of all these agonizing sacrifices, the Protestant wind, as the north-east was called, blew favourably for the invading expedition, and William, with a wide stretch of transports, which almost filled up the straits of Dover, coasted along the southern shore, and landed at Torbay. (5th November.)

§ 14. After this date our feelings begin to change. The

tyrant was now harmless, the bigot without power ; but the poor old father was deserted in his utmost need, the confiding friend was deceived, the crowned and idolized king betrayed. Everybody left him. His son-in-law was advancing to dethrone him ; his daughter Anne was in league with his daughter Mary ; Anne's husband, a silly personage who is generally forgotten, but who was Prince George of Denmark, lived for many days in a transport of surprise, and still in doubt if such a thing was possible, went over to the Deliverer's camp ; so did the generals, the soldiers, the courtiers, and, among the earliest, that same Lord Churchill whom he had raised to wealth and importance ; and finally, having sent the queen and the ill-omened infant to Calais, and losing courage at every new manifestation of the national dislike, he disguised himself on the morning of the 11th of December, and after a variety of adventures, which lasted till the 23rd, made an ignominious escape from the kingdom he had attempted to enslave. The sceptres, which had felt the grasp of William the Conqueror and Robert Bruce, were exchanged for rosaries furnished to him by Père la Chaise, along with the wages he continued to receive from their master the King of France.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1685. Accession of James II.	Papists allowed openly to profess their religion
— Conviction and punishment of Titus Oates.	1687. The privileges of the universities assailed.
— Invasion of the Duke of Monmouth. He is proclaimed king at Taunton, and sets a sum of £5000 on King James's head. He is defeated, taken prisoner, and executed	1688. Trial and acquittal of the seven bishops for refusing to read the royal declaration in churches and chapels.
— Judge Jeffreys and his "Bloody Assize."	— The Prince of Orange invades England for the declared purpose of securing the Protestant religion and the liberties of England.
1686. The new Court of Ecclesiastical Commission. Its arbitrary proceedings.	— King James takes to flight, and abdicates the throne.
— Penal laws suspended, and the	

BOOK X.

HOUSE OF ORANGE NASSAU.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM THE THIRD AND MARY.

A.D. 1689 TO A.D. 1702.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XIV.

SPAIN.—Charles II.; Philip V.

EMPEROR OF GERMANY.—Leopold.

POPES.—Alexander VIII.; Innocent XII.; Clement XI.

- § 1. Interregnum. Accession of William and Mary. Convention Parliament. Their resolutions declaring the throne vacant.—§ 2. Declaration of rights. William and Mary formally declared to be king and queen.—§ 3. State of public feeling and of parties.—§ 4. War declared against France. James sails from Brest with a French expedition against Ireland.—§ 5. Mutiny in the Church, and rising of a Scottish regiment in favour of King James. William's conciliatory measures. His difficulties. James lands at Dublin. His triumphant reception by the Irish Parliament.—§ 6. Battle of Killcrankie, in Scotland.—§ 7. Siege of Londonderry. King William lands at Carrickfergus, and takes the command of the forces in Ireland. Proceedings of the Irish Parliament against William and the Protestant cause. They repeal the Act of Settlement, and pass various obnoxious measures.—§ 8. Battle of the Boyne, and defeat of the Irish Catholics.—§ 9. Flight of James. Siege of Limerick, and return of William to England.—§ 10. Marlborough left in command of the British army.—§ 11. The war transferred to Flanders. Whigs and Tories, Jacobites and Nonjurors. Naval action with the French off Beachy Head.—§ 12. Energy of Queen Mary during the

absence of the king. Resolutions of Parliament in support of the king.—§ 13. Political difficulties by which the king is surrounded.—§ 14. Massacre of Glencoe, in Scotland.—§ 15. Battle of La Hogue, and destruction of the French fleet.—§ 16. William's critical position. Death of Queen Mary.—§ 17. Successful operations at sea. Capture of Namur. Parliamentary measures in support of William. Act for triennial parliaments. Privilege of unlicensed Printing secured. Fresh issue of gold and silver coinage.—§ 18. Peace of Ryswick. Object of Louis XIV. to secure the Spanish throne to his own family. This intention opposed by King William.—§ 19. Public feeling against the Roman Catholics. Protestant settlement for securing the succession to the throne.—§ 20. On the death of James II., Louis XIV. acknowledges his son, the Prince of Wales, as King of England. Exasperation of the British at the insult.—§ 21. Illness and death of William. His noble character.

§ 1. THE interregnum lasted from the 11th of December, 1688, when James retired from London, to the 13th of February, 1689, when William and Mary accepted the conditions on which the throne was offered to them, and became king and queen. Greater things were done in those two months than in any period of our history. The nation took its affairs into its own hands, and in as calm a manner as if it were some ordinary matter of routine, displaced a dynasty from which it had suffered intolerable wrongs, and appointed another in whom it had perfect confidence. But a nation cannot perform any work except by its selected instruments, and all regular government seemed at an end. The king had fled, and in pitiful spite had thrown the great seal into the Thames as he crossed the river; no Parliament was sitting or had been summoned; and William was advised to get out of all these difficulties by claiming the kingdom by right of conquest, and appointing his own officers at once. But the Prince of Orange was a supporter of the laws, and resolved to give to the proceedings of the nation which had invited his aid the greatest solemnity the circumstances would allow. By the advice of the Lords, and the surviving members of the House of Commons which had sat in Charles the Second's time, together with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, he summoned a Convention of the States of the Realm; and

this assembly, elected by the usual voters, but irregularly convoked in this great emergency, met on the 22nd of January. They resolved—That there was an original contract between king and people, and that James had broken it.

That he had endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom; and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom and deserted the government, that the throne was thereby become vacant.

§ 2. These resolutions were sufficient to do away for ever with the new-fangled theories of arbitrary power and unconditional obedience. But to make their assurance double for the future, they published a Declaration of Rights, in which they state,

That the pretended power of suspending the laws, or execution of laws, by royal authority, without the consent of Parliament, is illegal.

That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of the same nature, are illegal and pernicious.

That levying money by pretence of prerogative is illegal.

That it is the right of subjects to petition the king, and all prosecutions or commitments for such petitioning is illegal.

That the raising or keeping a standing army in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

That the subjects which are Protestant may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition.

That elections of members of Parliament ought to be free.

That the freedom of speech, or debates, or proceedings, ought not to be questioned or impeached in any court or place out of Parliament.

That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor unusual or cruel punishments inflicted.

That jurors ought to be duly impanelled, and, in trials for high treason, should be freeholders.

That all grants or promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

And that for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

In conclusion, and to show their entire confidence that the Prince of Orange would perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and still preserve them from the violation of their rights, they resolve and declare "That William and Mary be, and be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging." Scotland, in a similar convention, came to the same resolution; and when William, in answer to these offers of a strictly constitutional throne, said calmly and firmly, "We thankfully accept what you have offered us," not a man in all England doubted that the bargain was struck with perfect honesty on the part of the new sovereign, and that the laws and liberties of the three kingdoms were safe from royal assault.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

§ 3. MANY distinguished persons, who would have been pilloried and whipt at the cart's tail for the violence of their political opinions, if freedom of discussion had not been secured to them by the spirit of the Revolution, have been very severe on this great transaction, and have blamed it as sinking England to the level of the Venetian government—the ruling party a few noble families, the nominal chief an elective Doge. We are to remember that a few noble families were the only persons of influence who had the courage to throw themselves boldly into the national cause; they were also the only persons at that time who had position and authority enough to make terms with the elected king, or were personally interested in seeing that he stood true to the conditions of the contract. It was a matter of life and death to the Whigs that the

power, for some years to come, should be in Whig hands. If the prince had faltered, if the Tories had recovered their weight, if the hopes of wealth and advancement under a new restoration had tempted the legitimists to recall James to the throne, the head of every eminent revolutionist would have rolled in sawdust on Tower-hill. It is not necessary, in estimating the advantages of the Revolution, to believe that all its promoters were disinterested patriots, or even honourable men. It is only the more fortunate that self-preservation forced them to persevere in the path they had entered upon, and that they were kept within the bounds of legal government by a very strong conviction that their enemies would have the greatest possible satisfaction in sending them to the gallows.

William III. was probably the only honest man in the English Court—the only man who felt bound to do a thing because he had sworn to do it, or to abstain from doing a thing because he had sworn to abstain. The others were brought up in a school of profligacy and duplicity which only a despotic Court pretending to liberality can supply. The statesman of forty, when the Deliverer came over, had been educated in the early days of the Restoration, and had grown up amid the enormous wickedness and want of principle encouraged by the example of the king. The baseness of a period is most felt in its effects on the succeeding generation. The traditions of virtue and manliness become faint, and if at any time two generations of tyranny or dishonesty are inflicted on a nation, its restoration to good feeling becomes hopeless. It was the persistent badness of the Roman emperors, from Tiberius to Vespasian, which extinguished the chance of Roman freedom. If there had been twenty years of a Titus or Antonine, Domitian would have become impossible.

England was now suffering from its Rochesters and Charleses. It was demoralized in its upper ranks and bru-

talized in its lowest. From the middle class, which grandeur had neglected and which commerce daily enriched and enlightened, improvement was to spring; and the Parliament contained a majority of the smaller gentry and richer town-folk, who had remained equally free from the grace of manner and looseness of conduct which characterized their superiors. They were coarse, but honest; swore and drank a great deal, but were proud of their independence, and hated the Pope. These were the instruments with which William had to deal, and the difficulty of the task often made him wish to lay down the uneasy burden, and return to the comparative obscurity and repose of his hunting-box near the Hague.

§ 4. But William was Protestant champion as well as English king, and saw the realization of his long-cherished dreams of checking the power of Louis XIV. That monarch's aggression on the Netherlands twenty years before was not forgotten; and when William announced to Parliament that James had actually sailed from Brest with a French expedition for the invasion of Ireland, funds were immediately voted, and war declared against France. This brought affairs to a crisis on the long-debated question of divine right. Many of the high-prerogative Tories would not contend in arms against the Lord's anointed; the very bishops, who had fought the battle of freedom in the case of the petition to James, declined to take the oaths to the new sovereign, and were the leaders of the party of the Nonjurors. These seven prelates, with five or six lay peers, retired from Parliament, being unable to see the possibility of a king *de facto* being existent at the same time with a king *de jure*.

§ 5. Mutiny in the Church was followed by a more dangerous mutiny in the army. A Scottish regiment rose in favour of King James, and tried to force its way to its own country from Ipswich, where it was stationed; but William sent four times the number of his Dutch guards against them, and when they surrendered, treated them with un-

expected lenity, and only sent them to the opening of the campaign in Flanders. Lenity was the watchword of all his acts. He tried to unite the Dissenters to the Church by abrogating the penalties imposed on them for attending their conventicles; to unite the Tories to the Whigs by an Act of Indemnity which should embrace all proceedings prior to the present date; and to unite all classes and sects by a Bill of Comprehension, which should be prepared by a joint commission of clergy and laymen, for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. But he did not know the bitterness of sect and party. The Church, which feared the Dissenters almost as much as the Papists, yielded to the Act of Toleration, but kept up as many distinctions as it could. The Whigs would not agree to a Bill of Indemnity, by which they would lose the advantage they enjoyed over their adversaries of being able at any time to threaten them with trial and impeachment for their previous acts; and with his Parliament disunited, his nobility divided, his Commons intractable, and his army not entirely to be trusted, the disappointed king heard of James's triumphant and unanimous reception in Dublin by a regularly constituted Irish Parliament, and the victories in Scotland of Graham of Claverhouse, now Earl of Dundee.

§ 6. But the cloud began to clear up in both countries at the same time. Dundee, with his wild followers, fought a great battle at Killicrankie, into which the bad generalship of the English commander had led the regular troops. Just at the mouth of a narrow ravine, down which pours an impetuous torrent, with only room between the perpendicular ledge below and the inaccessible cliff above for one man at a time, the struggle took place. Heavy armed men, with the mechanical steadiness of the discipline of that time, had no chance against the furious onslaught of a body of half-naked, shrieking, desperate, and hungry Highlanders, who rushed across difficult ground with the fleetness of deer-hounds, and

dashed in among the amazed ranks of the soldiers with the ferocity of wolves. The rout was complete, and many of the fugitives were driven over the fearful precipice which sees the wild seething of the Tummel so many feet below ; and others wandered hopeless among the hills till they died of starvation and fatigue. But what was the use of pursuing them ? Dundee died the day after the victory ; the clans dissolved, as if the principle of combination were destroyed by the loss of their gallant chief, and no one arose to lead the fierce Gael to battle for the cause of their legitimate king.

§ 7. Londonderry also, which had been besieged by the Royalists, and was considered a key to the north of Ireland, was relieved after the display of extraordinary courage and firmness by the beleaguered townsmen ; and when a new parliament had met at Westminster, and the good effects of the king's moderation began to appear in the acquiescence of the Tories in several of his liberal measures, he landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th of June, and took the management of the war into his own hands. It was time for him to go over, for the Dublin Parliament of King James, composed of Papists who thought they had six hundred years of injuries to avenge, was making strange havoc with the lives and properties of the Protestants. It repealed the Act of Settlement by which lands had been secured to their possessors after a certain lapse of time. Estates were to return to the Catholic heirs of their original owners, however long a Protestant purchaser might have held them ; no allowance was to be made for the widows or orphans of the intruders. It also passed an act of attainder, condemning to death every Protestant who was absent from the kingdom, or who retired to the portions of the country owing allegiance to William. Besides this sweeping enactment, it excepted by name upwards of three thousand persons, rendering even the king's pardon inoperative by a special clause limiting his prerogative of mercy ; and to what other lengths it might have proceeded no one can

tell, if a stop had not been put to its fury by the arrival of King William.

§ 8. Military affairs were in as unprosperous a condition as political till the master mind appeared. Schomberg, the commander of the English army, had the experience of eighty years to compensate for his enfeebled body, and showed a want of the dash which a worse general of half his age would have displayed. He, however, brought his forces in good condition to the camp of William, and the king finding himself at the head of thirty-six thousand men, advanced in search of the enemy to the Boyne. On the opposite side lay the Catholic army, commanded by King James. On the 1st, or according to the new style, the 12th of July, the signal of attack was given, and brave old Schomberg dashed across the river in spite of a galling fire. The English calmly followed; the Danes also advanced in good order; but the French regiments which had entered William's service, and consisted almost entirely of refugees from the horrors of Louis's persecution on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, saw their popish countrymen before them for the first time since their exile, and rushed against them with the furiousness of revenge. Louis had murdered thousands of their kindred in cold blood—burning them in barns, drowning them in rivers, riding them down with his dragoons; and the day of vengeance had come. There was no quarter between Huguenots and Catholics. In the blindness of their rage, the first fired so much at random that they killed the Duke of Schomberg in the confusion of a charge upon the French in the service of James: but the Irish lost courage on seeing the early withdrawal of their king, and took to flight after a very slender display of their national valour. William declined to pursue; the loss, therefore, at this decisive battle was very slight, being only fifteen hundred on the side of the Catholics, and five hundred on the side of the victors.

§ 9. James, however, saw his losses magnified through his

fear. He retired from Dublin, breaking down all the bridges behind him, and never paused till he found himself once more in safety under the protection of his patron at St. Germain. William, on the other hand, advanced in peaceful triumph to the capital, and was received by the authorities with every demonstration of loyalty four days after his rival had left it. The French forces continued the contest for some time longer, and William was busied with the reduction of the places they held. At Limerick he met with a repulse. Berwick, a natural son of King James, who derived his courage and talent from his mother, a sister of the great Marlborough, and Sarsfield, the most heroic and intelligent of the Irish gentry, were his chief opponents. The siege gave rise to many feats of arms and displays of skill; and finally, strong walls and a determined garrison were found to be too much for the diminished forces of the king. He carried off his ordnance and stores, and giving the command of the war to Marlborough, returned to England, where great events again required his presence.

X § 10. The new commander gave the first specimen on a great scale of the genius which afterwards immortalized his name. In thirty days he secured the ports of embarkation where the French had established their communications; and with Cork and Kinsale in his hands, he rendered the position of Louis's troops untenable, and kept the native army in a half famished condition in the wasted province of Ulster.

§ 11. The contest was becoming of larger dimensions on the continent, and the combatants began to withdraw their forces from all external expeditions, and to concentrate their whole power on the battle-fields of Flanders. The security of William's throne depended on the result of the approaching campaign, and the factions accordingly bestowed all their care on weakening or strengthening his influence abroad. The Whigs for a while had been out-numbered in Parliament by the Tories, whom William had thought it his best policy to

conciliate; but the results of his patriotic resolve to be king of the nation, and not of a party, were not successful. The Jacobites and Nonjurors could not be expected to be hearty in the cause of an intrusive king, and the French, encouraged by the power still possessed by these discontented sections, sent a fleet up the Channel, and landed a few troops, who burned the village of Teignmouth, on the coast of Devon. Lord Torrington, the English admiral, in conjunction with a Dutch squadron, attacked the insulting invaders off Beachy Head: but the old maritime supremacy and courage were for a moment at an end; even in numbers the French were greatly superior, and Torrington waited idly on the outskirts of the battle while his foreign confederates were destroyed. The countrymen of De Ruyter and Van Tromp fought for a chief they loved; the English were divided in their leanings, and when the Hollanders had lost six ships and many men, the English standard was seen leading a dishonourable retreat, and London was thrown into dismay when intelligence reached it that the fleet, in a crippled condition, was hiding from the enemy at the mouth of the Thames.

§ 12. The Dutch were too brave themselves to believe in the cowardice of others, and they accused the English admiral of disloyalty and incapacity. Mary, who was left regent while William was in Ireland, rose with the great emergency, and bore boldly up against a disunited people and disaffected fleet. She sent the chiefs of the suspected party to the Tower, where Torrington lay waiting his trial, and ordered the Nonjuring clergy to be strictly watched; the militia was called out; the counties warned; and it was at this time that William, fresh from the laurels of the Boyne and the subjugation of Ireland, hurried across the Channel and laid before Parliament a statement of the national affairs. No eloquence was required to restore the spirit of the people. He told of James's flight, and of the insolence of the French invasion; of the great preparations which were

making to ruin the Netherlands, and restore the hated rule of the Stuarts ; and the Parliament voted an immense supply almost by acclamation. The Lords and Commons also published a declaration of adhesion to the monarch of their choice, swearing to defend him with their lives and fortunes ; and William made his appearance at a congress of the allied Powers at Brussels as chosen king of England, and spoke with the authority of a crowned head who knew that the nation would ratify whatever promises he made.

§ 13. The sameness of the proceedings of King William for many years makes it difficult to remember the order of events. Every summer he went over to the Hague, and took the command of an army of English and Dutch. Never failing to show great personal courage and military skill, he so seldom succeeded in the object of his march, or avoided a defeat in battle, that he seemed under the influence of an adverse fate. After the campaign, he returned with equal regularity to England, to soothe, as well as he was able, the jarring passions of his subjects, whose leaders, all through the reign, performed the double parts of courtiers to William and correspondents with James. From this imputation very few of them are free. The admirals who were to defend our shores gave notice of their strength to the French commanders. The Privy Councillors who sat in secret deliberation gave intelligence of the intended measures to the enemy ; and William, who was of a simple and austere nature, was so sickened with the baseness of faction and the dishonesty of courts, that he longed for the happier days when he was the foremost citizen of a high-spirited republic, and hunted or conversed at his pleasure-house at Loo with friends in whose honour and attachment he could confide.

In that country the different classes of citizens, and the character of his advisers, were so well known to him, that it would have been impossible to implicate him personally in a crime like the dreadful massacre of Glencoe. He would have

been on his guard against the interested representations of an Earl of Breadalbane, and the tricky ingenuity of a Master of Stair, if such personages had been found in his native states. These two men were the originators of the event which has cast the blackest shade on William's government, and has been darkened by the arts of Jacobites and the lovers of arbitrary power into a foul stain on his reputation both as man and sovereign.

§ 14. A branch of the clan M'Donald, far removed from the main possessions of the name, was settled in a district on the banks of Lochleven, which the traveller now visits to admire the savage grandeur and wild solitude characterizing the valley of Glencoe. There they were surrounded by lands belonging to the Breadalbane Campbells, and feuds existed between the neighbours who did not belong to the same tribe. The Campbells were Whigs, and were believed when they brought accusations against the comparatively unfriended M'Donalds. Sir John Dalrymple (better known as the "Master," or heir, of the title of Stair) was a friend of Breadalbane, and, as he was Secretary of State for Scotland, represented officially that the M'Donalds had not made submission to the government, and were an incorrigibly lawless family of thieves and murderers. He thus persuaded the king (who knew no more about the squabbles among those naked and uncultivated mountaineers than the French emperor knows of a quarrel between the Cabyles and a neighbouring set of barbarians in Algeria) to sign the following order:—"As for Mac Ian of Glencoe, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that set of thieves." The wily pair, armed with this document (which it will be perceived did not define the method of extirpation, and might have been obeyed by the banishment of the culprits beyond sea), determined to root them out by fire and sword. Captain Robert Campbell, at the

head of a hundred and twenty soldiers, marched into the glen, and all were kindly received by the patriarch of the M'Donalds, who could fear no harm from the king's troops, for their commander was the husband of his grandchild. He was also in possession of the acceptance of his submission, signed by the sheriff of Inverary, though, owing to the badness of the roads, it had not been made till six days after the period fixed for the coming in of the followers of Dundee and adherents of King James. A fortnight was spent in friendly intercourse; the soldiers billeting themselves in the cabins of the natives, and the gentlemen passing their time in the house of the local chief. On a certain day—the 13th of February—the treachery was consummated by the cold-blooded murder of their unsuspecting hosts. No one was spared, for the orders were to slay every man below seventy years of age, and “on no account to let the old fox and his cubs escape.” Children and women were driven into the wilds, and perished amid the snow. Some few of the active youths climbed in safety over the hills, and the bloody Campbell reported to his chief and the Master of Stair that his task was done, and the M'Donalds destroyed.

Let the infamy rest with the perpetrators of this ineffable wrong. King William knew nothing of the plot; of the surrender of the M'Donalds; of their unsuspecting reception of his troops: or of the mean concealments of the truth by Dalrymple, who wished the massacre to include every Highlander in Scotland, and Breadalbane, who had cast covetous eyes on the valley of his unruly neighbours. When three years had passed, and the facts were fully known, the indignation of both the nations was aroused. William was petitioned to send the culprits to trial and remove the advisers from office. The last he complied with, and even sent the guilty Breadalbane to gaol—but what more could he do? The forms of the law had been complied with in the instructions given to Captain Campbell; the M'Donalds had not complied with the

letter of the law in making their submission in time ; the sign-manual was the warrant for the extirpation, it was believed, of obstinate enemies and irreclaimable freebooters. William could, therefore, inflict no punishment, except exclusion from employment and favour, on the planners of the hideous crime, nor take any notice at all of the conduct of the soldiers in his pay, who acted in strict obedience to their orders. Instead of casting odium on the memory of a Dutch prince, who had the high virtues of probity and justice, though deficient in the more showy quality of heroic generosity, let us be humble enough to admit that the stain is on ourselves ; that British cunning/concocted the deceit ; and British hands imbrued themselves, with Sepoy cowardice and ferocity, in the blood of men, women, and children, when they had no expectation of the blow.

§ 15. An end was put for some time to the periodic fear of a French invasion by the destruction of the fleet of Louis at the great battle of La Hogue. Russell, the commander of the Dutch and English squadrons, was in friendly correspondence with James, and warned him that, although he was unwilling to injure his ancient master, he should not be able to keep the sailors from fighting their best, if they saw the French flag within gunshot. The French flag, however, was hoisted, and the fleet was ready for battle. James stood on the shore, and saw the annihilation of his hopes ; for Dutchmen and Englishmen were equally implacable against the French. Half the ships were driven in disorderly flight, and the others burnt or sunk within a mile or two of the army which had assembled to attempt the conquest of the three kingdoms ; and many years passed on before so proud an idea entered into the head of any foreign Power. The noblest commemoration of this great battle was the foundation of Greenwich Hospital, for the relief and residence of decayed or wounded sailors. Mary had seen with compassion the sufferings of the gallant survivors of the great sea fight, and com-

menced the building of the stateliest pile which ever was devoted to the purposes of gratitude or charity; and when her death had rendered all her wishes laws to her bereaved and affectionate husband, he completed the work she had begun, and turned it into a monument of his love and regret, as well as of the prowess of his fleet.

§ 16. A short summary of public affairs will bring us to the Peace of Ryswick, concluded in 1697. A sad and gloomy narrative it is, unless where relieved by the intrepid firmness of the king himself. The war began to be intolerable from the expenses it entailed, and the tax-payers, with short-sighted selfishness, accused the king of ambition in carrying over their troops and supplies to Flanders, instead of keeping them at home. Yet Flanders, he saw with clearer vision, was the outside bulwark of his island kingdom; and that if Louis were in possession of the rich plains of the Netherlands and the great naval and commercial capital of Antwerp, no power which England could present, either by sea or land, could bar the conquest of the country which had raised him to the throne. Holland itself became a secondary consideration as a mere aid to the independence of England; and the sight of this great, strong-minded man defying the frowns of fortune and the falsity of friends, and bearing right on in the path he had chosen, at last had its effect. James had descended to the crime of authorizing his assassination; Anne, his sister-in-law, had followed the counsels of her interested advisers, the Marlboroughs, and written a penitential letter to the exiled king, praying his pardon of her desertion; and when the queen died, in 1694, endeared to her husband as the best of wives, and to the nation by the unpretending virtues of her daily life, immediately plots were entered into to murder the king and restore the Stuarts, even at the price of seeing the country a province of France. But the generosity of the land was fairly roused, and William was never so popular or so powerful as when he was left sole

occupant of the throne which he had hitherto held, in the opinions of some half-hearted Jacobites, by some sort of title derived from Mary.

§ 17. In the following year (1695), he returned with the very unusual ornament of a laurel on his brow, for he had succeeded in the capture of Namur, one of the strongest towns of the Netherlands, and defended by Boufflers, one of the best generals of the time. The sea had come back to its natural mistress by the efforts of Rooke and Shovel, and the sagacious measure, devised and carried through by William himself, of wintering a powerful fleet at Cadiz, by which he gained the command both of the Mediterranean and Atlantic; and, sitting quietly at home, the people who had been terrified by bombardments of the English harbours, now heard of Calais being cannonaded, with James within the walls, and all his vapourings about an attempt to recover his crown by force dissolved into thin air by the thunder of Benbow's guns. Political affairs had also become so assured by the detestation of the exiled race, which was now as strong among the Tories as the Whigs, that improvements in civil government were hurried on with great speed. The Bill for Triennial Parliaments, which enacted that at the end of three years a Parliament should die a natural death, rendered a recurrence to the constituency within a reasonable time imperative, while the necessity of voting the annual supplies and the reading of the Mutiny Bill ensured its meeting every year.

The heats of politics and religion had so far subsided that a censorship of the press was considered no longer necessary, and the privilege of unlicensed printing was secured. The debasement of the coin was remedied by a fresh issue of gold and silver, on which, in spite of debts and taxes which seemed intolerable to that unaccustomed generation, there was a loss of upwards of two millions to the Exchequer. The boldness and honesty of the act repaid the Government many millions by the confidence it inspired; and the Peace of Rys-

wick gave the crowning proof of the influence of William ; for it was to his indomitable perseverance that Louis yielded almost all the conquests he had made, and made the still greater sacrifice of his pride and ostentation by acknowledging his title to the crown of England, and writing to him "Sir, my brother."

§ 18. The Peace of Ryswick was in reality an armistice, during which the former belligerents prepared for a renewal of the war. Louis XIV. never for a moment lost sight of the chance of securing the Spanish throne for one of his descendants, in spite of the formal renunciation of all claims to the succession by his wife, a princess of Spain, on her marriage. William was no less determined that the crowns of those two great monarchies should not be on the same head, or even their powers be united in the same family. The failing health, therefore, of the Spanish king was watched in London and Paris as deciding the liberties of the whole of Europe ; and with a bitter pang William received the votes of his parliament for the diminution of the army of England to seven thousand men, and the dismissal of his Dutch guards, and of the gallant Huguenots—the chivalry of Protestantism—who had done him such good service in every battle-field where their persecutors were to be found. He tried even to retain a respectable force out of his private resources, but the jealousy of a standing army overcame the fear of France. The country was stripped of its defences, that a few pounds might be taken off the taxes, and party spirit broke out afresh as soon as the pressure of foreign warfare was withdrawn.

§ 19. It was always observed that in proportion as the passion for liberty became strong, the severity of the treatment of the Roman Catholics was increased. An inseparable association existed in the English mind between slavery and popery, and at this time all Romish priests were debarred from exercising their functions, under a penalty of imprison-

ment for life. Every proprietor of land was called on to take the oath against transubstantiation and the worship of saints. Recusants were to sell their estates, or forfeit them during their lives to the next heir being Protestant. "But the spirit of liberty," says Mr. Hallam, "was too strong for the tyranny of the law." The judges interpreted the act in a manner which rendered the clauses inoperative, and no Roman Catholic was disturbed either in the exercise of his religion or the possession of his property. The laws indeed were already sufficiently stringent to quiet the public apprehension, but the attachment to the Revolution became a frenzy. The only surviving son of Anne, Princess of Denmark and heiress of the throne, died in 1700. Immediately there arose a fever of Protestant alarm, and it was only soothed by what is called the Protestant Settlement. This most important act of William's reign regulated the succession to the crown, in case of Anne's dying without issue, by fixing it in the heirs of the Electress Sophia, Duchess-dowager of Hanover, daughter of the beautiful and unfortunate Queen of Bohemia and Princess Palatine of the Rhine. Little had been heard of the grand-daughter of James I., and to many her existence was unknown; but now, with the strange adherence to even the appearance of legitimacy which has characterized the English people, this lady, in extreme old age, was selected as the nearest Protestant descendant of the ancient line, and a farther security for religion and freedom was found in the proviso that her heirs should only succeed on condition of continuing adherents of the Reformed Church.

§ 20. As if in mockery of this national sentiment, and to excite once more the apprehension of foreign interference and domestic disunion from which the land had already suffered so much, Louis lost no time, on the death of James II., in acknowledging his son, the Prince of Wales, as King of England; and henceforth William found no difficulty in rousing the indignation of the people. The recognition was viewed

as a threat. A resolution was passed that no peace with France was possible till this insult was withdrawn; and all England became alive again with trumpets and drums.

§ 21. But the great statesman who could have guided the efforts of the nation, was about to die. A fall from his horse, as he rode from Kensington, broke his collar-bone, and so shattered his already weakened constitution, that all men saw the end was near. Many of his countrymen and friends attended his last hour; and when Bentinck, the dearest of them, hurried to the scene of grief, the king was too weak to speak. He took the hand of his faithful friend, and pressed it to his heart. A locket containing the hair of Mary lay near that hand upon his breast, and amidst the tears of his old companion, and the memories of his beloved wife, the great Deliverer died; the widest-viewed statesman and truest patriot in the three kingdoms, which owed their happiness to his courage and care, and repaid him with ingratitude. How indeed could the traitors of the Revolution and the intriguers of the court appreciate such opposite qualities to their own? It required a purer time and loftier standard of intelligence and honour to do justice to the memory of a man who made duty and not interest the ruling principle of his thoughts and conduct.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1689. Accession of William III. and Mary.	1692. Battle of La Hogue.
— Bill of Rights.	— Death of Queen Mary.
1690. King William departs for Ireland to put down the adherents of James, and is joined by the Duke of Schomberg.	1695. Namur captured by King William.
— Battle of the Boyne, in which William defeats the forces of James.	— The press freed from the censorship.
— The English squadron, under Lord Torrington, defeated off Beachy Head.	— The Bill for Triennial Parliaments.
1691. Pacification of Limerick.	1696. The Assassination Plot in England.
1692. Massacre of Glencoe, in Scotland.	1697. The Peace of Ryswick.
	1701. Death of James II.
	— The son of James II. acknowledged by Louis XIV. as King of England.
	1702. Death of William III.

CHAPTER II.

QUEEN ANNE.

A.D. 1702 TO A.D. 1714.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XIV.

SPAIN.—Philip V.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.—Leopold I.; Joseph I.; Charles VI.

POPE.—Clement XI.

PRUSSIA.—Frederick I. (who in 1700 assumed the regal title);
Frederick William I.

- § 1. Accession of Queen Anne, daughter of James II. Influence of Sarah Jennings, Countess of Marlborough.—§ 2. Change of ministry. Lord Godolphin made Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of Nottingham Secretary of State. Marlborough appointed Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies in the War of Succession against France.—§ 3. Prince Eugene of Savoy leads the armies of the Empire against France. The English expel the French from the Netherlands. Marlborough created a duke, and presented with the domain of Woodstock.—§ 4. Battle of Blenheim, and capture of Gibraltar.—§ 5. Lord Peterborough's campaign in Spain. Admiral Sir John Leake.—§ 6. Marlborough's victorious career. His character. Noble reply of the widowed Duchess of Marlborough in praise of her husband.—§ 7. Victory of Ramillies. Naval successes of Sir John Leake and Sir Cloudesley Shovel.—§ 8. Union with Scotland. Menacing debates in the Scottish Parliament. Great advantages arising from the union.—§ 9. The illustrious commanders of the age. Battle of Almanza won by the French.—§ 10. The French having been driven from Flanders, Italy, Sardinia, &c., Louis XIV. makes overtures of peace.—§ 11. Mrs. Masham becomes a favourite of the queen. Her connexions and great influence. Her friend and patron, Harley. The political ruin of the Marlboroughs resolved on.—§ 12. Battle of Malplaquet won by Marlborough. Secret plottings against him.—§ 13. Trial of Dr. Sacheverell. Violence of party feeling. Triumph of Abigail Hill. Harley created Earl of Oxford. § 14. The great political changes of Europe. The treaty of Utrecht puts an end to the war. Objects gained by England.—§ 15. The

madness of party spirit. Prosecution of Steele and Swift. Harley dismissed from the office of treasurer.—§ 16. Hopes of the Jacobites. The queen favourable to the pretensions of her brother Charles Edward Stuart. Her sudden illness.—§ 17. The Duke of Shrewsbury made Prime Minister and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Energetic preparations for eventualities.—§ 18. Death and character of Queen Anne.

§ 1. THE Princess Anne was thirty-seven years of age when she mounted the throne. For five-and-twenty years she had been under the guidance of one of her attendants, a beautiful, bold, aspiring woman of the name of Sarah Jennings, now wife of the Earl of Marlborough, who determined, with all the force of her impetuous nature, to advance the interest of her husband, and continue her mastery over the queen. The course of the greatest warrior of his time is therefore to be studied through the secret influences of pages and waiting-maids. The success of a campaign depended on the submission of the queen to the caprices of the imperious Sarah, and we shall learn that all the fame, skill, and genius of the matchless soldier were neglected or denied when a new favourite appeared at court, and the strings of the crowned puppet were pulled by other hands.

§ 2. But for eight years the reign of Sarah Jennings was uninterrupted by the slightest wish on the queen's part to break her chain. With confiding affection she did as she was told, and contentedly reaped all the glory of the wisdom of the wife and the prowess of the husband. The ministry was immediately changed by the advice of the favourite. Godolphin, who had kept up his correspondence with St. Germain's to the same extent as Marlborough, was made Treasurer, and Nottingham, Secretary of State. With these dependents at the head of affairs, and the queen entirely in his power, Marlborough had no opposition to fear to anything he proposed. He proceeded to Holland to concert measures for the prosecution of the war, and must have heard already the shouts of victory in his ear, when he got himself

appointed Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies, with instructions "to defend the common liberties of Europe, and reduce the power of France within due limits." For this purpose a rival for the throne of Spain, in opposition to the grandson of Louis, was found in the second son of the Emperor of Germany, who had been named to the succession in a former will of the late king; and the hostile Powers were ranged respectively under the banners of Philip V., the French claimant, and Charles III., the Austrian. English, Dutch, Portuguese, and Austrians against the French and Spaniards, and some of the German States; an equal balance as regarded wealth and power, but speedily to be inclined to the English side by the military successes of Marlborough.

§ 3. Scarcely inferior to the English chief was Prince Eugene of Savoy, who led the armies of the Empire, and restored the martial confidence of the Germans. In the first year of the war the contest was one of strategic skill. More valuable objects were gained, according to the saying of Napoleon, by the soldiers' legs than their arms. Marches were equivalent to victories, and the tide of success flowed on. By the advance of the English army, the Netherlands were freed from their French occupants; and when Liege was taken by assault with all its stores, both of money and provisions, Louis heard, with a rage which he had never experienced in the days of his great commanders Condé and Turenne, that his troops had recrossed the border, and were contented if they could defend the territories of France. Greedy of advancement, the Earl of Marlborough was gratified by his promotion to a dukedom, but a less heroic greed by which he was tormented had also to be satisfied, and the domain of Woodstock, with all its manors and farms, was perhaps still more satisfactory to the parsimonious pair than their elevation in rank.

§ 4. Marlborough's next year's triumph at Blenheim—the greatest of his battles—gave a name to the stately palace

erected on his new possession at the public expense, and justified an income secured on the revenue of the Post-office for a glorious though transitory success ; while we read that in the same year Sir George Rooke, who by a dash at the unprepared Spaniards secured Gibraltar to the English crown, was treated with contumely and neglect ; the key of the Straits being at that time so despised, that Parliament declined to give its thanks to the captors, and scarcely thought it worth the trouble of defence.

§ 5. The showy campaign of Lord Peterborough in Spain was received in a very different manner. This eccentric nobleman had formed himself on the model of the knights of old, and thought all things possible if a man had only the courage to attempt them. On this principle he undertook the conquest of a mighty kingdom with five thousand men ; and as far as putting down all resistance, and marching wherever he chose, he certainly succeeded in his object. He inspired the Austrian candidate, King Charles, with his own enthusiasm ; the Prince of Hesse was also carried away by his zeal ; Sir John Leake, the English admiral, was ready to fight any number of enemies with the few ships he commanded ; and these four descendants of Amadis de Gaul, and first-cousins of Don Quixote, undertook the siege of Barcelona, which is one of the strongest fortresses of Europe, and the invasion of the province of Catalonia, which is the size of an ordinary kingdom. The garrison was more numerous than the besiegers, but Peterborough sent his fire-eaters against the citadel, and took it by storm. He then blazed away with all his guns at the devoted town, which hauled down its flag ; and having established his communications with the sea, he led the king in triumphal procession from city to city, disciplining the peasantry that joined him as he went, and resisting for several months the united efforts of the Spaniards and French. Poets and pamphleteers were busy in telling how “Mordanto filled the trump of fame,” and the nation seeing

a man ready at all times to kill the enemy or be killed himself, considered he had fulfilled all the duties of a general, and put him on a level with Eugene and Marlborough.

§ 6. Meantime the latter of these unparalleled soldiers kept the tenor of his way, conquering the enemy in every field, and enriching himself with great offices and the favours of the queen. Not so grasping as he has been lately represented, and innocent of many of the crimes laid to his charge, he was yet not above the ignoble love of money, and the suspicion of being swayed by it in his actions more than by regard for the public service. But the man who for eight campaigns kept the hearts of his soldiers, and was familiarly called Corporal John, could not have been a selfish neglecter of their interests; the man who retained through a long life the love of the proudest and most exacting woman of her time, could not have been the heartless profligate his enemies represented; and on the whole we must conclude that, with the infirmities which characterize lower natures in periods of great national degradation, he possessed the virtues which only the loftiest can show; and if his lot had fallen in purer times, he would have risen with the rising standard, and been as nobly eminent in political morality as he was in domestic tenderness and the conduct of a war. When Sarah Jennings was asked, many years after his death, to bestow her hand on the greatest nobleman in England, the Duke of Somerset, "If I were young and handsome," she said, "as I was, instead of old and faded as I am, and you could lay the empire of the world at my feet, you should never share the heart and hand that once belonged to John, Duke of Marlborough."

§ 7. So great was his success, and so high the courage of the confederates, that, not satisfied with the conquest of all Brabant, in consequence of the victory of Ramillies, and the equal triumphs of the navy under Sir John Leake, which took the islands of Ivica and Majorca, the nation clamoured for an attack on France, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel proceeded

with a fleet to the coast of Normandy; but finding the attempt hopeless, that rough and politic commander had the good sense to carry his ships to Barcelona, and recover the command of the Mediterranean and the submission of Catalonia, which Peterborough, who had taken it in a passion, had deserted in disgust.

§ 8. All these foreign acquisitions, with the exception of the little-prized Gibraltar, have disappeared from the English map. The Balearic Isles are ours no more; Ramillies and Blenheim are but names to which very indistinct recollections are attached; but in this year an event happened which has contributed more to the glory and strength of England than the possession of all the islands in the sea and the beadroll of all her victories. This was the union with Scotland, long dwelt on in the schemes of politicians, as a desirable but almost impossible consummation; dreamt of by the far-seeing statesmen who advocated the marriage of Margaret Tudor with James IV., which in the course of time had united the crowns upon one brow; but only realized by the wisdom of the advisers of Queen Anne, when the kingdoms were indissolubly combined; "and Tweed, best pleased in uttering a blythe strain," ran peaceably between banks profaned no more with the best blood of both the realms. But Caledonia, stern and wild, was the most detestable bride that ever entered into a contract of "mutual society, help, and comfort." She kept firm hold of the sword, while she held out her bony finger for the wedding-ring, and to the last was far more ready to fight than to love or honour. Obey was omitted from the service, as totally incomprehensible to the northern mind.

When the articles of union were laid before the Scottish Parliament, the debates threatened to end in bloodshed. There was a great deal of talk about William Wallace and Robert Bruce. An Episcopalian majority and bishops in the House of Lords would overthrow the Presbyterian Church. English gold would corrupt the Scotch members, who would

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have to live some months in London every year, and spend their bawbees for the benefit of strangers; English taxes would press on Scottish commerce; Scottish lords would become merely elective peers; boroughs would lose their privileges, and gentlemen their station; and altogether the union would be destructive of the national interests and independence. The Covenanters put on their blue bonnets, and drew their broadswords, as if Dundee were alive again; and the Cavaliers, Episcopalians, Jacobites, and ministers of the kirk joined them. A great array of those injured patriots marched into Dumfries, and burned the Articles of Union at the cross. Seven or eight thousand collected in the west, and offered to march against Edinburgh on a word from the Duke of Hamilton. The Duke of Athol bound himself to secure the Stirling pass and rouse the Highlands; riots in Edinburgh, with loss of life; much mad and dreadful imprecation launched against the Commissioner; many prophecies of evil, and a great amount of threatening and recrimination ended at last in a forced consent, and both countries were made twice as strong and ten times more peaceable in spite of themselves.

For we are not to suppose that the rose had no thorns when the thistle was so alive with prickles. A union with the northern realm appeared rather a low match to the pride of the English. They had the most frightful impressions of the people on the other side of the Tweed. Greedy, lean-bodied, gaunt-faced, strong-limbed, utterly unreclaimed from barbarism, living on the poorest of porridge, and perpetually ready to cut each others' throats,—such was the idea entertained of their new countrymen by the many-acred squires and even the citizens of London. But political considerations prevailed over this mutual animosity. The advantages of the measure were loudly declared by the chief men of both the countries. Difficulties were smoothed by slight alterations in the Articles, by promises of compensation for past losses,

by extension of trading privileges, and by the sum of twenty thousand pounds, which mysteriously found its way from the pocket of Queen Anne to the chest of the Scottish treasurer.

Opposition wonderfully ceased. Cameronians preached no more against the plan, and Cavaliers bought new clothes, and looked forward to places at court. The clergy thought they had gained a great victory by the recognition of Presbyterianism as a fundamental article in the treaty, and when all those changes had taken place, and the English Parliament had ratified the compact, the royal assent was given on the 6th of March, and the great deed was done—England and Scotland lost their separate denominations, and formed from thenceforth the United Kingdom of Great Britain, which God long preserve in peace and happiness.

§ 9. Of the three great commanders at this time in Europe, two were of the Churchill blood—John of Marlborough and James of Berwick. Of the first it was said that he derived his skill from Turenne (under whom he served in his youth), and his army from William, who organized his forces with more science than he led them, and taught them discipline though he could not give them success. Of Eugene it was known that he had been refused a colonelcy in Louis's guards, and became the first of Austrians because he could not be a French subordinate. The Duke of Berwick obtained his education in the service of the same king, but was unappreciated like Marlborough, and neglected like Eugene. While defeat followed defeat at the hands of two of those leaders, a gleam of hope fell on the affairs of France and Spain from the victory of Almanza, won by the third. English, Dutch, and Portuguese were attacked by French and Spaniards, and though the two phlegmatic nations stood with unyielding front, and even pierced the enemy's line, the cavalry of their peninsular allies showed extraordinary speed in running away, and Berwick had the satisfaction of taking upwards of a hundred colours and ten thousand men. This,

with the loss of three thousand on the field, reversed the position of affairs in Spain, and the conquest of the whole country appeared so easy to the courtiers of Versailles, that a royal duke superseded the victorious general, and in a short time lost all the fruits of his success, and added one discontented warrior more to the crowd of soldiers, statesmen, townsfolk, and agriculturists who wished a termination of the war.

§ 10. The king himself perceived the desperate state of his affairs, and made overtures for peace. But the Whigs were proud of Marlborough's fame, and saw that the continuance of hostilities would prolong their power. Louis, however, had allies in the court of London, whose names he had never heard, and whose influence more than counterbalanced the great victory of Oudenarde, which had driven him out of Flanders, the expulsion of his army from Italy by the Duke of Savoy, and the loss of Sardinia and Minorca, which followed the example of Ivica and Majorca, and surrendered to the English fleet, all in 1708.

§ 11. A certain Mrs. Masham, a poor relation of the imperious Duchess of Marlborough, who had been placed about the person of the queen in the position of dressing-maid, and from whom no danger was apprehended, was discovered to have gained the heart of Anne. The father of this new favourite, a merchant of the name of Hill, had failed in trade, and left his daughter, Abigail, to her own resources. Her resources were many; among others, the relationship to Sarah Jennings, and also to a rising politician of the time, of the name of Harley. The waiting-maid was far more congenial to her mistress than the stately wife of the all-powerful duke. She flattered, and tattled, and hinted—all at the secret inspiration of Harley; and before Sarah had condescended to notice the proceedings of her poor dependent, the deed was done—the queen feared her tyrant, and had forgotten her friend. Jacobites and others of the opposition gained her ear; the

ruin of the Marlboroughs was resolved on, and the hopes of the Pretender rose.

§ 12. The crowning glory of Malplaquet was won by Marlborough on the 11th of September; and instead of the ordinary congratulations and Te Deums with which national triumphs are received, it was viewed as a defeat of the opposition, of the queen, and of Mrs. Masham, almost as much as of the French.

§ 13. Every engine was set at work to arouse the dormant passions of the country, and, as a wager of battle, a sermon by a crack-brained enthusiast, of the name of Sacheverell, was prosecuted by the Revolutionary Whigs, and defended by the reactionary Tories. He had preached passive obedience to its fullest extent, and declaimed against the late Settlement as a national sin. His discourse was pronounced by Parliament scandalous and seditious; but the queen and the mob were of a different opinion. Not once or twice in our rough island story we have seen that the greatest advances we made in liberty were in spite of the ignorant predilections of the majority. And this was another instance where universal suffrage would certainly have led back to despotic power. Multitudes attended the martyr preacher when he went to his trial, and condoled with him when he was condemned. His name became the watchword of resistance to the Whigs and Dissenters, and of attachment to the Church and Queen; and Anne, who had no children of her own, and had become convinced of the genuineness of her brother's birth, rewarded the teacher of Jacobite doctrines with the best living in her gift. Encouraged by the popular demonstrations, she displaced the ministry, under which so many triumphs had been gained, and Abigail Hill had the gratification of seeing her kinsman, Harley, made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. The other members of the Cabinet were equally hostile to the influence of the Marlboroughs, and had the boldness to accuse the great soldier of

peculation and other crimes in the Lower House. To secure a working majority on the same side in the Lords, they had created twelve new peers in one batch. Marlborough, however, proved his innocence of the charges brought against him, and no farther step was taken beyond the vote of censure which the Tory Commons had passed. But his enemies were not satisfied with impugning his character; they tried to depreciate his actions. The bitterness of an internecine war was henceforth transferred to political conflicts, and Whigs and Tories panted for each other's blood. Every man in turn had deserted his party, and was hated as a traitor as well as an opponent. Marlborough had been a Tory, and the Whigs scarcely forgot that period of his career. He had then become a Whig, and the Tories looked on him with detestation. They were now in power, and showed their zeal for their country by persecuting their predecessors, and undoing all their work. Negotiations were entered into with France, whose resources were utterly exhausted, and even its great monarch unpopular; but to show the uselessness of all Marlborough's exertions, they resolved to exact no advantages from their position, and every condition of the treaty of Utrecht might have been obtained if Oudenarde and Malplaquet had never been fought, and French and Spaniards had conquered in every field. Professing still, however, to carry on the war, they appointed a new general-in-chief, but gave him positive orders to avoid a battle; and throwing off the mask still further, withdrew the British forces from the campaign, rousing the indignation of their allies, and bringing on Eugene himself the novel indignity of a defeat.

§ 14. Death had been so busy among the great ones of the earth that the objects of the war had entirely changed. The ostensible cause of the coalition was to prevent the crowns of France and Spain from being united. A rival to Philip the Frenchman had therefore been found in the

Austrian Charles; but the Emperor Joseph had died, and Charles was elected in his stead. If the union of Spain with France was dangerous, not less so would be its union with the Empire. One life still existed between the succession of Louis XIV. and his grandson, the Spanish king; but the amalgamation of Spain and Austria would take place at once. So when Philip had made formal renunciation of any possible claim he might have to France, an armistice was proclaimed, and the Congress of Utrecht finally put an end to the war. (April, 1713.) England reserved to herself, as a memorial of all her labours, the privilege of supplying the Spanish West India Islands with slaves for thirty years, the settlements of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, and the undivided possession of the island of St. Kitt's. She also procured an acknowledgment of the queen's title to the throne, and the succession of the House of Hanover. The only other valuable consideration she retained was the Island of Minorca; but she destroyed the hope of real amity with France by insisting on the demolition of the walls of Dunkirk, and the filling up of the harbour. This was an insult more difficult for a high-spirited nation to bear than a loss; and with forced expressions of respect and very insincere declarations of attachment, the late enemies became friends, and hated each other more bitterly than before.

§ 15. Party madness now reached its height. Whig and Tory statesmen attacked each other with the pen, and their political supporters seconded the blows with prosecutions for libel. Steele, the friend of Addison, and chief contributor to the "Spectator" and "Tatler," was expelled the House of Commons for a pamphlet. Swift, the worst of clergymen and most brutal of writers, was advertised for in order to be tried for the defamation of a whole nation; for the Scots threw themselves on the House of Lords for protection against the ridicule of the Irish Rabelais. He accused them of great poverty, and a neglect of soap; and that sensitive and

modest population had no means of retaliation except a trial at the bar. Quarrels of the same immitigable fury broke out between the ministers themselves. Harley, now Lord Oxford and Treasurer, was accused by his colleague, St. John, now Lord Bolingbroke, of dangerous practices and designs; and as Harley had had the misfortune to offend his relation, Abigail Hill, now Lady Masham, the queen decided against the Treasurer, and turned him out of his place.

§ 16. The Jacobites were in great expectation of success; for they were always sure that a disappointed or offended courtier in London would open communications with Charles Edward, who at this time was in Lorraine. But Oxford had been supplanted in that intriguing Court by his more powerful rival. Ready at any moment to overthrow the Act of Settlement on the mere abjuration by the Pretender of his religious beliefs, he had been greatly surprised to learn that even so small an effort as a false oath would not be made by the conscientious prince. He had then reflected that so obdurate a conscience would probably be accompanied by as obdurate a dislike of the ministers of the Revolution; and the sagacious politician attempted to shape his conduct so as to be safe whatever might be the result of the plots on foot. Bolingbroke, who had, if possible, less regard for principle than Oxford, was equally at a loss how to proceed. He had tried to make himself the champion of High Church and Jacobitism by forcing through the Act against Schism, by which Dissenters were exposed to the same severities as Papists. After this he could hardly expect to win over the Whigs to his plan of a restoration. Yet that seemed the likeliest cause. The queen was known to be secretly in favour of her brother; and George, the Prince of Hanover, who was next in succession, had none of the graces or qualities that inspire affection or respect. He had been created Duke of Cambridge, and had proposed to reside in England. But Anne saw danger in the vicinity of a

rival so near the throne, and opposed his visit. To conceal her real sentiments, however, she agreed to the publication of a reward of a hundred thousand pounds for the arrest of the Pretender ; and to the penalties of high treason against any one who enlisted in his service. Yet everybody felt that a crisis was come. A kingdom divided against itself could not stand ; and public uneasiness reached its highest point when it was known that the queen had fallen into a lethargy from which nothing could rouse her, and that there was no hope of her living many days. (July 29.)

§ 17. The Duke of Shrewsbury, in right of his rank and character, took the lead under these circumstances, and arranged measures to tranquillize the nation's mind. Anne had only consciousness enough left to approve of his proceedings. In sign of her consent, she gave him the white staff of the Treasurership, and he thus found himself Prime Minister as well as Lord Chamberlain and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Somerset and Argyle, the chief nobles of their respective countries, came to his aid. They summoned a meeting of all the Privy Councillors who happened to be in London, and this wise measure secured such a balance of parties that neither could have its own way. Preparations were made against the death which was beating at the royal door, as if it had been an invading army. Troops were sent for home. No vessel was allowed to leave the harbours. George was invited to hurry to Holland, where a British squadron would be in waiting to convoy him over ; and when the peaceful daughter of James II. closed her eyes, the land was alive with military excitement, and a struggle of the greatest magnitude seemed close at hand. (August 1st.)

§ 18. A ruler who relies on favourites abdicates all the duties of his office, and should receive none of the praises of success. Anne, with the feeblest abilities and no personal spirit, had the good fortune to live in the period when literature first began to be important as an instrument of power,

and when Marlborough carried our military fame to a height it had never reached. Some portion of these glories has been reflected on the queen; but we know from all her conduct how little she could appreciate the genius of her authors or the valour of her soldiers. Selfish enough to retain the throne during her own life, she was unpatriotic enough not to care for the nation's liberties after her decease. She compensated for her want of affection to her father by attachment to her husband; and was perhaps the only person who honoured or even noticed the demise of that insignificant gentleman. The last of the English Stuarts did not belie the character of the line. She was exacting of her small rights, and punctilious about trifles. Otherwise calm-tempered and obliging, she obtained the epithet of the Good Queen Anne; but her picture, instead of showing her between the true supporters of a monarchy—its constitutional advisers—ought to present her—like that of Shakspeare between Tragedy and Comedy—between the majestic Sarah Jennings and the intriguing Abigail Hill.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1702. Accession of Queen Anne, the only surviving daughter of James II.	1704. The battle of Blenheim.
— War of the Spanish succession between Louis XIV. and the Grand Alliance.	— Capture of Gibraltar.
— The States-General give the command of the forces in the war of succession to the Earl of Marlborough.	1706. Battle of Ramillies.
— Sir George Rooke's attack on the French fleet in the port of Vigo, and the capture of numerous vessels of war.	1707. The articles of union ratified by the Scottish Parliament.
— The Earl of Marlborough created a Duke.	1708. The French defeated by Marlborough at the battle of Oudenarde.
1708. Naval victories over the French by Rear-admiral Dilkes.	1709. Battle of Malplaquet gained by the Duke of Marlborough.
— A terrible storm, the most destructive that had ever been known in England.	1710. Trial of Dr. Sacheverell.
	1711. The Earl of Oxford made Lord Treasurer, when Marlborough is deprived of all his offices.
	1712. Battle of Denain, between the Earl of Albemarle and Marshal Villars.
	1713. The peace and treaty of Utrecht.
	1714. Death of Queen Anne.

BOOK XI.

THE HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

A.D. 1714 TO A.D. 1860.

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE THE FIRST.

A.D. 1714 TO A.D. 1727.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XIV.; Louis XV.

SPAIN.—Philip V.

EMPEROR OF GERMANY.—Charles VI.

POPES.—Clement XI.; Innocent XIII.; Benedict XIII.

PRUSSIA.—Frederick William I.

RUSSIA.—Peter I. (the Great, who in 1721 assumed the imperial title); Catherine I. (Empress).

- § 1. Accession of George I. of the House of Brunswick. His character. Allies himself with the Whigs. Impeachment of Bolingbroke and Lord Oxford.—§ 2. State of parties and popular disturbances.—§ 3. Rebellion of the Earl of Mar in favour of the Pretender. The Scotch army defeated at Preston.—§ 4. Battle of Sheriff Moor. The Pretender arrives in Scotland. The rebellion subdued. The Pretender's flight.—§ 5. Wholesale executions for treason, and numerous forfeitures.—§ 6. The Triennial Act annulled, and the sitting of Parliament extended to seven years.—§ 7. George enters into the intricacies of continental affairs as connected with his kingdom of Hanover.—§ 8. The Quadruple Alliance. War with Spain, and destruction of the Spanish fleet by Admiral Byng. Its important results.—§ 9. Domestic struggles and party strife. Opposition of

the Prince of Wales. — § 10. Family hatred, and the king's depravity. — § 11. Progress of literature and social refinement. — § 12. The South Sea Bubble. Its ruinous effects. Sir Robert Walpole appointed Minister of Finance. — § 13. Disgraceful venality of public men. Punishment of the Chancellor, Lord Macclesfield. Bishop Atterbury's plot in favour of the Pretender. — § 14. Confederation against England. At war with the Emperor and Spain. Alliance with France and Prussia. Peace of Soissons. Death of the king.

§ 1. THE plots which had been going on during the last years of Anne were discomfited by the suddenness of her death. The Jacobites and Tories had not come to terms; and, unless they combined, the Whigs were the possessors of power. Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Bolingbroke, had compromised themselves in vain, and no opposition was made to the proclamation of King George, or his amicable reception when he arrived in his new dominions. His government of Hanover had been moderate and wise, but it was uncontrolled by parliaments, and formed a bad introduction to the political trials on which he was now to enter. But the habit of independence made him straightforward in his actions. He would not play one faction against another, and at once threw himself on the Whigs, to whom he owed his throne. It might have been wiser to temporise, for when the Tories saw that they were neglected, and the Jacobites knew that every day's possession would add to his power, they fused into each other. Bolingbroke escaped to the Continent, and became Secretary of State to the Pretender within a few weeks of holding the same office to Queen Anne. Oxford might have followed his example, if he had not been arrested and sent to the Tower; and George, accustomed to the solemn obedience of his German subjects, and utterly ignorant of our manners and language, could only say in his broken English, "Strange people! Strange people!"

§ 2. Whenever the mobs of the towns saw an approach to liberality, they had visions of Oliver Cromwell and the Puritans. Riots accordingly arose in various places where the Government seemed fixed in the hands of the supporters

of the Revolution, and outcries were heard in the streets of "Down with the Roundheads!" But as the Church was still considered the bulwark of the country against Dissenters, Papists, Whigs, and all other dangerous characters, they concluded with shouts for Dr. Sacheverell. In London they burned the picture of King William, and forced the Life Guards to join in their High Church hurras. The opposition consisted, therefore, of the Cavaliers, the Tories, the Jacobites, and the lowest classes of all. The ministry was supported by the great families who had invited the Prince of Orange, the moneyed interest, the merchants, and the middle classes in the towns.

If the old legitimists had been quiet they might have benefited their cause; but when they prepared the way for the Pretender's arrival by a rebellion in the north of England, the Tory squires and High Church clergy did not like to have their allegiance demanded at the point of the sword, and left the avowed Jacobites, with the aid of the Catholic gentry, to fight the battle for themselves.

§ 3. It was a very short battle. The Earl of Mar raised the standard of James III. in the Highlands, on the sixth of September. Many of the other chiefs brought their clans to his camp, and two vessels with military stores and money, furnished privately by Louis XIV., arrived from Havre at Dundee. Their numbers were so great, and their spirits so high, that they did not despair even when they heard of the death of their royal patron. They made a march to join the discontented in the Lowlands, with the object of uniting their forces, and strengthening the rebels on the other side of the Border. The march was effected, and the Scottish Highlanders, who knew nothing about the question, and even some of the blue bonnet Cameronians, who had been promised a repeal of the hated Union with England, drew sword by the side of the Tories and Papists, in favour of the son of James II., who had crushed their fathers' knee-bones in the boots.

George was aware of what was going on, and took steps accordingly. He garrisoned Oxford, cashiered his doubtful officers, and asked the House's leave to arrest some suspected members. Before the uncongenial confederates had settled into order, and while they held the small town of Preston, uncertain of their future movements, the army was upon them. Resistance became hopeless, and the rash leaders of the expedition surrendered at discretion, and were lodged in different prisons. Some who had previously served the queen were shot as deserters, and party spirit was too fierce to allow a hope of anything but a short trial and bloody end to any of the others.

§ 4. The battle of Dunblane, or Sheriff Moor, where the Jacobite right wing defeated the left wing of the Hanoverians, whose right was successful at the same time, enabled both sides to claim the victory, but exposed both sides to insulting ballads commemorating their mutual defeat. Defeat, or even a half victory in a rebellion, is fatal, and a braver man than the Pretender might have been excused if, in this state of affairs, he had remained quietly in Lorraine. But he had gone too far to recede, and having escaped the English cruisers in a little boat from Dunkirk, he landed at Peterhead, and was proclaimed in due form at all the towns of which his adherents were in possession, till he reached the sacred village of Scone. Here he determined to be crowned, as all his predecessors had been, and while his followers were marched from gaol to gaol, and troops in great bodies were concentrating on Edinburgh, and the clansmen were quietly stealing off from camps and barrack yards, and getting back to their native valleys, his Majesty of Scone occupied his great faculties in arranging the ceremonial of his coronation, and publishing important royal orders, first, for a day of thanksgiving for his safe arrival ; second, for the insertion of his name in all forms of prayer ; third, for the currency of foreign coins ; fourth, for a convention of all the estates of the realm ; fifth, for the

summoning "all sensible men" to his standard; and sixth, for the settlement of the coronation for the twenty-third of January.

But before he had time for anything more, the chieftains heard that William's old Dutch guard had come over; that no one joined the insurrection either in Scotland or England; that the passes were all seized; and as they knew that the last penny of the richest among them had long disappeared, and the last oat-cake was very rapidly approaching, they gave up the cause at once. James betook himself to flight, and got safely into a French vessel at Montrose, and arrived at Gravelines, with the less resolute of his companions, leaving the body of his supporters to their fate, and the generous leaders, whose valour had outrun their discretion, to the unpitiful vengeance of the law.

§ 5. No execution for treason had taken place in all the reign of Queen Anne. But now the atrocities of Jeffreys' campaign after the rebellion of Monmouth were rivalled in the legal slaughter of the rebel lords and gentlemen. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on Tower Hill; Nithsdale, Carnwath, Wintoun, Widdrington, and Nairn were also condemned to death, and their estates forfeited. But there was an observable laxity about the custody of the prisoners, which creates a suspicion that the subordinates were not very eager for the blood of their charges. Nithsdale, by the devotion of his wife and the blindness of his keepers, escaped, disguised in her clothes. Forster, the leader of the Northumbrian rebels, escaped from gaol; Mackintosh, the chief of the Scottish auxiliaries at Preston, with several of his friends, broke out of Newgate by force. Many who were not so fortunate were hanged; a thousand petitioned to be transported, and the rebellion of 1715 was extinguished in blood, and with a severity of punishment which would have made indiscriminate slaughter on the battle-field appear more merciful.

§ 6. The struggle had been so fierce, though so transient, that an election would have been the signal of civil war. It was therefore decided by great majorities in both Houses that the Triennial Bill should be annulled, and the natural life of a Parliament extended to seven years. This is the Septennial Act at present in force, and the temporary necessity was found by experience to be a beneficial change.

§ 7. A new feature appeared in English policy from the continental interests of the sovereign. George never became an Englishman; at Windsor he sighed for Herrnhäusen, and made Hanover the chief object of his care. He therefore entangled us in many useless quarrels. To secure his German dominions he entered into the Triple Alliance with Holland and France, and guaranteed the French crown to the Regent Orleans, if Louis XV. should die, in exchange for a guarantee by the Regent of his possession of the English throne, and a promise of aid against the Pretender and the King of Sweden. This King of Sweden was the glorious madman, Charles XII., who was collecting troops, and threatening to land an army in Scotland and restore a king to Britain, as he had done to Poland. But the triple treaty, which, by the adhesion of Germany, was converted into a quadruple alliance, was in reality against Philip V. of Spain, who, in spite of his formal renunciation of the French crown at the treaty of Utrecht, was anxiously watching the health of the feeble Louis, and preparing to vindicate his lineal rights to the Bourbon throne.

§ 8. This was so clearly felt that all parties did not wait for a declaration of war, but fitted out fleets the moment the quadruple treaty was signed. George sent Sir George Byng, one of our best admirals, into the Mediterranean, with orders to defend Sicily against an expedition which Alberoni, the Spanish minister, had fitted out. Notice was given by our ambassador at Madrid, and a list of the English fleet handed over to him; but Castilian pride would not listen to reason, and the English were dared to do their worst. The fleets met near

the Straits of Messina, and after a running fight of long duration the Spanish flag was hauled down from every ship of the main division, and Captain Walton, who had been ordered with a squadron in pursuit of the others, sent the following eloquent despatch to the commander-in-chief:—"Sir, we have taken and destroyed all the Spanish vessels which were upon the coast; number as per margin." This raised the loss of the Spaniards to seventeen ships of war, and the Mediterranean henceforth was in the hands of Britain.

So great was the effect of this victory and Byng's activity and skill, that Philip, deprived of his fleets, driven out of Sicily, debarred from Sardinia, and altogether in a helpless condition, and exposed to the advancing forces of the four allies, was obliged at last, not only to sue for peace, but himself to become a member of the alliance for the destruction of his hopes of the crown of France and maintenance of the Protestant succession in England.

§ 9. From this time the reign was passed almost in entire peace with foreign powers, but was so afflicted with domestic quarrels, that George regretted more and more that he had ever exchanged his ducal and electoral chair for a royal throne. The system began at this period of sacrificing the most sacred ties to the exigencies of party. The Prince of Wales was looked on as the natural leader of opposition, and all the dearest schemes and aspirations of the father were denounced and contravened by the son. For a long succession of kings and princes this was the rule. Happy in this, as in all other characteristics of our present sovereign, we see the greatest public virtues combined with "the sweet domestic charities of life," and are taught a lesson useful to cottage and castle equally, that no social position can be deprived, except by the fault of those who hold it, of the family affections.

§ 10. No humility of station could have given happiness to George the First's fireside. Hatred sat beside it in the

person of his eldest son, and the nation was offended with the spectacle of vulgar disagreements vulgarly carried on between the two greatest personages in the land. Other circumstances of his conduct contributed to weaken the people's respect for the king. Age had not corrected his conduct in respect to female favourites, and old men who remembered the gorgeous beauty of the Duchess of Cleveland and the graceful fascinations of Nell Gwynn, might have forgiven the present monarch if he had shown as much taste as his mirthful and immoral predecessor; but the beauties of George's choice were hideous to behold; the only doubt among the connoisseurs of ugliness being whether the Duchess of Kendal was more frightful than Madame Platen, or Madame Platen than the Duchess of Kendal. A king sensual without refinement; a Prince of Wales without dignity or affection; a Parliament collected by open bribery, and guided in its decisions by personal interests alone; a generation now in full manhood which had been nursed on the corrupted viands of revolution and civil war—these and other peculiarities of the time had sunk us into the lowest state of moral degradation we have ever known.

§ 11. Already there was the dawn of a better day in the improved spirit of the literature of the time. Gentle pictures of female purity and manly sense were painted in the periodical publications which had the greatest sale. The stage began to cast off the leprous robes of Congreve and Farquhar, and clothe itself in the healthful, every-day garments of Rowe and Gay; but the gangrene was deep-seated, and the mingled baseness, ignorance, and avarice of the time were shown in what is called the South Sea Bubble, which spread ruin and misery through the realm in the year 1720.

§ 12. This was a scheme borrowed from the Mississippi scheme of Law, who had persuaded the French of the boundless wealth they might obtain by certain speculations in the great plains of America. A speculator of the name of Blunt

produced a plan for buying up the annuities which had been granted on the national income to the amount of eight hundred thousand pounds. The South Sea Company, of which this man Blunt was a director, competed with the Bank of England for the purchase of these obligations, and was successful at the sum of seven millions and a half. It secured certain privileges in consideration of having furnished the country with capital enough to supply the interest of the debt, and on these privileges, wild and imaginary as an opium eater's dream, the great delusion was built. Shares in the South Sea Company ran up to a hundred times their cost price when it was understood that it had obtained monopolies of colonial trade and the countenance of the ministers. Visions flitted before the public of unlimited affluence to be secured on the deposit of sixpence a share. Rumours were raised of a gift by Spain of a large portion of Peru in exchange for Gibraltar; and dukes, earls, duchesses, and countesses waited in the ante-rooms of the projectors begging for the privilege of purchasing their debentures at a profit of a thousand per cent.

When the crash came, and no Peru was forthcoming, and no profitable investment for the money of the company, the nation tried to conceal its own blindness and worship of Mammon under an appearance of virtuous indignation against the inventors of the scheme. The projectors were traced out and fined; even the profits realized by the dead were seized and employed to diminish the public loss, and poor families who had sunk deeper into poverty, and nobles who were unable to live in their former style, were gratified with revenge on the authors of their sufferings. Members of Parliament who had aided the fraud were expelled, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was dismissed, the Lord Treasurer resigned, and the Postmaster-General committed suicide. The more fortunate or wiser speculators were rewarded. Sir Robert Walpole, who had cleared a thousand on every nominal hundred he

had subscribed, was called on to heal the wounds by which he had benefited so much, and became chief Minister of Finance. The buoyancy of English commerce replaced the losses in a short time, and the hideous goddesses to whom George paid his devotions kept their ill-got gains without any inquiry into the jobbery by which they had been obtained.

§ 13. The disclosures of public immorality in the South Sea trials were followed by the discovery of the disgraceful venality and corruption of Lord Macclesfield, the Lord High Chancellor. It did not satisfy the public wrath that punishment overtook this malefactor, and that he was fined thirty thousand pounds. The appalling truth was revealed that the cancer of dishonesty had penetrated to the highest office-bearers of the State and administrators of the law. It would be worth while, if we had space for the inquiry, to trace the steps by which a nation recovers its self-respect after such a forfeiture of all our noblest characteristics as this painful period presents. It will be sufficient to point to one great instrument of regeneration and improvement, in the daylight which now began to be poured on the actions of our public men. The standard of public opinion, maintained by a jealous and sensorious press, is always higher than the actual state of morals or information. Every deed was canvassed, every speech was criticised in a spirit of cavil and depreciation, as if a nation of Phocians had arisen on the earth. But the elevation of the standard raised the stature of our statesmen and clergy. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was convicted of underhand negotiations with the Pretender, and was glad to escape beyond sea. He still, however, paid such deference to the awakening spirit of justice and moderation, that in the midst of his labours as the unprincipled secretary and partisan of James III., he wrote letters, evidently intended for publication, filled with the most philosophic expressions of content and declamations in favour of virtue.

§ 14. Clouds of approaching war began to darken the

narrowing horizon of George I. Conventions were entered into with Sweden, Denmark, and Hesse ; large sums of British money being paid for strictly Hanoverian interests. France, also, was relied on as our ally against Spain and the Empire, and for a short time hostilities raged in the most formal manner between England and the former of those powers. The great fortress of Gibraltar was invested, and sustained a siege of four months without any considerable loss to the defenders. In the month of May a peace signed at Soissons put an end to those useless quarrels, and George departed for his continental States. In passing through Osnaburgh he was attacked by paralysis, and in a few hours expired, after a life of sixty-eight years, and a reign over England of thirteen. They were years not of glory or conquest, though the national power certainly increased ; and witnessed a great advance in general wealth and industry, in spite of the dishonesty of trading politicians and the behaviour of our public men.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1714. Accession of George I., Duke of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, and Elector of Hanover.	1720. The South Sea Bubble.
— The Ministry of Townsend.	1721. Death of Lord Stanhope, and accession of Sir Robert Walpole as Prime Minister.
1715. Rebellion in Scotland. The rebels forced to surrender at Preston.	1722. A proclamation issued for putting the laws in execution against Papists and Nonjurors.
— Landing of the Pretender, Prince Charles Stuart. The hopes of the northern rebels crushed by the battle of Sheriff-Moor.	— Apprehensions of a general conspiracy in favour of the Pretender. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.
1716. Passing of the Septennial Act.	1724. Wood's patent for coining Irish halfpence, and disturbances in Ireland.
1717. The Ministry of Lord Stanhope.	— Venality of public men.
1718. England, the Emperor of Germany, France, and Holland, enter into a quadruple alliance.	1725. The Vienna treaty.
— War with Spain. The Spanish fleet is defeated at Cape Pesaro by Admiral Byng.	1727. Confederations against England. War with the Emperor and Spain.
— The Duke of Berwick reduces St. Sebastian and Fontarabia, and Philip of Spain is obliged to accede to the terms of the quadruple alliance.	— Alliance with France and Russia.
	— Peace of Soissons.
	— Death of George I.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE THE SECOND.

FROM A.D. 1727 TO A.D. 1760.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XV.

SPAIN.—Philip V.; Ferdinand VI.; Charles III.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.—Charles VI.; Charles Albert VII., of Bavaria; Francis I., of Lorraine.

POPES.—Benedict XIII.; Clement XII.; Benedict XIV.; Clement XIII.

PRUSSIA.—Frederick William I.; Frederick II. (the Great.)

RUSSIA.—Peter II.; Anne; John V.; Elizabeth (Empress).

. The leading administrations of George the Second's reign are noticed under the "Landmarks of Chronology," p. 715.

§ 1. Accession of George II. Sir Robert Walpole's administration. Qualities of the king. His domestic relations embittered by the hatred of his son, the Prince of Wales.—§ 2. Walpole's great influence over the House of Commons. His system of bribery and corruption. Success of his government. Peace and commerce promoted.—§ 3. Death of Queen Caroline. Hostilities provoked by the insolence of the Spaniards. Jenkins, a victim of Spanish cruelty, brought before the bar of the Commons.—§ 4. War with Spain. Porto Bello captured by Admiral Vernon. His failure at Carthagen. Walpole's resignation, and his retirement to private life as Earl of Orford.—§ 5. Disputes respecting the Austrian succession to the kingdom of Hungary. Maria Theresa. England undertakes to support her. Battle of Dettingen won by George II.—§ 6. Battle of Fontenoy fought by the Duke of Cumberland against Marshal Saxe.—§ 7. Rebellion in Scotland, and visit of the Pretender, Charles Edward. Assembling of his forces. His temporary successes, and advance into England. His retreat.—§ 8. Pursued by the Duke of Cumberland. The Pretender's troops disheartened.—§ 9. Battle of Culloden, and flight of the Pretender. Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock beheaded, and numbers executed. Account of the Pretender.—§ 10. Successes of the French during the

absence of the English troops from the Continent. Our great naval victories. Battles of Finisterre and Belleisle.—§ 11. Contests between Whigs and Tories. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. General peace. Immense losses sustained by the war.—§ 12. State of our domestic affairs. The national energies directed to the arts of peace. Colonization and commerce extensively promoted.—§ 13. Population of the kingdom. Its marvellous increase, and the causes.—§ 14. Conduct of Frederick Prince of Wales. His death.—§ 15. Alteration of the calendar.—§ 16. Young William Pitt, the early dread of Walpole.—§ 17. Hostilities between France and England. Trial and execution of Admiral Byng.—§ 18. Dissatisfaction with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Resignation of the Duke of Newcastle, and appointment of Pitt as minister. Commencement of the "Seven Years' War."—§ 19. Genius and energy of Pitt. General Wolf.—§ 20. The French settlement of Canada. Expedition to Virginia. George Washington.—§ 21. The fort of Quebec. Battle on the heights of Abraham, and capture of Quebec. Death of Wolf.—§ 22. Indian affairs. Clive's battle of Plassy. Destruction of Cherbourg. Convention of Closter Seven. England and Prussia defy the whole world. Their partial defeats. England subsidizes her continental allies.—§ 23. England's prosperous career. Sudden death of the king. His character.

X
§ 1. PARLIAMENTARY government was now so strong that a continuance of policy was guaranteed by the remaining of the same minister in office. This was Sir Robert Walpole, the first constitutional head of the government who openly adopted "Peace and Commerce" as his motto, and who adhered to those principles at the expense, first, of his popularity, and then of his power. George II., at the mature age of forty-four, was well enough known to his subjects to excite no extravagant hopes of wisdom or greatness; but he had, at all events, the wisdom to forego his own plans at the suggestion of his official adviser, and the greatness to confess that the counsel had been beneficial to the country. Our Hanoverian kings were deficient in many qualities which constitute the statesman or hero; but they all possessed in an eminent degree the attribute of personal courage. George I. had distinguished himself in several campaigns. George II. had charged at Oudenarde, and always offended Walpole by maintaining that the only way to maintain our place in Europe was by the sword.

The avenging fate which makes our own vices into whips to scourge us embittered his domestic relations, by the hatred of his son, as he had marred the happiness of his father. This young man, at twenty-two years of age, must have had qualities about him provocative of dislike in no ordinary degree, for his mother, the wise and amiable Caroline, was as averse to him as her husband. At once, on his creation as Prince of Wales, he took his place as the declared antagonist of his parents, and furnished many an arrow against the existing ministry by letting his supporters give the most unmistakeable intimations of how deep his revenge would be if he survived the king. The spectacle of a father and son glowing with mutual hate might have been followed by similar scenes of animosity between the husband and wife, if Caroline had not shown the greatest generosity and forbearance. Nor was George without the redeeming virtue of love and respect for that gentle helpmate, who forgave him his irregularities of conduct, and retained her influence over him by the skill with which she concealed her power. But in governing this dull and headstrong man she was aided rather than thwarted by the excellent sense of the lady to whom he believed himself to be devoted. Mrs. Howard, afterwards created Countess of Suffolk, was of so blameless a life and disinterested a character, that it was generally believed that her relations with the king never exceeded the bounds of propriety, and that George himself, with the perverted taste of the period, was hypocritical the wrong way, and pretended to vices which he did not practise. Immorality, indeed, was so much the fashion, that a persistence in a virtuous life was looked on as a sign of vulgarity, and men gambled, drank, and were ostentatiously wicked to avoid the imputation of not behaving like gentlemen.

§ 2. Walpole had so entirely moulded the House of Commons to his will by a system of bribery and corruption—bribery of the electors and corruption of the members—that

he was disposed to raise its power to the highest pitch. The Lords, who, from their wealth and local influence, possessed a concurrent authority over the votes, made no opposition to his bestowal of as great a preponderance as he chose upon the Lower House; and in the same way that the cunning of the Tudors in cloaking all their tyrannies with the great name of Parliament created a belief that the power was really exercised by that slavish body, the selfishness of bribers and borough-mongers, in the days of Sir Robert Walpole, still further increased the supremacy of the Commons, by allowing it to assert privileges and claims from which they saw no danger, as the creation of the governing assembly was in their own hands. It is strange that oppression and dishonesty equally advanced the popular influence; and that if Henry VIII. had not trampled on the nation, and Walpole and the Peers had not bribed the constituencies, the peaceful growth of Parliamentary power would have been retarded, if not impossible.

Walpole, therefore, with a majority in both Houses, could carry out his policy undisturbed, and for twelve years secured the country's repose. While other nations were fighting, we filled the sea with our merchant ships, and cultivated manufactures and trade at home. After a campaign between belligerents in whose quarrels we did not interfere, Sir Robert used to count his gains, and tell the king, "Fifty thousand men have been killed this year in Europe, and not a single Englishman." But those halcyon days were doomed to end by the folly and presumption of Englishmen themselves.

§ 3. An ally in all peaceful measures was lost to the minister by the death of Queen Caroline in 1737, while the military ardour of the king continued unimpaired. Whether the secret service money began to be insufficient, or the House expected larger payments from a change of administration, the majorities to which he was accustomed began to decline. There was little ground for hostility on his domestic policy,

and it was resolved to rouse the national spirit by accusations of his subserviency to other powers. The Opposition had already reduced the army to seventeen thousand men, and greatly diminished the fleet; ships were trading in all quarters without convoy; the coasts were unguarded, and the militia without accoutrements or discipline. Spain, perhaps relying on these circumstances, pushed her maritime rights beyond their legitimate bounds, and stopped commercial vessels near her coasts to search them for contraband goods. The right of search at that time exercised by Spain was insulting to English pride. Petitions, filled with exaggerated accounts of Spanish insolence, were poured into Parliament; and Walpole himself demanded explanations of the offending power, and induced it to offer reparation to our trade and honour by compensation and apology. But these were not what the irritated Tory opposition desired. They produced a man of the name of Jenkins on the floor of the House, who showed them one of his ears in a box, and swore that the Spaniards had cut it off five years before, when he was master of a trading vessel. The beauty of the speech with which he concluded his narrative shows that the worthy Jenkins had good teachers. "What did you do when they had mutilated you in this manner?" he was asked; and he said, "I looked for mercy to my God, and for revenge to my country."

§ 4. There was no further possibility of avoiding war; but, to the disappointment and disgust of the Opposition, Walpole remained in office. Great exertions were made, and fleets were fitted out. Admiral Vernon gained immense reputation by taking the strong fortress of Porto Bello with six ships, after it had been declared impregnable by the whole navy; but the reputation was political more than maritime, for it was exalted by his party as a triumph over the administration. Meantime the Spanish privateers were not idle, and picked up coasting brigs innumerable, and followed our larger vessels in their more distant voyages. Merchants and ship-

owners stormed the House with their complaints of over-taxation and want of protection. They had forced the Minister into a war, with the expectation, apparently, that he would at the same time diminish the public burdens, and augment the fleet to an impossible extent. Vernon failed at Carthage on as great a scale as he had succeeded at Porto Bello, but this time the minister was blamed and the admiral acquitted. At last his majority left him. Retaining office too long for his fame, he resigned in 1742, and after an ineffectual attempt by his immitigable enemies to ruin him by impeachment, he spent the rest of his life in content and obscurity as Earl of Orford, leaving a reputation for genial kindness of disposition and honesty of purpose which has survived the assaults of his opponents, and in his later days extorted their admiration.

§ 5. The war assumed larger proportions every day. A treaty, called the Pragmatic Sanction, to which King George was a party, had guaranteed the will of the Emperor Charles the Sixth in favour of his daughter, Maria Theresa, who was accordingly acknowledged Queen of Hungary and the other hereditary States, on the death of her father in 1740. She made every exertion to obtain the dignity of emperor for her husband, Francis, who had been Duke of Tuscany. But France protected another claimant in the person of Charles, the Elector of Bavaria; and all the powers of Europe ranged themselves on one side or the other. Frederick of Prussia opposed Maria Theresa, in hopes of being able to rob her of Silesia. George of England hoped, also, for some increase of continental territory in reward for his assistance; friend and foe being equally ready to pillage the unprotected princess. Spain joined France from political and family reasons combined, and all the world was arming and marching in a few months after the demise of an old man who had scarcely been heard of in his lifetime.

The king went over to Germany, and commanded an allied

army of great force at the battle of Dettingen. It is difficult to get a correct notion of military affairs in those days of distorted bulletins and party animosity. But the old monarch displayed, at all events, the courage of his line, and drove the foe before him at the point of the sword. It was a famous victory at the time, and will live to all future ages in the imperishable music of Handel's *Te Deum*, with which it was celebrated. It will be remembered, also, as the last occasion on which an English king was present at a stricken field.

§ 6. On the 30th of April, 1745, a battle of more importance was fought between the French and allied armies of English and Dutch at Fontenoy. The Duke of Cumberland, the king's younger son, was in command, and was opposed to the King of France and the Dauphin, who followed the advice of the famous Marshal Saxe. Prodiges of valour can do no good unless they are directed to practicable objects. The march of that column of Englishmen across a rough plain, in face of a great army, and commanded on both the flanks by infantry and artillery, filling up their ranks as the men fell, and keeping step as regularly as on parade—onward, onward—till the French princes were ordered to retire—till the marshal despaired of the battle—till all chance seemed gone of stopping that great avalanche of bayonet and sword that made so terrible an advance—this march is commemorated by French historians themselves as one of the greatest feats of arms on record. But the heroism was useless. Their Dutch auxiliaries took shamefully to flight at the very crisis of the engagement. A cannonade was opened on their front, and tore through the whole length of the column. They turned, but did not flee. With the same imperturbable steadiness they reversed their march, and the retreat of the whole army was conducted with such order that it lost all the obloquy of defeat. It was magnificent, but it was not war.

§ 7. Events thickened as the contest went on. The visit of George to Germany, and his threat of invading France,

were returned by a visit from the Pretender—no longer the stubborn James III., who had been so nearly crowned at Scone, but his gay and graceful son, the Chevalier de St. George, well known to us in legend and ballad as the winner of every heart, and the “darling Charley” of a repentant nation. But the “young chevalier” is depicted in the soberer hues of history as a weak and selfish adventurer, who never comprehended the generosity of the high-souled supporters of his cause, and who, in the words of one of his gallant adherents, when the day of trial came “knew neither how to fight like a man nor die like a gentleman.” We can only remark that all the sad songs and beautiful laments which have gathered round this crazy expedition were never heard of till all chances of its success had disappeared. While it was going on, there was a little alarm at first, and afterwards a great deal of contempt; but it was left for the peaceful times of thirty years after the event to clothe with romance and poetry the attempt of a few savages and a few fanatics to overthrow a rapidly spreading civilization and a religion of progress and improvement. Let us enjoy the Jacobite ballads, and rejoice in the defeat of the Jacobite cause.

The course of the Rebellion was run within the year. Landing in July in the north of Scotland, with seven companions, of whom the majority were Irish, the Prince was joined, though slowly and with a foreknowledge of their fate, by several Highland chiefs, who summoned their clans to aid. Their clans came to aid with the same alacrity with which they would have come to resist; for the laird’s will was their only law. Clanronald, M’Donald, and, finally, Cameron of Lochiel, were great names to utter to Highland ears, and the march began. In August the royal standard was hoisted, and fifteen hundred of the Gaël gathered round it, and prepared for a rush on the fertile lowlands. There were very few troops to oppose them. Of the three thousand constituting the garrison of all Scotland, not above a half

could be collected, under Sir John Cope—one of those wretched pedants from whom our country has suffered so much—who would rather be defeated by rule than successful by original measures. The burden of the ballads, with reference to this hero of pigtail and pipe-clay, turns constantly on his want of watchfulness; and insulting inquiries are made whether he is asleep or awake? It makes very little difference whether a Sir John Cope's eyes are open or shut. Perth opened its gates on the 3rd of September. Edinburgh was entered on the 17th, and something like royalty began to hedge the prince when he dwelt in Holyrood, and held a levee in the capital. On the 21st was the battle of Pinkey, where the same impetuous rush of the wild men of the hills which had carried the victory of Killiecrankie, astonished the mechanical mind of Cope, who expected to be attacked in a regular and gentlemanly manner, and sent him, with horse, foot, and marines, in headlong flight before it.

Charles Edward had defeated the king's troops, and was now a potentate carrying on war. For a month he limited his exertions to assemblies and feasts in Edinburgh, watching the castle, which still held out against him, and then marched forward, and crossed the Border on the 8th of November. Carlisle yielded, after a brief resistance, and the advance continued. Those five or six thousand Scotsmen, ill armed and not very decently apparelled, went forward from town to town in the populous Cumberland and industrious Yorkshire, wondering at all they saw, and expecting every moment to be met by troops. But they were neither met by troops nor joined by friends. They were neglected, and began to despair. They saw noble houses, and cultivated fields, and foreign gardens, and many other things they had never seen before, and were so impressed with awe that they only robbed larders and hen-roosts. Meantime, parties of ladies and gentlemen of the towns near the road hired post-chaises and drove across to see the Highlanders go by, as if they had

been a caravan of wild animals. Soldiers were gathering from abroad; the relics of the glorious column of Fontenoy came over with the Duke of Cumberland; the Archbishop of York mounted his horse as a prince of the Church; newspapers roused the people to defend their Protestant freedom, and resist a nominee of the French king, who had promised him twelve thousand men. So when the poor mountaineers from Kinloch Moidart had got all the way up to Derby, and found that the panic had passed away, that old George was courageous as at Dettingen, and pooh-poohed the whole business as a farce, the leaders differed, quarrelled, and fought, and Charles Edward, finding no enemy to oppose him, no multitudes to assist him, lost confidence in his followers and himself, and gave orders for retreat (6th December).

§ 8. He got back to Carlisle, and left a garrison to protect his rear. Cumberland came thundering in pursuit, and took the garrison prisoners, earning the detested name of "the Butcher" by his cruelty to the misguided men. Onward the prince proceeded through Dumfries, which he put to ransom; Glasgow, where he raised a forced contribution; and, finally, to Stirling, where he counted his forces, and found he had nine thousand men. General Cope had a fitting rival in General Hawley, who commanded the king's troops at Falkirk. The same faults were committed with the same result. The Highland rush discomposed the martinet, and in twenty minutes half of each army considered itself defeated. Hawley persisted longest in this erroneous belief, and retired to Edinburgh, and Charles Edward believed himself every inch a king once more.

But the Butcher was on his track. By the time Cumberland got to Aberdeen, the prince was at Inverness, for all hope of England or Scotland was at an end. Enough if he could effect his escape, and get his followers to defend him to the last. This they resolved to do, and, after a mad attempt to

surprise the enemy at Nairn, waited, grim and terrible, on the dark moor that stretches near the town of Inverness.

§ 9. On the 16th of April, the weary expectation came to an end. Trained soldiers from the Flemish wars, well fed, well clothed, and well officered, were now opposed to the wasted, hungry battalions of the Gaël, who scarcely recognised their chiefs in their military characters, and were broken down with the fatigues they had undergone. Courage, of course, was there, and desperate effort and generous devotion to the cause they had adopted ; but these were of no avail against unflinching bayonets, heavy charges of horse, and a battery of artillery well served. In an hour all was confusion and dismay. The Highlanders, once broken, never could form again. The Prince fled with his chief officers, and the infuriated English knocked out the brains of the wounded as they lay on the field, or dragged prisoners into the open air, and shot them by the dozen at a time. The pitiless executions of that sanguinary son of George II. brought more weakness to the Hanoverian cause than a defeat would have done. By the Scots it was looked on as brutal hard-heartedness towards their own countrymen, for after all Donald was a Scotsman too ; and by the English as a cowardly revenge for the alarm he had suffered. Hated, therefore, by both nations as a revengeful tyrant, the Duke of Cumberland, while in England, retired from public life. But at first public opinion did not relent towards the deluded clans. Law finished what the sword had spared. Hundreds were hanged, and several noblemen, such as Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Lovat, were beheaded. Charles Edward got safely off at last after a series of surprising and delightful adventures, which, even without the colouring given them by party spirit, revealed such truthfulness in the Celtic character, and such devotion and purity in the heroic maidens, like Flora Macdonald, who aided his escape, that they are read like a chapter of romance. He led

a nameless life of the most unromantic self-indulgence, and died in 1788.

§ 10. If Louis XV. had intended the insurrection in Scotland as a diversion in his favour in the Continental war, his plan was attended with success. The withdrawal of so many English troops to resist the Jacobites left the field almost uncontested to the French. Even when Cumberland, red from Culloden, resumed his place at the head of the allies, he made a display only of the ferocious courage for which he was already celebrated, and lost the battle of Lauffeldt to his old antagonist, Marshal Saxe. The only consolation for a series of defeats in Brabant was found in the supremacy of the British navy. Even during the late rebellion, the fleet had known how to guard our native seas, and under Hawke and Anson the glories of the Commonwealth were restored. The victories of Finisterre and Belleisle were ample compensation to the English people for defeats sustained by Austrians and Dutch in a cause which never excited the popular enthusiasm. Their hatred of Cumberland, and even their fears of his arbitrary tendencies and the use he might make of a great military reputation, diminished their regret for the reverses sustained under his command by the national troops. A defeated general could not be a dangerous politician ; so they persuaded themselves that humiliation abroad gave them safety at home.

§ 11. The domestic contest was now over, and even the Jacobites despaired of overthrowing the Hanoverian settlement. Giving up the hope, if they ever entertained it, of displacing the king, the Tories entered into a fiercer competition than before with their Whig rivals, as to which of the parties should have the right to guide him with their advice. No opposition had been made to the demands of any administration for funds to maintain the influence of the country and carry on the war. The system of subsidies to foreign powers was in full force, and we paid Germans, Dutch, and all kindreds and peoples to defend their own liberties against

the French and Spaniards. But at last the nation became tired of enriching foreign countries in a quarrel with which we had very little to do, and a treaty of peace was entered into at Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the balance of power was supposed to be readjusted by the guarantee of the hereditary States of Austria to Maria Theresa (which all the powers had solemnly agreed to before the war began); of the province of Silesia to the King of Prussia (which he had stolen without any justification when he thought the Empress-Queen too feeble to reclaim her property); of Cape Breton and other English acquisitions in America to France (which she never expected to be restored); and Great Britain, for the first time in her history, by the complication of her Continental alliances, retired from a war with disgrace. She counted up her victories on the sea, where she rode supreme, and her conquests in every region she had attacked single-handed, but saw little consolation in those barren glories for the sacrifices she made for peace. She had consented to the degradation of sending over two noblemen to Paris as hostages for her good faith in the execution of the articles. She had lost many gallant sons, and increased her national debt to the then unexampled amount of eighty millions sterling.

§ 12. But the energies of the nation, diverted from intestine feuds and foreign war, expended themselves on the more beneficial arts of peace. Commerce began the flight which ever since that time has encircled the world. America was colonized, and large tracts of land opened out to trade in the inhospitable regions of Hudson's Bay. The fisheries were encouraged, agriculture took an enormous stride, and the home manufacture increased every day under the impulse of the new requirements of our foreign customers. Africa was not neglected, and companies were organized for its trade on the model of the establishment which was just expanding into life on the coast of Hindostan. When all these things were added together, the general prosperity was found to be so

great, that historians have agreed in considering the latter years of the reign of George II. as the period in which the masses of the people were better fed, and had more means of occupation, than at any other portion of our career. The workman's wages were low, but everything he required was very cheap. A gentleman of five hundred a-year held as high a social position as a man of five thousand a-year does now; and there was a rude plenty and vulgar comfort over all the land, which the poets of the succeeding generation looked back to as the golden age.

§ 13. The population was at this time about seven millions, and there was room in the land for their increase. The marvellous rise in their numbers, which are now three times the former amount, has been accounted for, not only by the additional sustenance furnished by improvements in farming, and the vast expansion of manufacturing industry, by which wages are won, but by the improvement in the Marriage Act introduced this year. Hitherto, any debased and brutalized clergyman could unite a couple for half-a-crown, on half-an-hour's acquaintance, without any form but mutual consent. Misery was introduced into many families by ill-assorted weddings performed by those convenient priests of Hymen; but a stop was now put to them by a law enforcing publication of bans, and every means of publicity which could be obtained. The solemnities thus rendered indispensable invested matrimony with a more sacred character, and domestic purity made rapid progress when the first foundation of the family edifice was consecrated by religion.

§ 14. The conduct of the Prince of Wales had long caused great unhappiness to his family and scandal to the nation. Carrying political opposition into private life, he had debarred any one who attended the levees at St. James's from the circle of patriots and expectants who gathered round him at Leicester House. He treated his mother with neglect and rudeness, and returned the dislike of his father a hundred-

fold. Already the spoils of the succession were divided among his adherents in anticipation of the king's death. Plots were laid for obtaining an enlargement of the Civil List, and the selfish courtiers of the rising sun were looking forward to the pleasures of revenge upon their enemies when power came into their hands. In the quarrel of the sovereign and the heir-apparent the public took little interest beyond the regret caused by so unseemly a spectacle; and the death of the misguided Frederick, on the 20th of March, was viewed as a fortunate termination of a state of affairs which embarrassed the government and offended the nation. But even this event showed the obstinacy of hate which characterized the early Hanoverian kings; his funeral was attended by no sympathy of the Crown or of the Court. George (afterwards George III.), Prince Frederick's eldest son, thus became heir-apparent in his thirteenth year, inheriting some of the affection of his grandfather, which his father had insolently thrown away, and happy in the unspeakable blessing of a gentle and affectionate mother.

X § 15. During the present year, the alteration of the calendar took place, by which our dates were assimilated to those of the rest of Europe, except Russia, and our legal year began on the 1st of January, instead of the 25th of March. To rectify the calendar, the omission of eleven days was required, and people going to bed on the 3rd of September, 1752, awoke next morning on the 14th by special command of the legislature. Many of the common people were offended at this interference with their longevity, and demanded their eleven days as if they had been wronged of them; but commerce and ordinary business soon found the benefit of the change, and it is the object of the extra day in leap year to prevent the irregularity from occurring again.

§ 16. Humiliated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the English recovered more than their former eminence by the result of the next war. When Sir Robert Walpole was in

the palmiest day of his power, he dreaded, above all the other orators of the Commons, a young soldier of the name of Pitt. He used to express the horror he felt when that un pitying eye was fixed on him, and those withering sarcasms fell from his lips, by saying, "Oh, save me from that terrible cornet of horse!" But nothing could save a jobbing politician, or dishonest public servant, or neglectful minister, from the terrible vituperation of the youthful patriot, who was insensible to a bribe, and was unequalled in eloquence and force. This young William Pitt had risen through inferior grades after Walpole's dismissal, and might have looked to the highest post; but disapproving some of the Government measures on the first threatenings of a war with France, in 1755, he resigned his office, and stayed out of employment till 1757.

§ 17. No wonder he disapproved the measures of the Government. Hanover was always the first object of the king's regard, and to keep that majestic State in safety, he would have lavished the wealth and blood of England, as if her existence depended on the event. In America, the French had made encroachments, taken some of our settlements, and interfered with our trade. In India, they had intrigued and fought against us on pretence of alliance with the native chiefs. And in the Mediterranean they had prepared a great fleet and army to seize the peaceable island of Minorca, which had been secured to England by treaty, and lay secure and unconcerned under the protection of a mere handful of men. A fleet was sent to the rescue; but the crews were untrained, the ships inferior in size and quality, and the admiral a man of more discretion than zeal, and far more afraid of the malevolence of parties at home than of the superiority of Galissonniere in ships and men. This was Admiral Byng, whose fate is the bitterest satire on factious divisions since the brutal democracy of Athens. He went to Minorca with his eleven ships, and engaged his enemy with seventeen. The impetuosity of the second in command, Admiral West, carried

him a little beyond his orders, and he defeated the wing opposed to him. Byng, however, remained within the strictest limits of legitimate action, and would not reef a sail or fire a gun except according to rule. The result was, that he retired after a short pursuit of the enemy; the citadel of Port Mahon was taken; the French made such boasts of their conquest that the mob of London was about to slaughter the ministry; and the ministry, to direct public attention to another quarter, tried the unhappy admiral by court-martial, got him condemned on a forced interpretation of the articles of war, and had their victim shot on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*, in Portsmouth harbour.

§ 18. War could no longer conceal itself under the disguise of local disagreements or surreptitious aggressions. Blood had been shed in fair fight under the flags of France and England, and the smouldering hatreds caused on both sides by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle burst into a flame. The whole world became the battle-field of the irritated nations; and French and English strained every nerve in the strife. Pitt had been in power during a momentary gleam of royal favour, and had yielded to the animosity of the king and the desertion of his allies. But the nation had felt, though only for a month or two, the new hand at the helm, and insisted on the vessel of the State being given into his charge again. The weak and incapable Duke of Newcastle accordingly resigned, and Pitt became principal Secretary of State, with subordinates of his own selection. Hostilities were raging in India, America, and Europe, in which Frederick of Prussia was our only ally, and Pitt had early made the discovery that the prosperity of our colonies on the Hudson and the Hooghly was to be fought for in Germany. And now began the wonders of the Seven Years' War (commenced the year before) which carried the reign of George II. to its close in a blaze of glory, and gave a triumphant commencement to the reign of George III.

§ 19. The spirit of the minister communicated itself to all the professions. Byng, as a French author says, seemed to have been shot to encourage the others; and daring and success became the orders of the day. Meantime, George, who never could understand the eloquence or lofty designs of his premier, and felt himself subdued by his presence, saw everything he undertook come to a prosperous end. Minorca had been taken from us by a general eighty years old. The white-headed veterans of Blenheim and Ramillies were preparing their crutches and putting on additional flannels in expectation of new commands; but Pitt had discovered a young officer of thirty-two, in whom he saw signs of military genius, and summoned him to his presence. This was the famous General Wolfe, a man congenial in courage and resolution with the great statesman who had discerned his merits. Strange stories are told of the meeting. Pitt laid before his visitor a view of American affairs, and so warmed with the great thought that was working at his heart, that he poured forth to that solitary soldier a stream of eloquence which would have filled a listening senate with admiration. Wolfe, it is said, was so excited by what he heard, that he drew his sword and vowed to obey the order of the magician. The order was to take Quebec, the capital of Canada, defended with a large garrison by one of the best soldiers of France.

§ 20. The settlement of Canada had been a serious danger to the English colonies for a great many years. It was an impregnable citadel, from which troops could at all times descend upon the plains and interfere with the commerce and agriculture of the rival people. No portion of New England, or even of Virginia and Pennsylvania, was safe from these incursions. Accompanied by their Indian allies, armed with club and tomahawk, the French directed the storm of assault upon the peaceable and distant colonists, who had made no preparation for resistance. Even the inertness of the Home Government had been roused in 1754. A military expedition

was ordered to the defence of the aristocratic old colony of Virginia, but ended in defeat and massacre, under a superannuated old general of the name of Braddock. A young man, however, who served as a major in the British force on the Ohio, had the opportunity of learning his first lessons in the military art, of which he made memorable use in after years. At that time all that was known of him was that his name was George Washington, and that he was distinguished for firmness of character and clearness of intellect, and had raised great expectations in his king and country, though not yet twenty-one years of age.

§ 21. When the English minister cast his eyes on the condition of Canada, the prospect would have been disheartening to any one but himself. In all the essentials of power the enemy had an incontestable superiority. A fortress at the Fall of Niagara was garrisoned by six hundred French. Lake Champlin was commanded by their small sloops of war, and Quebec itself was a position of great natural advantages, and strengthened with all the art of the engineer. The defenders were trained soldiers, assisted by militia and native Indians, and amounted to upwards of ten thousand men. But while the great blow was preparing under the suggestions of Pitt himself, the indomitable energy of the English character was shown in the achievements of the local commanders. Every place was ransacked for aid, and possession taken of every spot of vantage ground. Indians were engaged on the English side as numerous as on the French, and the two civilized nations of Europe had equal cause to be ashamed of the barbarity of their savage allies. While General Amherst launched vessels, built in the roughest way, upon Lake Champlin, and destroyed the French flotilla, Sir William Johnstone, a civilian with an innate genius for war, succeeded, after a severe engagement, in capturing the citadel of Niagara. All further outrage on the British colonies was rendered impossible by the destruction of the French superiority on those inland seas; and when

the way was cleared by these successes, and only the great castle of Quebec dominated over the colony, Wolfe made his appearance on the Isle of Orleans a little below the city, and interrupted the communications of the garrison by occupying the St. Lawrence. Montcalm, the French commandant, was equal to the occasion, and kept constant watch on the proceedings of his enterprising assailant. Wolfe moved up the river, and failed in making a lodgment on the shore; but his attention had been attracted by a steep bank rising from the water's edge to the level platform above, which had evidently been considered so impracticable that it was left undefended by outpost or rampart. Orders were given to get the boats all ready to float down the stream, and embarking his whole force in a very dark night, the anchors were lifted, and the flotilla noiselessly glided down. A rush was made up the precipice when they landed, and, following closely with the main body of his forces, Wolfe found himself, at break of day on the 12th of September, in possession of the heights of Abraham, in rear of the least defended portion of the town.

Montcalm, thus out-generalled, resolved to fight, and if courage and numbers could avail, he had every prospect of success. Wolfe, during that dark voyage to the landing-place, had repeated in a whisper to his officers Gray's beautiful "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," then recently published; and the choice of the poem was afterwards remembered as ominous of his approaching fate. He had dwelt particularly, we may suppose, on the line, "The paths of glory lead but to the grave;" for if death and defeat had been the result of his attempt, they would only have realized the forebodings contained in a letter he wrote to the Minister describing the difficulties of his position. When the depression which had seized the public on this intelligence was relieved by the arrival of the next dispatch announcing the battle of Abraham, the capture of Quebec, and the submission of many of the French occupants of Canada, the joy was universal, and the hero's name was on

every lip. Particulars were inquired into, and the triumph of the people rose higher than ever when they heard the last words of their favourite soldier. He had been wounded in the breast, and was lying bleeding on the ground. An officer near him said, "They run, sir; they run!" Wolfe raised his head, and asked curiously, "Who run?" "The French." "Thank God! I die content," was the reply, and in a few minutes he died. His gallant rival, Montcalm, was also carried mortally wounded from the field. When he was told he had no chance of surviving, he said, "So much the better; I shall not see the fall of Quebec." But the fall of Quebec was but the prelude to greater triumphs. The whole English force was directed on the town of Montreal. It was surrounded on all sides; and the governor, with too much generosity to waste his comrades' lives, capitulated to Lord Amherst. France was without a citadel or a soldier in North America, and Canada became thenceforth a possession of the British Crown. No pang of humiliation embittered the transference of the French to their new king. Their civil and religious rights were secured. They became fellow-citizens, and not a conquered colony. As if to mark that their connexion is one of equality and not force, a tall column is erected in one of the public squares of Quebec with the simple words inscribed on it—"Wolfe. - Montcalm."

§ 22. Another young man had risen in India to be the avenger of the wrongs suffered by the English residents in Calcutta, whom the tyrannical ruler of that country had immured in the Black Hole till only a few survived. Clive's great battle of Plassy was almost contemporaneous with Pitt's appointment to office; and victories in Hindostan were responded to by triumphs in other parts of the world. Cherbourg was taken and destroyed. The French settlements on the African coast were seized. In the intervals of his own triumphs, the Minister listened to the joy-bells ringing for the successes of his German ally. He pleased the king by

breaking the humiliating convention which the Duke of Cumberland had entered into at Closter Seven, and taking the Hanoverian troops again into his pay. England and Prussia defied the whole world; and with a king so indomitable as Frederick, and a Minister so high-spirited as Pitt, eventual defeat or lengthened despondency was impossible.

But temporary defeats came, and occasional despondency seized on all but Frederick and Pitt. We were repulsed in an attempt on the coast of France near St. Malo, and lost a thousand men in the hurry of a panic-struck re-embarkation at the bay of St. Cas. The triumph of the French was greater on this small success, that our forces were commanded by a Duke of Marlborough. Some of the expeditions were useless, and the Prussians lost several battles to the Austrians and French. Yet the great stream was onward still, for England poured forth her treasures, which seemed to grow the greater the more they were tried. The commerce with India, America, and Europe was carried on under the protection of the flags of Hawke and Boscawen. Every subsidy to a foreign potentate came back to us in payment of goods, and the small princes were most accommodating in accepting our aid. Little or much did not matter to the dignity of Landgrave or Elector; and therefore, while Frederick was gratified with nearly a million at a time, his Highness of Hesse condescended to accept ten thousand pounds.

§ 23. The nation, in spite of its exertions, was in the full career of prosperity; faction had been silenced by the vigour of the Minister, and discontent prevented by the success attending his efforts. In this hour of sunshine, when the king was considering how to make the preponderance of his kingdom available for the benefit of his Electorate, England and Hanover were equally called on to deplore his loss. He died at Kensington, of an attack of apoplexy, on the 25th of October, at the age of seventy-seven; the last foreigner by birth who has held the British throne, and almost as foreign

in his tastes and interests as in his nativity. Yet there was an openness and honesty about his personal dealings which gained his subjects' respect. He was blind to the charms of what, in his German accent, he called *bainting* and *boetry*, but he was unambitious; he remained true to the principles under which he succeeded to the crown; he did not trick nor quibble; and was more useful and infinitely more safe, in those days of loose political morality and unprincipled selfishness, than if he had had greater abilities with more unscrupulous desires.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

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| <p>A.D.
1727. Accession of George II.
— Sir Robert Walpole Prime Minister of England.
— Sixteen representative peers of Scotland chosen.
1732. Treaty between Great Britain, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Spain.
— Italian silk-machines first erected by Sir Thos. Lombe at Derby.
1739. War declared against Spain.
1740. Voyages of Commodore Anson, the circumnavigator.
— The English undertake to support Maria Theresa of Austria against Frederick the Great of Prussia.
1741. Carthage taken by Admiral Vernon.
— Sir Robert Walpole's retirement from office.
1743. Pelham succeeds to the Ministry.
1744. War declared against France by Great Britain.
— Commodore Anson arrives at St Helen's, after having completed his voyage round the world.
1745. England, Austria, Holland, and Saxony enter into a quadruple alliance.
— Battle of Fontenoy.
— Cape Breton taken by the English.
— Rebellion in Scotland.
1746. The royal forces defeated at Falkirk.</p> | <p>A.D.
1746. Defeat of the Pretender at the battle of Culloden. Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock beheaded.
1747. Lord Lovat executed.
— The allied army defeated at Lauffeldt.
— The French fleet defeated by Admiral Hawke.
1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1751. Death of Frederick, Prince of Wales.
1752. The New Style introduced into Great Britain, generally known as the "Reformation of the Calendar."
1753. British Museum established at Montagu House.
1754. Death of the Prime Minister Pelham, who is succeeded by the Duke of Newcastle.
1756. War declared between Great Britain and France.
— The French capture Minorca.
1757. Admiral Byng executed on a charge of cowardice.
— Administration of William Pitt.
— Commencement of the "Seven Years' War."
1758. Destruction of Cherbourg.
1759. Battle of Minden.
— Battle of the Heights of Abraham, in which the French are defeated, and Quebec taken. General Wolfe slain.
1760. Conquest of Canada.
— Death of George II.</p> |
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CHAPTER III.

GEORGE THE THIRD.

A.D. 1760 TO A.D. 1820.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XV.; Louis XVI. (beheaded 1793); Revolution; Republic; Directory and Consuls; Napoleon Bonaparte; Louis XVIII.

SPAIN.—Charles III.; Charles IV.; Ferdinand VII.; Joseph Bonaparte; Ferdinand VII., restored.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.—Francis I.; Joseph II.; Leopold II.; Francis II., who, in 1804, assumed the title of Hereditary Emperor of Austria as Francis I., and in 1806 abdicated the throne of Germany.

POPES.—Clement XIII.; Clement XIV.; Pius VI.; Pius VII., when the Papal dominions were annexed to the French Empire.

PRUSSIA.—Frederick II., the Great; Frederick William II.; Frederick William III.

RUSSIA.—Elizabeth (Empress); Peter III.; Catherine III. (Empress); Paul I.; Alexander.

. The leading administrations of this lengthened reign are noticed under the "Landmarks of Chronology," p. 760.

§ 1. Accession of George III. Review of his important reign. Loss of the American colonies, and acquisition of the Indian empire. Great changes in the social system.—§ 2. Education and character of the king. His marriage with the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz.—§ 3. Influence of the Earl of Bute. Pitt retires from office on a pension, with the title of Chatham for his wife. War declared against Spain. Capture of the Havannah and Manilla. Peace of Paris.—§ 4. Manners of the age.—§ 5. Wilkes and the *North Briton* prosecuted for libel. General warrants declared to be illegal. Acquittal of Wilkes. He obtains heavy damages against the Secretary of State. Exasperation of the sovereign and the Government.—§ 6. The American colonies. Disputes respecting the right of taxing them without representation. The Stamp Act

repealed when too late.—§ 7. Rebellion of the American colonists, Ship-cargo of tea thrown into the sea. A civil war begins. General Washington appointed commander-in-chief. Progress of hostilities. Battle of Bunker's Hill.—§ 8. Temporary successes of the British. Harassing system of warfare carried on by the colonists. General Burgoyne retreats, and finally surrenders at Saratoga.—§ 9. France enters into an alliance with the American colonists. War with France and Spain. Lord North's unpopular administration. Increasing sympathy with America.—§ 10. Alternate successes and defeats in which the British are engaged. Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at York Town.—§ 11. Angry discussions in Parliament. Pacific proposals made to Holland and America. Admiral Rodney's naval victory over the French, and relief of Gibraltar. Independence of the United States acknowledged.—§ 12. Ten years' peace. Political struggles between Pitt and Fox.—§ 13. Pitt introduces the India Bill. Bitter contests between the Whigs and Tories.—§ 14. Impeachment and trial of Warren Hastings for mal-administration as governor of India.—§ 15. The French Revolution. Its sanguinary horrors. Execution of Louis XVI. and his queen. The guillotine constantly at work. England and the Continental Powers at war with France. The French everywhere victorious.—§ 16. The Prince of Wales. His marriage, and dissolute character. Mutiny at the Nore. Ascendancy of Napoleon Bonaparte.—§ 17. Our great naval victories. Threatened invasion by the French.—§ 18. Irish rebellion. Sanguinary contests. Father Murphy and his pretended invulnerability.—§ 19. Carnage at Vinegar Hill. Punishment of the rebels.—§ 20. An amnesty granted. Landing of a French army in Ireland. Its defeat and surrender. Admiral Sir John Warren's naval victory over the French.—§ 21. The victorious career of Republican France.—§ 22. Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. Nelson's victory of the Nile. Bonaparte's arrival in Paris. He becomes First Consul and General-in-chief of the French armies.—§ 23. Administration of William Pitt. He imposes an Income Tax of 10 per cent., and largely increases the military and naval forces of the kingdom. Union of the English and Irish Parliaments. Russia suddenly joins France, and Napoleon gains the battle of Marengo. All the Continental Powers opposed to England.—§ 24. Confederacy of maritime States for maintaining an "armed neutrality." Nelson destroys the alliance, and attacks the French flotilla at Boulogne. The peace of Amiens.—§ 25. Active preparations and encroachments of the First Consul during thirteen months of peace. He insults the British ambassador, and orders the arrest of English travellers. Menaces of Bonaparte against England.—§ 26. Renewal of the war. The French successful by land, but everywhere defeated by sea. Disaffection in Ireland.—§ 27. Napoleon becomes Emperor, and extinguishes the title of Emperor of Germany. His victories of Ulm and Austerlitz. Battle of Trafalgar. Death of Nelson and of Pitt.—§ 28. Difficulty of forming an administration. "All the Talents." Death of Fox. Successful career of Napoleon. Battle of Jena, and treaty of Tilsit. Maritime league against England.—§ 29. Attack on Copenhagen, and capture of the Danish fleet.—§ 30. Crowned heads of the Bonaparte family. Lucien Bonaparte's

epic poem on Charlemagne.—§ 31. Insurrection in Spain against the rule of Joseph Bonaparte. English expedition sent to Spain under Sir Arthur Wellesley. His past exploits in India.—§ 32. Wellesley's campaign in the Peninsula. Battle of Vimeira. Convention of Cintra. Sir John Moore.—§ 33. The second campaign in the Peninsula. Capture of Oporto, and defeat of Marshal Soult.—§ 34. Napoleon's triumphs in Italy and Germany. He dethrones the pope, and attaches the Ecclesiastical States to the French Empire. He divorces his wife Josephine, and marries the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria.—§ 35. Russia opposes the aggressive domination of the Emperor Napoleon. The French campaign against Russia. English victories in the Peninsula. Battle of Salamanca.—§ 36. Capture and burning of Moscow. Retreat and destruction of Napoleon's army. His flight to Paris.—§ 37. Rapid decline of Napoleon's power. Wellington's successes. Battle of Vittoria, which overthrows the French dominion in Spain. Austria declares war against France. Defeat of the French at Leipsic, and advance of the continental allies.—§ 38. Capture of Paris, and banishment of Napoleon to the Isle of Elba.—§ 39. Wellington enters France. Royal fêtes and great rejoicings at Paris.—§ 40. Napoleon escapes from Elba, and re-enters Paris. Flight of the imbecile Louis.—§ 41. Wellington and Blücher prepare for the expected conflict with Napoleon. Battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, and Waterloo. Defeat and flight of Napoleon. He surrenders to Captain Maitland, and is carried as a prisoner for life to the Island of St. Helena. His death. Heavy imposts levied on France.—§ 42. Hopeless insanity of King George. The Prince of Wales becomes Prince Regent.—§ 43. National distress arising from the want of employment, and the operation of the Corn-laws. Lord Castlereagh, and his tyrannical measures. Manchester massacre. Lord Eldon's unconstitutional definition of treason.—§ 44. Death of the Princess Charlotte, and failure of direct succession to the Crown. Royal marriages.—§ 45. Contest with America. Her naval successes. Unsuccessful attack on New Orleans by the British.—§ 46. Death and character of George III.

§ 1. THIS is the reign that extends over the longest space, and contains the greatest events in our history. Within this one king's lifetime a new empire of boundless hopes and expanding energies was lost to us in the West; while another empire in the East, carrying with it the marks of a civilization which had developed itself in stately buildings, and useful works, and regulated governments while Greece and Rome were yet savage and uncultivated, rich in all natural produce, and swarming with an innumerable population, was added to our possessions; and Hindostan was a compensation for

America. It also embraces the great French Revolution, which raised Napoleon to the height of power, and the struggle of nations which consigned him to his island prison ; while, at the same time, every year was crowded with some strange invention or some new application of already discovered powers, so that the same eventful period that saw the greatest glories and heaviest disasters of war saw also the mightiest triumphs of peace. James Watt was studying his improvements of the steam-engine at the beginning of this date, and Robert Stephenson was simmering over his idea of railroads at the end of it. Changes so vast and incidents so various can therefore only be slightly alluded to, and we shall content ourselves with pointing out a few of the principal actions, and dwelling on the results of the great incidents more than on their details.

§ 2. The king had been brought up in so private and unostentatious a manner by his mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, a woman of kind and amiable disposition, but who unfortunately considered duplicity the virtue by which a crown is strengthened, that little was known of his disposition or talents. His appearance, however, was greatly in his favour, being thoroughly English in its strength of frame and vigorous healthiness of expression. In these respects he formed a pleasing contrast with the two stolid old foreigners who had preceded him on the throne. It began indeed to be whispered that he was obstinate and sulky, very narrow-minded, and very ignorant ; but nobody dwelt seriously on the imputed faults of a fine, healthy, jolly-looking English gentleman of twenty-two years of age, and all were still farther prepared to expect great things, both for the nation's happiness and his own, when he married in the following year the most well-behaved, steady, plain-featured, and respectable princess in Europe, in the person of Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who was his affectionate consort for fifty-seven years. His tutors had been bishops and deans,

who neglected their pupil's constitutional studies, and left them to the care of a Scottish nobleman, the Earl of Bute, who must have been something of a Jacobite in his principles, with only a mistake of the person towards whom they were to be exercised. It was not long before the odious name of a "favourite" was again heard, and no small share of hatred was re-awakened towards the Scottish nation by the position so invidiously held by one of her sons.

§ 3. The Earl of Bute's influence was fatal to the ministry of Pitt, and humiliating to the kingdom. France was so weakened by foreign war and domestic faction that she sued for peace. Pitt accepted her preliminaries, and only insisted on continuing his aid to his ally the King of Prussia in the German war. But the favourite felt that war was the peculiar province of the imperious commoner, and advised peace on easier terms. Pitt heard at this very time that Spain had entered into a secret union with France, which was afterwards known as the Family Compact, and proposed in Council an immediate declaration of hostilities against that State, the capture of her possessions in America, and the seizure of her treasure-ships. By these measures he felt confident of the complete annihilation of her power. Bute and his friends, however, prevailed, and Pitt retired from office. The people, he said, had called him into power, and he would not be responsible to them for measures over which he had no control. The Court feeling was doubly embittered against him by this declaration, for it was not yet an acknowledged fact that a minister was practically responsible to any one but the king; but his reputation with the nation suffered no less when his majesty persuaded him to accept a pension of 3000*l.* a year, and the title of Chatham for his wife. The hot haste, however, with which his enemies published his acceptance in the *Gazette* opened the eyes of the public to their object in bestowing those favours, and the tide flowed back to its old channels. He had gratified the king by allowing him to

show his gratitude for past services, but was free as ever to express his sentiments in Parliament. He was still the Great Commoner, and was ready with word and blow. Words were poured forth with withering eloquence when his successors, perceiving the truth of his information, declared war upon Spain, when it was too late to make a fatal impression on her power; and still stronger vituperation followed when, having carried his military plans into operation, and captured the Havannah and Manilla, the ministry made a peace, in which they seemed unconscious of their advantages, and left Frederick to his own resources, in spite of the solemn promise he had received of English support. But as our honour was satisfied by the restoration of Minorca, and our interests secured by the formal surrender of almost all the French possessions in North America, we may confess that the estimate Pitt formed of the demands we were entitled to make was greatly exaggerated. We secured enough to increase our own influence without offending the pride of two proud and powerful nations. This was the Peace of Paris, February, 1763, which obliterated the memory of the humiliating peace of Aix-la-Chapelle fifteen years before.

§ 4. The fictions of feudalism, where the superior was treated by the vassal with a homage expressive of his dependence, were still continued in the ceremonials of court; and even at private interviews with the sovereign Pitt answered the questions of the king on his bended knee. It was difficult for two such matter-of-fact personages as George and his favourite to believe that such lowly attitudes and professions of obedience could be combined with public spirit and self-respect. They therefore entered very early into a plan for regaining the lost prerogatives of the Crown, and emancipating it from the control of the great families (and also of the great principles) of the Revolution. To escape observation in his guidance of this design, Bute retired from office, and continued his advice till he was generally spoken

of as the secret influence behind the throne. Administrations were formed, who for a while were mean enough to pocket their salaries, and do the bidding of the "hidden power." But conscience became awakened, vanity got hurt, interests were supposed to be neglected, and the tamest of officials grew disgusted with their nominal occupations. George, by interfering too much, by stickling too doggedly for submission to his will in great things and small, exhausted at last the patience even of place-hunting politicians, and found it difficult to form a ministry at all, unless from the members of a party known as the "King's Friends."

§ 5. An excellent opportunity of assaulting the press was found by these falsely-named counsellors in the prosecution of a scurrilous pamphlet by the notorious John Wilkes. Caricatures have still preserved to us the hideous grin and unearthly squint of that most wicked, witty, venal, and unprincipled tribune of the people; but sober history has to record with surprise that his services to free discussion were very great, and that the boldness of political observation which pervades every newspaper of the present day is in part owing to the famous No. 45 of the periodical he conducted, called the *North Briton*. This number was denounced as seditious and inflammatory. Wilkes, though a member of Parliament, was arrested under a general warrant, and imprisoned in the Tower. Public indignation was roused at this stretch of authority. Nobles of constitutional principles visited him in his confinement, and London broke out in triumph, as if a great battle had been gained, when the presiding Chief-Justice Pratt (afterwards Marquis Camden) not only declared his arrest illegal, but that the general warrant under which he had been seized, and all general warrants, were contrary to the law of England and the freedom of the people. A general warrant was a power issued by the Secretary of State to arrest any person or number of persons suspected of a crime, with the names left in blank. A thousand

people, therefore, might be taken into custody as accessory to a supposed misdemeanour, and Wilkes smiled with tenfold sweetness, and borrowed money with tenfold ease, since he had thus become the palladium of British rights and victim of an unjustifiable prosecution. The king's friends would not allow the demagogue to sink into the contempt and obscurity he deserved. They kept him before an admiring public by dismissing him from the colonelcy of the Buckinghamshire Militia, and displacing the nobles who had visited him in the Tower from the lord-lieutenancy of their counties and their seats in the Privy Council. They burnt his pamphlet by the hands of the common hangman, and one of them engaged with him in a duel, and nearly wounded him to the death. Wilkes replied with similar exasperation. He prosecuted the ministers for false imprisonment, and obtained a thousand pounds damages from the Under-Secretary of State; he printed satires at a private press, and engaged the wits upon his side. And finally, when the question of general warrants was discussed in Parliament, and some of the supporters of the ministry voted and spoke against them as hostile to freedom, George III., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, commenced a personal quarrel with Mr. John Wilkes, and dismissed from their employments every member who supported his enemy. Officers of the army lost their commissions, and civil servants their occupation, for the conduct they pursued in the House of Commons, and people began to believe that the quiet and apparently unambitious young man, who held the crown by a vote of the legislature, was as anxious for the increase of his authority as the proudest of his predecessors.

§ 6. Another proof of this disposition was found in his conduct in our quarrel with the American colonies. Every year had seen the increase in wealth and number of those offshoots from the parent stock. They had a large trade, though it was limited to Great Britain, great towns, and unbounded terri-

tories to supply them with food. The mother country was at first contemptuously neglectful, then proud, then jealous of those vast communities which were rising on the navigable rivers and accessible shores of the immeasurable land; and as the Seven Years' War had increased the burdens as much as the glories of the British people, the very natural idea came into the Finance Minister's head of levying a small tax from those prosperous colonists whom we favoured in peace and defended in war. But an equally natural idea entered into the heads of the Americans, that they would not pay a penny as a tax, unless they were represented in the assembly that imposed it. The amount was nothing. At first it was a trifle upon stamps, but it might pave the way for any amount of extortion, and Boston and New York were not inclined to be oppressed that London and Manchester might go free. A little temperance on both sides might have indefinitely postponed or altogether prevented the hostile separation; but we were thoroughly English, and dreadfully obstinate on both sides of the Atlantic. America would not be the servant, and England insisted on being the mistress. National pride arose, and hopes and fears perpetuated the disagreement. England saw ruin, and the colonies saw freedom in the separation of the bond. It therefore very soon became a question beyond the reach of negotiation, and when blood was shed, even the peaceful Franklin, who had advocated submission at first, took his stand on the side of his country, and the death-struggle began.

Orators of extraordinary genius arose in all the Provincial Assemblies, inspired by the first ennobling feelings that they also had a country to live and die for; and even in "the old dominion" they had great allies. Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, emerged from his solitude to denounce the Stamp Act as beyond the limits of parliamentary power, and Lord Camden pronounced against it as contrary to the principles of law. Both contended for its unconditional repeal, and yet the Ministers,

being informed that the king was in favour of the measure, proceeded to bring it in. But George was only practising kingcraft after the manner of his Stuart ancestors, and sent intimation to his friends in the Commons that he was against it, and then thinking he had gone too far, declared he had been misunderstood. The repeal, therefore, was carried; but the concession was too late, and the country felt humiliated in the very act of doing its colonists justice.

§ 7. Riots, reclamations, speeches, compromises, threatenings and caressings had run their course, and now ended in civil war. Washington was in readiness to direct against the English the military skill he had acquired as a soldier in the service of the king. The people of Boston, irritated at an attempt, as they thought, to force them to accept the revenue law by admitting a ship-load of tea, poured the whole cargo into the harbour. Fleets were sent across with troops to ensure obedience, and a congress of all the colonies published a Declaration of their Rights, and a resolution to repel any force that might be sent against them. A skirmish at Lexington, between the regulars and the American militia, was followed by an order of the Congress of Massachusetts to raise an army of thirty thousand men. It was now looked on as a holy war. Clergy, lawyers, gentlemen, and merchants, all advocated the sacred cause of resistance to tyranny; and the gallantry of a strong body of militiamen in defending the height of Bunker's Hill against the regular soldiers, although in the end they were defeated, gave their countrymen confidence that their courage was equal to their zeal. To secure their efficiency, the full command of all the forces was given to George Washington; and no selection could have been more fortunate, for the qualities of that great patriot and honourable man were recognised by all parties and sections of the people as entitling him to the foremost place both in peace and war. The coasts at the same time swarmed with small armed vessels, which intercepted supplies for the British

troops. General Gage, with a half-starved garrison, was cooped up in Boston; the other detached commands were isolated by the hostility of the population; and encouraged by success, the Americans, under General Montgomery, made a dash at Quebec, and were repulsed with difficulty. The only cheering circumstance in this altered state of affairs was, that the colonists were no longer treated as rebels, but as enemies engaged in a defensive struggle, and entitled to all the usages of war. Prisoners were kindly treated and exchanged; and feelings even of friendship arose between the officers stationed near each other, or who, by the chances of battle and siege, had fallen into each other's hands.

§ 8. The campaign of 1776 ended favourably for the British. The invaders were expelled from Canada, and New York was secured by a respectable force. But the spirit of the Americans rose with every reverse. With very pardonable blindness they saw victories in struggles which ended in defeat, and celebrated their flights and dispersions as evidences of their courage and skill. Their levies were still raw and undisciplined, and yielded to the attack of trained battalions in the open field; but as sharp-shooters they harassed their march, removed their provisions, surprised their stores, and offered such a front of pertinacious resistance and vain-glorious assertion, that it was perceived that to break their spirit or lower their pride would be impossible. Public feeling in England began to turn in favour of our sturdy and presumptuous sons. The Ministry lost the national confidence by its rigid persistence in irritating and useless measures, and completed the indignation of the Liberal party by the employment of foreign troops to repress the complaints of English colonists. Amendments were proposed in the two Houses in answer to the king's speech, with very ominous passages like this: "We should look with shame and horror on any event that should bow them to any abject and unconditional submission to any power what-

soever—annihilate their liberties, and subdue them to servile principles and passive habits by the mere force of foreign mercenary arms.” When the amendment was lost by a great majority, and in succeeding debates the unbending policy of the Ministry was supported by the House, the minority seceded from Parliament, protesting that they could no longer attend meetings where their voices were overpowered, and where the administration trusted everything to votes and nothing to argument. Delivered from the watchful opposition of the leading Whigs, the Ministry of Lord North gave a loose to all its desires. It gratified the king by undignified accusations of the colonists, and still more perhaps by paying all his debts, and raising the Civil List to nine hundred thousand a-year. It suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and roused popular attention to the dispute in America by apparent disregard of liberty at home.

Continued success in fighting, and no permanent advantage, still characterized the king's forces. They defeated Washington at Brandywine, and made themselves masters of Philadelphia and of all the forts on the Delaware; but a change was about to take place, and all these successes of General Howe and Lord Cornwallis were neutralized by the incapacity of General Burgoyne. After a momentary triumph, by driving the enemy from Fort Ticonderoga, the disasters of the campaign began. The Indians, whom the English had summoned to their aid, were terrified with false reports, and retired to their woods; and the remaining force, being too weak to continue the siege of Fort Schuyler, made the first step in retreat, and the character of invincibility was lost. The zeal of the Canadian auxiliaries waxed cold, and they followed the example of the Indians, and disbanded. A force of fifteen hundred English and Germans was attacked by General Arnold, on the Stillwater, and defeated. They were far from their supplies; the hostile spirit of the population rose with every engagement, and General Burgoyne

determined on retreat. Then began the trials and sufferings of a retiring army on an enemy's soil. In their retrograde march the British burnt peaceful villages and comfortable villas, according to the rules of war; but the patriots looked upon those perhaps indispensable proceedings as ebullitions of hatred and rage, and wherever a straggler was found he was cut off; wherever an officer's uniform became visible, the unfailing marksman hit him from behind rock or tree; and when hunger was added to these distresses, and the march was encumbered with sick and wounded, Burgoyne resolved to make for the defensible post of Saratoga, and refresh and re-discipline his men. He committed his sick and wounded to the generosity of General Gates, who responded to the compliment by the utmost kindness and care, and came within sight of the desired haven of repose. But the Americans had been beforehand with him, and guarded the ford. To Fort Edward it was equally impossible to go, and the road to Albany was held by a superior force. The British were fairly trapped, and from all the heights glinted the inevitable rifle, and cannon poured down upon the narrow space in which the ignorance of the general had cooped them up. The troops against them were three or four times their number; their provisions would last only three days more; assistance was hopeless from any quarter; and even if they cut their way through the enemy there was no place to go to. A convention was entered into, by which Burgoyne and his army surrendered on honourable terms. They were not to serve during the war, and were to be conducted to the nearest British settlement. The conquerors were so generous in their treatment of the prisoners, and showed such delicacy in their behaviour to their brave and unfortunate opponents, that friendships sprang up between the late antagonists which ended only with life, and tended in a great measure to soothe the bitterness of English feeling towards the colonial gentle-

men of our own race and language whom it had been the habit to talk of as discontented rebels.

§ 9. Whenever a cloud settles for a moment on England she has the satisfaction of finding out how universally she is hated by the despotic powers. France came forth at once with aid to our enemies in men and money ; and under the smiles of the Court many young noblemen, ornaments of ball-rooms, and burning with zeal for the rights of man, when they did not happen to be in the Bastille, dashed across the Atlantic, and flashed their armorial bearings in the eyes of the Americans, who were fighting for universal equality. Among these, La Fayette, the honest and vain, had landed first, and was the most distinguished ; but when the French King proceeded farther, and accredited a minister to the Congress, the English pride was roused. The country was engaged in a family quarrel, and could allow no stranger to interfere. War was declared on the intruder. A declaration was also made against Spain ; and, as an additional enemy or two seemed of no consequence, we threw a cartel of defiance at Holland, and exchanged shots with half the world. But bold commencements have seldom been supported by such inefficient means. The navy was mismanaged, and the defences of the country neglected. Lord North was ill-supported by his colleagues, and increased the unpopularity of the king. It was supposed that his blind attachment to high monarchical principle was the cause of his animosity to the rebels, and that he hoped to regain the prerogative of raising taxes by forcing them to accept an illegal imposition. The celebrated resolution was introduced and carried in the House of Commons, "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished," and sympathy with the Americans became more widely diffused.

§ 10. A succession of alternate successes and defeats embittered both parties in the strife ; yet the cause of the in-

surgents made progress through every vicissitude of fortune; and, finally, when the north of Europe formed in a hostile array of maritime force in the name of an Armed Neutrality, and the narrow seas were paraded by French and Spanish fleets, Jersey taken by surprise and recovered in a few hours, Gibraltar invested by sea and land, and Cornwallis, the commander-in-chief in America, taken prisoner at York Town with seven thousand men, people began to calculate whether the privilege of taxing the colonists without their consent was worth all the blood and treasure it cost. Disgust at our own administration, and doubt of the openness and honesty of the king, softened the public animosity still further towards the high-spirited resisters of oppression, who were now held up more as examples to be imitated than enemies to be overcome.

§ 11. Motions were made in Parliament against the continuance of the war. General Burgoyne confessed that his views were changed as to the justice of our cause, and most people's views were changed as to its probable success. The triumphant Whigs, under Lord Rockingham, waited quietly till the national patience was exhausted, and then stepped into power in spite of the king's repugnance to the conciliatory measures they made conditional on their acceptance of office. Pacific proposals were immediately addressed to Holland and America, while the honour of the nation was at the same time maintained by greater exertions by land and sea. A great victory was won by Rodney over the Count de Grasse, which restored the glory of the British flag, and compensated for the Spaniards' recovery of Minorca. Gibraltar was also triumphantly relieved from its besiegers by the firmness of Elliot and his garrison; and with these proofs of unabated power to present to the world, the ministry pursued their peaceful policy, and succeeded in putting an end to hostilities throughout America and Europe by acknowledging the independence of the United States, and returning to almost the same

position, with respect to Spain and France, as we held before the war. (1783.)

§ 12. The ten years of peace which ensued saw the commencement of the life-long and hereditary struggle between Fox and Pitt. Their fathers, Lord Holland and Lord Chatham, had been rivals, and the sons carried on the strife with a nearer approach to equality. Fox, in his eagerness for office, threw away the respect of the nation by a coalition with the hated Lord North, whose measures he had always opposed; and while in this suspicious position introduced a bill for the government of India, which seemed calculated to strengthen his administration more than to benefit the country. The king was alarmed at the apparent diminution of his personal power, and opposed it without disguise. Pitt, conscious of his abilities, and also of the purity of his motives, sided with the king, and had the boldness to undertake the ministry with a majority against him in the Commons. But less courageous, because more clear-sighted, than the king, he would not persist in governing through a minority, and called a new Parliament, which supported him in the conduct he had pursued. A minister of twenty-five, with only the great name of Chatham for his aid, and his own unequalled genius for policy and debate, was a new spectacle to the kingdom accustomed to the routine performances of old and worn-out men; and George himself must occasionally have had misgivings as he contemplated the broad and manly views taken by his youthful adviser of subjects on which his mind had long been made up. He would have no reform—as little change as possible—and constant additions to his civil list.

§ 13. Pitt began by introducing an India Bill almost as bold in its innovations as his rival's, but divested of all its danger, in the eyes of Lords and King, by the character of its proposer. He then brought in a Bill for a reform in Parliament, by which the country would be more fully represented, and the course of corruption stayed. But having

satisfied his point of honour by fulfilling his promise of a measure of the kind, he submitted to its defeat, and applied himself to other things. Political rancour survived the dark days of persecution and revenge in which it took its rise. In the days of the Stuarts and William, a politician was ready to sign the death-warrant of his defeated rival, and a vote in Parliament led either to the Treasury Bench or the Tower. The worst which could now befall a public man was exclusion from office, and yet the animosity remained. Aspirants of all ranks and ages ranged themselves under the banner of a party leader, and hated their opponents with as much zeal as Jacobite hated Hanoverian, or Huguenot Papist. What Pitt proposed, therefore, Fox and his myrmidons exclaimed against; and all Fox's designs were condemned by the other side, whatever their merits or defects.

Pitt proposed a plan for the fortification of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and the other dockyards. At that time they were all utterly unprotected, and the stores for ship-building lay on an open beach. Our relations with foreign powers were not of the most amicable kind, and the sum required to guard our maritime strength from surprise was inconsiderable. But the acute eyes of political rivalry saw nothing but the destruction of the liberties of the nation in garrisons protecting the harbours. The minister was openly accused of bringing forward the preposterous measure at the dictation of some "hidden superior," and the bill was rejected as leading directly to a military despotism.

§ 14. In the same manner the impeachment of Warren Hastings became a trial of political strength. This great but imperious governor had raised the influence of England in the East to the highest pitch. By firmness and generosity—Orientalizing his mind, and perhaps his actions, to make himself intelligible to the native population—he impressed his name on every heart in Hindostan as the embodiment of a Power transcending the greatest of the Moguls. But in

the course of his administration he was harsh in some instances, and unjust in others. He did not wait for Acts of Parliament or public meetings of philanthropists, but carried matters with a high hand, to the great satisfaction of the India Company, whose revenue he increased, and even of the native princes, whose enmities he controlled. He was profuse in his donations, and of course made enemies of all the adventurers he benefited. An outcry, accordingly, was raised in England that he was cruel as Nero, and extortionate as Vespasian. The Opposition impeached him in the name of human nature, and the ministry defended him at the order of their chief. The trial, the stateliest in our annals, and illustrated by more eloquence than had adorned the closing scene of Strafford, dragged its slow length along till 1795. Men's passions cooled—Whigs had turned Tories, and Tories Whigs,—and when many years had passed, and Warren Hastings was old and white-headed, and had occasion to appear as a witness at the bar of the House of Commons, the representatives of England rose in respect when the great Indian ruler came in, and thus by the reverence of one generation atoned for the party spirit and exaggerated accusations of another.

§ 15. But all party squabbles were cast into the shade by the great cloud that hung over Europe and deluged it with the horrors of the French Revolution. At first the friends of freedom in England were vociferous in praise of the conduct of the Parisians in throwing off their chains, and meetings began to be assembled for the promulgation of similar doctrines here. Royalty was held up as the worst form of government, and all the blemishes of our constitution were pointed out with ferocious talent by the apostles of revolution and republicanism. Burke, the most philosophic of the Whigs, became the most furious of the anti-Gallican Tories, and, instead of the peaceful pictures of a reign of universal charity foretold by the approvers of the French, prophesied the sufferings overhanging humanity from the unbridled

licentiousness of mobs. His prophecy too soon came true. Paris and all France ran with blood; the king and queen were shamefully executed like the meanest malefactors, and their heir, the dauphin, was starved and beaten to death. The emancipated people would not monopolize the glories of the guillotine, but encouraged all other nations to introduce that noble instrument of equality and fraternity. The spirit of the English, however, rose on the other side. They sang "God save the King" and "Rule Britannia" from morn to night, and accepted the insulting declaration of war launched at them by the cutthroats of the Convention with a shout of defiance. Europe, almost *en masse*, rose up against those enemies of law and order, and was with difficulty repulsed from the soil of France. But the evils the French had thrown off, in the persons of a despotic king, an unbelieving church, and a tyrannical and useless aristocracy, were too dreadful to be submitted to again. All the agonies of the Reign of Terror were not sufficient to reconcile them to the ancient order of things; and the wildness of their excesses only proves the brutalizing effects of the government by which they were bowed down. There is no struggle so prodigal of blood as an insurrection of slaves. All France was intoxicated with the first draught of liberty it had ever tasted. Madness, in fact, reigned on all sides, and the calm voice of reason was drowned in the din of war. Fleets were sent forth from all our ports; the militia was greatly augmented; foreign troops were taken into our pay; and no doubt was entertained of being able to crush the Republicans in the course of one campaign.

But the French kept the guillotine constantly at work in the large towns, and sent never-failing levies to the frontier. Toulon, indeed, was surrendered by the local authorities to an English squadron, but recovered by the skill and genius of a young artillery officer of the name of Napoleon Bonaparte. We converted him into a kind of traitor to his king

by attaching his native island, Corsica, to the British crown ; Lord Howe gained a great victory over the fleet of the Republicans on the 1st of June ; and our other commanders secured Martinique and other possessions in the West Indies ; but nothing availed against the fanaticism of our foes. The emancipated Republicans having expelled every foreign enemy from their soil, gathered by thousands and tens of thousands to the tricolor flag, and finally overflowed in successful invasion into Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Our military expeditions were failures. We were driven out of Germany, resigned Corsica, and as of all our allies Austria was the only one which not only did not desert us, but resisted the temptation to join the enemy, we were glad to recal our forces from the Continent altogether. Public opinion grew strong in favour of a peace, and leaving foreign nations to settle their disputes among themselves.

§ 16. The Prince of Wales, always on bad terms with his father, according to the unvaried tradition of his family, had married while these disasters were going on, and, in addition to the payment of his past debts, required an augmentation of income which the country could ill afford. The king dwelt with ill-concealed satisfaction on the extravagance of his heir ; and the loyalty of the Whigs to their future king was greatly taxed by the unpopularity into which his self-indulgence and immoralities of life had sunk him. There was discontent all over the land. The fleet mutinied at the Nore and at Spithead, and was only pacified by a concession of all its demands ; and while we were in this divided state, with corn dear and employment scarce, the king distrusted, and the royal family disliked, Napoleon Bonaparte, now General of the army of Italy, dictated terms of peace to our humiliated ally, the Emperor of Germany ; and England and France stood face to face, the principals in a war which both the combatants felt must terminate in the destruction of one or other. (1797.)

§ 17. Meantime we held the sea as if it were our natural

domain, and while bad management and weak allies reduced our efforts by land, great victories maintained the honour of our fleets. Sir John Jervis, henceforth to be known in naval annals as Lord St. Vincent, had scattered the combined fleets of French and Spaniards near the cape of that name in February, and Duncan had gained the title of Camperdown by a total dispersion of the Batavian and French fleets off the coast of Holland in October of the previous year. These two battles were the safeguard of our isle; for it was now discovered that Irish discontent had taken the form of rebellion; that the concessions granted in 1782 had only inspired fresh vigour into the designs of a party determined to dissolve the connexion with England, and that in this very year the United Irishmen, as the armed insurgents called themselves, expected the arrival of a French force, with whose aid they were to establish a Hibernian Republic. Terror fell upon the disaffected when St. Vincent and Camperdown made a French invasion of adequate strength impossible. Some of the leaders were arrested; of these Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a son of the Duke of Leinster, attracted sympathy by the vein of chivalrous generosity that ran through his character. More poet than politician, he was unfit to command the wild elements with which he became mixed up, and died the victim of his romantic temperament, which was more dangerous to the government than the less refined animosity of his vulgar confederates.

§ 18. Little compassion was felt for the fate of the misguided Irish who had appealed to the French for aid. It made them not only enemies but traitors, and after the musketry of the soldiers had slain the easily discomfited bands of half-starved peasants, the law came in and hanged the unhappy beings by the score. But religion came to the rescue of the failing cause, and furious Roman Catholics, led by their priests, and trusting in consecrated flags and episcopal benedictions, turned at bay, and gained advantages

over their less infuriated opponents, the lukewarm Protestants of Cork. Protestantism, however, soon reached boiling heat, too, when the insurrection pouring on towards Wexford, massacred and destroyed the heretics and their lands. Always delighted with a fight, the Irishmen on both sides of this quarrel felt it to be ennobled by the sentiment of a holy war. Thirty thousand rebels were repulsed from an attack on New Ross with a prodigality of slaughter which transcended the usages of battle. In retaliation, the retreating Romanists slaughtered their Protestant prisoners and all the loyalists they met. Father Keon, the reverend leader of one of the armies, was a prodigious specimen of the church militant, being of great personal strength and stature, and as brave as a lion. Father Murphy, another of the sacred band, was inspired with a double portion of courage when he led his followers, twenty thousand strong, to the capture of Arklow, by the fact that the saints had rendered the coat he wore invulnerable; but a Protestant cannon displayed great polemical ability in controverting this popish assumption, and cut Father Murphy in two. His rabble fled, and were reserved for the final carnage at Vinegar Hill.

§ 19. This is a rising ground in the neighbourhood of the town of Enniscorthy, which had been the head-quarters of the rebellion for some weeks. Converging detachments from all the points of the compass now narrowed inwards on the fated spot. Gallantry and despair supported the revolvers for a while; but nothing can resist discipline and cold steel. Crashing in among the huddled masses rode the well-trained dragoons, and a wall of bayonets glittered on all sides but one. Through this gap, which the tardiness of one of the regiments had left unoccupied, the terrified crowd pushed on; and when fatigue gave a pause to the conquerors, it might have brought a blush to their cheeks to find that their loss was under a hundred, while thousands of their over-matched, wearied, and hopeless enemy were lying upon the field.

This put an end to the rebellion, but not to the executions. All the leaders who had been captured were hanged. Even men who had returned to their allegiance were rewarded for their momentary aberration with the gallows; and if Lord Cornwallis, calm in temper and resolute on the side of mercy, had not been appointed viceroy, the tragedy would have been prolonged till English opinion changed, and sympathy would have superseded revenge.

§ 20. An amnesty was immediately published, and the effervescence was rapidly calming down, when a strange revival of alarm and hatred was caused by the appearance of a French army under a general of the Republic. General Humbert landed at Killala, and dispersed a considerable body of the militia which tried to stop his march. He got to Castlebar, and then finding that the army was in movement, that Cornwallis himself was on his advance from Dublin, and that they were outnumbered and outflanked beyond resistance, the French forces grounded their arms as prisoners of war. News shortly after arrived that Sir John Warren had defeated and captured a fleet of French vessels near Lough Swilly with troops and ammunition on board for the reinforcement of General Humbert, and nothing was left but submission on one side, and a generous oblivion and forgiveness on the other. Yet these did not occur. There were secret aspirations for a very doubtful freedom under the protection of France, and secret hatred still rankling in the heart of Britain—a hatred lengthened and embittered by distrust.

§ 21. The French Revolution still ran its onward course. All round the frontiers of the Great Nation arose a circle of imitative republics, which received its laws and furnished their contingents to its army. Even the Pope was displaced from the throne of St. Peter's, and his capture by a French army was celebrated with gorgeous religious services by fourteen of the cardinals, hundreds of the priests, and all the laymen of Rome.

§ 22. Bonaparte, anxious to withdraw for a season from the neighbourhood of the Place de Grève, where the guillotine occasionally was erected, took the command of an expedition to Egypt. There, under the shade of the pyramids, he displayed the same military skill as in Lombardy, and England became alarmed for her Indian possessions. Nelson put an end to her alarm by the great battle of the Nile, which practically made the invading army prisoners on a foreign soil; and Bonaparte, leaving his troops to the care of one of his subordinates, made the best of his way through the English cruisers, and arrived in Paris just in time. Party dissensions had broken out, when foreign States, relieved from the preponderance of Napoleon's genius, repulsed the other officers of the Republic, and drove its armies across the Rhine and the Alps. The great leader was hailed at once as the only hope of his country, and the most conscientious of Republicans must have felt that equality had come to an end, when the aspiring soldier of fortune set all competition at defiance, and seated himself on a chair of more than regal power as First Consul of France and General-in-chief of all the armies of the nation. (December 13, 1799.)

§ 23. As the death-struggle was evidently drawing near, Pitt stopped at no expedient for the supply of the exchequer and the buying over of allies. An income-tax of ten per cent. was imposed, many millions were borrowed, two hundred and fifty thousand troops and a hundred and twenty thousand sailors and marines were taken into pay; and to guard against domestic disagreements, a full and perfect union with Ireland was carried through the Parliaments of both countries, and the three kingdoms became one.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland dated its birth from the 1st of January, 1801, and never was birthday celebrated under a sky more portentous of evil. Russia, which under the madman Paul had accepted our subsidies, turned suddenly on the side of France. Germany, trusting

her armies to a scientific old warrior who could do everything but fight and win battles, was hopelessly defeated at Marengo, and made a disgraceful peace. Prussia, always faithless and generally cowardly, joined in a confederacy against this country, by which the meteor flag found itself not only without an ally in the world, but with every other flag in Europe ranged in hostile array against it. Nevertheless it braved the battle and the breeze with the same undaunted courage as before. The population returns had shown that there were eleven millions in Great Britain, and probably six in Ireland, and the nation looked on unappalled when it saw a hundred and fifty millions against us on the continent, and remembered that we had the stormy sea between us, and Nelson, Howe, Collingwood, and a hundred others prepared to guard it from hostile fleets.

§ 24. The confederacy of the maritime States, under the revived name of an armed neutrality, was designed to ruin us by crippling our trade and playing into the enemy's hands. The chief parties to it were Sweden, Denmark, and Russia. Nelson burst through the Sound, and destroyed the Danish navy; and before Russia recovered from her surprise, he presented his fleet, broadside on, off the walls of Revel. Russia under her new emperor, Alexander, dissolved the alliance; Sweden let all her preparations drop, and England turned her attention to certain demonstrations on the other side of the Channel, where flat-bottomed boats were gathered in great numbers, and armies were collected for the avowed purpose of the invasion of our soil. Nelson led an attack on the flotilla at Boulogne, and though unsuccessful in his main object of burning the whole swarm, he showed that it was easier for the French to threaten our coasts than to defend their own. Both nations now tired of a war which, from the different natures of the belligerents, could never come to a decision—the empire of the sea held by the one being as ruinously expensive as the empire of the land held by the other—and insisted on sheathing the sword, at all events for a time. A semblance

of amity therefore was assumed for a few months, but both sides continued their preparations, at the very moment that Paris and London were glittering with illuminations for the Peace of Amiens. (1802.)

§ 25. Thirteen months of peace enabled the First Consul to increase his power by the annexation of Sardinia and Parma to France; by the Presidency of the Italian Republic, and the recovery of Guadaloupe and St. Domingo. And when he considered himself sufficiently strengthened by the quarrels he had instigated between Prussia and Austria, and the preparations he had silently made, he had the bad taste to insult our ambassador, Lord Whitworth, at a public levee, and the inhumanity to give orders for the arrest of all the peaceable English travellers whom the peace had attracted to France,—and thus threw down the gauntlet once more with the avowed determination of expunging perfidious Albion from the map. The ministry having the misfortune to be gentlemen in character and manners, could not believe in the unblushing baseness of their unscrupulous foe. They had given him credit for some regard to his own word and public opinion; but he never attached any value to his own word himself, and derived all his knowledge of public opinion from the interested circle of military and diplomatic adventurers by which he was surrounded. An enslaved press enabled him to create a public opinion of any colour he chose, and the war was rendered inextinguishable by the national hatred he cherished on both sides of the Channel. His plans were not kept in the background; he boasted of what he would do in east and west, and north and south; he would drive us from the Levant by the seizure of Egypt and spoliation of Turkey; he would expel us from the Mediterranean altogether by the recovery of Malta and Gibraltar; he would humiliate us by forcing us to establish a censorship of the press to prevent uncomplimentary allusions to himself; and finally, he would make us bankrupts by debarring our trade, and slaves by marching to

London. We were not quite so open in the revelation of our designs; but it was very clearly known that we should never make peace with France till the insulting Corsican was destroyed. We should pursue him through good fortune and evil; we should close in on him at the last, and put him beyond the comity of nations; treating him as an irreclaimable vermin, to be run down, and trapped, or nailed *in terrorem* on the barn-door. It was a war against Bonaparte more than against France.

§ 26. The struggle breaking out on the 29th of April was a repetition of the last. Without entering into particulars, we may remember that our almost unvaried and finally decisive successes by sea were counterbalanced by Napoleon's equally unvaried and more conclusive successes by land. To guard against invasion the British people rose in mass; every man fit to bear arms shouldered his musket, and every man with a shilling in his pocket paid a portion of it to the exchequer. A rebellion in Ireland, commencing with the murder of an honourable judge in the streets of Dublin, was looked on as a mere interlude in the great drama in which we were engaged, and was put down with a high hand. Gentler methods were tried by the mitigation of some of the Roman Catholic disabilities; but nothing could bind the affections of the more zealous of the priesthood and their followers to a nation which opposed their Church; martial law therefore was proclaimed, and the services of the Protestant militia retained; and when by these means the disaffected were awed, and the loyal confirmed in power, we watched with more assurance the progress of events on the continent, which changed from month to month with the shifting combinations of a kaleidoscope.

§ 27. The newest empire in Europe in the person of Napoleon, dating from the 18th of May, 1804, was followed by the extinction of the oldest empire in the world on the 11th of August, by the change of the Empire of "Germany,"

dating from Charlemagne, to the Empire of "Austria." A war between those two empires very speedily inaugurated the new form of government, and Britain poured forth her treasures to sustain an almost universal coalition which Pitt had brought to maturity, and now directed upon France. But the genius of Napoleon shattered the Austrian power at Ulm and the Russian at Austerlitz, and forced the two discomfited crowned heads to come to terms. A peace accordingly was signed between the late enemies, to which Prussia acceded; and Pitt, weakened in health and broken in spirits, saw his wisest combinations destroyed. The defeat of all his hopes at Ulm was scarcely compensated by the victory of Trafalgar, where Nelson concluded his glorious life with the greatest of his triumphs, and the patriot minister followed the heroic sailor to the grave in the course of a few months. (January, 1806.)

§ 28. Pitt was of so towering an ambition—having none of the selfish littlenesses which detract from the ordinary race of politicians—that it was impossible to find a successor to his personal pre-eminence; and a cabinet was therefore constituted on the principle of admitting All the Talents. Great names appear among the members of this mixed administration—Fox, the worthy rival of the departed chief, and Grey, at a long interval destined to be the successor of both. But a moderate amount of despotism is found useful in administrations, and so many clever men could not agree; they seemed to have taken their offices by chance, and people were amused at seeing the furious and bigoted Lord Ellenborough sitting in the same cabinet with Liberals like Erskine and Granville, and the name of the witty dramatist and penniless orator, Sheridan, as Treasurer of the Navy. The death of Fox, in the autumn of 1806, weakened the authority of the ministry, and the progress of Napoleon tended still farther to destroy confidence in their powers; but no amount of English ability could have given courage to Austria or honesty to

Prussia. The terrible battle of Jena aid Berlin at Napoleon's feet; and at the treaty of Tilsit, between Russia and France, Prussia agreed to join the maritime league against us, and aid in the forcible conversion of Denmark from a neutral into an active enemy.

§ 29. This was a secret article of that infamous agreement which, if carried into effect, would have expelled us from the Baltic, and laid our shores open to the Northern Powers. But secret as it was, it became known to the very persons who were most deeply concerned in the subject; one of these was the Prince Regent of Portugal, whose kingdom was to undergo the same fate; by him it was communicated to our jovial, dissolute Prince of Wales, and by him to the prime minister of England,—all in the strictest confidence. As there was no possibility of doubting the intelligence, it was acted on, while at the same time the honour of two princes and a great many privy councillors was strictly preserved, by making no revelation on the point to friend or foe. A great expedition of ships and troops appeared before Copenhagen, took the town, and emptied the harbour, towing the vessels home, to be returned on the conclusion of a general peace. Denmark pretended surprise, for no declaration of war had taken place, and England itself felt a little puzzled to discover the cause of the exploit. All the virtuous nations of the continent were scandalized at this dreadful proceeding of John Bull. Prussia, which never seized Silesia or Hanover; Austria, which never laid her grasp on Belgium; and Russia, which never shared in the spoil of Poland, exclaimed as loudly as France, which never assaulted anybody at all, against the dishonesty of the attack. The English ministry submitted to the obloquy of such an apparent crime, till, when many years had passed, and secret negotiations were revealed, the truth came out, and the capture of Copenhagen was justified by the principle of self-defence.

§ 30. Napoleon had surrounded himself with a constella-

tion of crowned heads, all rejoicing in the name of Bonaparte, and constituting the most numerous royal family in Europe. Joseph, his eldest brother, was now promoted from Naples to Spain; Louis wore the crown of Holland, and while holding this royal dignity was presented by his wife with a son of the same name, now Emperor of the French. Jerome was King of Westphalia, a composite realm from the fragments of Prussia and Hesse, and, out of compliment to the English king, augmented with Hanover. Lucien was too republican to wear a diadem, and contented himself with the title of prince and the fame of an epic poem on Charlemagne, of which the greatest curiosity was, that while no Frenchman has ever been known to read a canto of it, two English clergymen have translated it from end to end.

§ 31. The genealogical pride and hereditary loyalty of the Spaniards were offended by the substitution of the son of a Corsican attorney for the line of the Bourbons, which, though an importation from France, carried its princely recollection back to the time of the Cid. Their kings were fanatics and cowards; but they had the blue blood of nobility in their veins, and a great national party arose to resist the intrusive parvenu, and reinstate Ferdinand on the throne. This appeared an opening through which we might pierce the flank of France, and an expedition, consisting of ten thousand men, was sent to Lisbon, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley—a name at one time the most famous both in Asia and Europe, which only sank into comparative oblivion when it was changed for Wellington. His exploits in India had bordered on the marvellous. With a few thousands he had conquered ten times the number of the best soldiers at Assaye. With a firmness of purpose, combined with a celerity of movement which shook the old routine of official life in the East to its foundation, he subdued disaffection, and punished his most distant adversaries. His political sagacity was equal to his military skill, but his despatches being hid

in the archives of obscure departments in Calcutta and Madras, he was looked on in high places merely as a bold and fortunate soldier. Nobody, except the initiated, suspected that under that calm exterior, that modest abiding within the limits of duty, there glowed the greatest genius for war and the clearest intellect for organization the nation had ever seen ; and that, mind to mind and face to face, he would come triumphant out of a seven years' struggle with the son of Victory, the controller of Christendom, and master of two millions of fighting men.

§ 32. The first campaign was distinguished by the battle of Vimiera, followed by a convention, by which the defeated army of the French and Spaniards was allowed to depart uncaptured. The victory was won by Wellesley, and the convention agreed to by Sir Hew Dalrymple, his senior officer, who superseded him in the command. The nation was indignant at the small results of such an exploit ; but the delivery of Portugal from its invaders was in reality an ample repayment for the struggle ; and, after a momentary disappointment, the popular confidence rested in Wellesley once more. Corunna, on the contrary, furnishing a victory as the crowning incident of a disastrous retreat by another army under Sir John Moore, almost reconciled the public to the failure of the object of the expedition by the glory of its close.

§ 33. The next campaign contained the glorious capture of Oporto and defeat of Marshal Soult. The vigour and unexpectedness of this achievement altered the French idea of their opponent. They now perceived from this most dashing and dangerous exploit of the whole war, that they had to do with a man who knew equally when to run a great risk for an adequate object, and when to act on the defensive. From this time the best of the Napoleon school of generals were sent to resist the Sepoy soldier, as he was contemptuously called—and one after another they all resisted him in vain.

The Great Rivals, though fighting at a distance from each other, were already personally opposed.

§ 34. For Wellesley's victories in the Peninsula Napoleon counted his triumphs in Italy and Germany. He dethroned and imprisoned the Pope, attaching Rome and the Ecclesiastical States to the French Empire. The outraged Pontiff replied with thunder from the old armoury of the Church; but excommunication had lost its power, and the reckless conqueror enjoyed his triumph, after the battle of Aspern, in the capital of the Holy and Apostolic Empire. Amid the rejoicings for this overthrow of the Austrian dominion, a plan was projected of uniting the founder of so many thrones to the oldest of the imperial dynasties by a marriage with the daughter of the Cæsar. As a preparation for this, Josephine, the wife and patroness of his youth, the sympathizer with all his successes and sharer of all his griefs, was divorced; and the offended household gods revenged the desecrated hearth by the misery of his future life. His marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa was celebrated in the spring of 1810. In March, 1811, the heir of all those domains—from the Elbe to the point of Sicily, from the Bay of Biscay to the Apennines—was born, as if to consolidate the Bonaparte power when it had reached its highest development; but the downward course almost immediately began. The chance of a continuance of vassalage beyond the life of one man reduced the subject and threatened nations to despair—despair drove them to secret combinations, and the great march of Wellington, as he was now named, from victory to victory, fanned their smouldering passions into a flame.

§ 35. Russia, as most distant from the avenger's power, offered the first open opposition to his arrogant pretensions, and the West of Europe was hurled by the offended despot in armed hatred against the East. Six hundred thousand warriors of all the kindreds and tongues that owned the modern Charlemagne's sway, marched on into the deserts of

the northern bear. Men's eyes could not follow them as they toiled over the dreary steppes and dangerous morasses; and during the dreadful expectation of what might be the result of this new crusade, the motions of the belligerents in Spain were closely watched, and hidden delight was experienced in every land when the great victory of Salamanca showed that the English march was still in advance. (1812.)

§ 36. Then came the awful news from the burning walls of Moscow and the crumbling ice-floes of the Berezina. The armies had got into the capital of All the Russias, and Napoleon talked of dictating a peace from the palace of the Czars. But the peace that fell upon him was the blast of winter, the solitude of the streets, the emptiness of the provision stores, and, finally, surging up in great red tongues of flame, a conflagration, universal and inextinguishable, which wrapt palace and hovel, church and shop, in its inextricable folds, and sent its fiery breath before it to stifle the dwellers in the Kremlin. Retreat began; it became a flight, and then it became a total overthrow. Blinded with sleet, stiffened with cold, overcome with hunger and fatigue, half a million of men lay stark and stiff under the miserable snow-wreaths between the capital and the Niemen. Napoleon, wrapping himself in furs, left that array of skeletons and complainers, and drove in sledges across the fatal border. Coldly received in Paris, he knew that desertion was at hand. Yet the old familiar sounds had not lost their magic. Glory and France, shouted at the top of a thousand voices in all the market towns, sent thousands of the old soldiers to his banner, and once more the little cocked hat was seen in the front of the march, as in the glorious days of his early career, when they called him the Little Corporal, and believed he was invincible.

§ 37. Battles were as frequent as in those fondly remembered times, but with different results. And distant events began to tell powerfully on the struggle in the central plains. Wellington achieved the overthrow of the French dynasty in

Spain by the crushing victory of Vittoria, and as soon as the news could penetrate to Vienna, Austria declared war. Already the ominous sound had been heard, at the assault of Dresden by the Germans, which told that defensive war had ended, and that a war of invasion was at hand. The gallant Jägers had dashed against the walls of the Saxon capital, defended by the French, with the cry, "To Paris! to Paris!" And when Napoleon, gathering his life's last energies, presented an unappalled front of a hundred and seventy-five thousand men in the field of Leipsic, and saw before him a larger number of the infuriated populations he had so long trampled on and insulted, the beautiful boulevards and their gorgeous shops were in the hearts of the combatants on both sides, and every one felt that the issue of that day was continuance of submission, or the sack and humiliation of the capital of the world. A battle extending over three days sent the French in hideous ruin in retreat. The allied peoples pursued with relentless sword; and when they heard that Wellington had crossed the Bidassoa in September, and was fairly encamped on the soil of France, they sang their patriotic songs, and continued their patriotic advance, with the energy of competition with the English; and amid tears of joy and shouts of delirious exultation, they hailed "The Rhine! the Rhine! our own majestic river," and celebrated the first day of 1814 on its western bank.

§ 38. Napoleon's genius emerging from the purple, and casting off the imperial selfishness which had thrown such a shadow on his Russian retreat, broke forth in this great extremity with the brilliancy of his earlier days. His defence of the sacred realm, into which so many triumphant armies had marched to receive the ovations of Paris, was the highest of his military exploits. But all Europe was in arms; France was discontented, the army itself dispirited; yet the great man, conscious of his impending fate, bore up against it as if he were winning his first laurels, contested every inch

of ground—terrified the Germans one day with an unexpected attack, and poured down upon the Russians the next with a march that disconcerted their plans. For a brief moment there seemed a prospect of his dividing the Allies, and winning over the Austrian Emperor to the cause of his son-in-law; but fear of his vengeance if he retained his power, hopes of aggrandizement if they succeeded in destroying him, rage at past defeats, and the glory of repaying his visits to Vienna, Berlin, and Moscow with an insulting visit to Paris, kept the potentates united, and the variegated host went on. The advance was at the pace of a charge of bayonets. On the first day of January they commenced their march on imperial territory; on the last day of March they received the surrender of Paris. An abdication of the crown was rejected as too late. Napoleon was condemned to the paltry sovereignty of Elba, as if to throw his imperial pretensions into contempt; and, as a strange coincidence, we may remark that the 28th of April, which saw his sombre embarkation for that degrading prison-house, saw the death of the gentle and affectionate Josephine—a woman who, if she had continued his wife, would have been as faithful in this gloom of his fortunes as when he came back to her from the conquest of Italy and the subjugation of tributary kings.

§ 39. Men looked with a kind of regret on this termination of the struggle, as it prevented the chance of a personal trial of skill between the champions of England and France. With just exultation we counted the names of the marshals whom Wellington had overthrown. All the chosen pupils of Napoleon, one after another, had fled before the Sepoy general; and even after the object of the war was gained, Soult, one of the most distinguished of them, made a last effort to measure himself with the liberator of Spain and now the invader of France, and only added another name to the catalogue of Wellington's triumphs by the useless and sanguinary battle of Toulouse. The trial of strength between the two greatest

generals of the age, or perhaps of all history, was reserved for the final appearance in arms of both of them; but at the end of 1814 there was no prospect of anything but peace. The heroes of the war were fêted in Paris and London. Brutal savages from the steppes of the Ukraine encamped all down the Champs Elysées, and frightened French children with their Calmuck ugliness in the gardens of the Tuileries. In England, ladies waved handkerchiefs and offered their fair cheeks to be kissed by old Blucher, the commander of the Prussians, and Platoff, the hetman of the Cossacks. Blucher was so much in the habit of being beaten by the French, and ready for battle again next morning, that a victory must have been as surprising as it was delightful. His whole idea of fighting was galloping at the enemy and killing as many of them as he could. Marshal Forwards was the name his soldiers gave him, for the impetuous old man could never be brought to retreat till he had been ridden over two or three times by the French dragoons; and age had no effect on the fiery hussar. At seventy he was always ready to put spurs to his horse and dash against any number opposed to him, and his example had grown contagious. Solemn Germans laid aside their pipes, and became as mad for battle as their uncalculating leader; and as the English always admire a man who shows extraordinary courage, without considering whether his wisdom is equal to his valour, this fighting, shouting, slashing, and unsparing old warrior was our favourite among all the chiefs and sages who came over to celebrate the downfall of the man at whose footstool every one of them had knelt, and bought a smile from the contemptuous suzerain by professing their hatred to England.

§ 40. On the 30th of March, 1814, the Allies, as we have said, entered Paris as conquerors. On the 20th of March, 1815, Napoleon re-entered his capital as if he had only left it for a year's excursion, and all things went on as before. His advance from Frejus, where he landed after leaving Elba

with the three or four hundred men of his Old Guard, whom the wisdom of the Allies had allowed him to take with him to his tiny empire, belongs more to the history of France than of England, if it does not belong to romance more than to either. Louis XVIII., the restored king, now an old man, and utterly forgetful of the fortunes of his family, the execution of his brother, Louis XVI., and even his own banishment for so many years, was only deterred from re-asserting all the rights of an absolute king by his sybarite self-indulgence, and the fear of destroying his digestion. So he ate in the most astonishing manner, and offended people as little as he could. But he saw no degradation in France having been occupied by Tartars and Croats; he saw no glory in France having held the mastery of Europe so long, whereas there was not a Frenchman who did not blush with indignant shame when he thought of those barbarian intruders, and recurred to her previous supremacy as the natural position of his country. Louis retired without a blow, and the tricolor once more waved from the tower of the Tuileries, and all through the night lights were seen in the emperor's cabinet, and all men knew that a campaign was being matured in that small apartment by the little man of the grey great-coat and cocked hat, and that one more chance would be given for the eagles to renew their flight.

§ 41. Wellington knew it too, and went over to Brussels. Blucher also marched into the Netherlands; and Napoleon, folding up his maps and directing the positions of his forces, hurried across the frontier near Charleroi, and the rivals were almost in presence of each other. The object of Blucher and Wellington was to detain the emperor till the hundreds of thousands, who were in march from all the ends of the earth, could converge once more upon their prey. The object of Napoleon was to crush the English and Prussians in detail, and throw himself on the still separated portions of the advancing armies before they could combine. But no one

knew where he would strike first. The uncertainty was not long continued. The first blow was directed against the Prussians at Ligny and the English at Quatre Bras on the same day (June 16). Napoleon himself commanded the assault on Blucher, and that undaunted veteran received him with delight. He was again in his element, leading fierce charges and ordering impetuous advances, but the French were irresistibly impelled. The eye that measured the fields of Marengo and Jena was upon them, and Blucher, in his element still, was driven back, overthrown, trampled on, raised up again, and ready to fight, though he had lost five-and-twenty thousand men and a great portion of his guns. Ney, the bravest of the brave, commanded at Quatre Bras, but here he was opposed by English troops, though in very inferior numbers; and when Wellington, hearing of the fray, joined them with reinforcements, the French were completely beaten, and retired with severe loss.

A day not of rest but of weary marching in a torrent of rain brought the whole great drama to a close, by the collection of all the personages engaged in it on the field of Waterloo. At first, however, the contest was between the French and English alone; Blucher, with his Prussians, was still at a distance, watched by a French general with an army sufficient to stop his progress; and Napoleon felt sure of victory. So did Wellington, for he had all his Peninsular friends about him, and several of the regiments which had won his battles against greater odds than were now opposed to him. The rest of his force was made up of raw recruits and battalions of militia, but he had fixed on a powerful situation, and he knew that not a man of them would run away. In numbers the French were slightly superior, and in guns were nearly two to one. Their composition also was more uniform, their opponents being mixed up of several nations, of whom only the British and Brunswickers were to be relied on in the approaching struggle.

The battle began at eleven on a Sunday morning (the 18th of June). Steady and immovable, the line of the English remained unbroken, though poured on by two hundred cannon, and charged by cavalry and infantry all day long. The most difficult of a soldier's duties was that day performed, to the admiration of the world—the duty of standing still under fire, and seeing their ranks thinned without striking a blow in return. But when squadron after squadron of the French retired exhausted and broken, when the Prussians were reported to be on their march to join the British, and the last effort was made by the despairing energy of the emperor, by launching forward the chosen heroes of the grand army, the Old Guard which had turned the tide of so many battles, and even that tremendous column recoiled, crushed and helpless, from the encounter, the word was given by Wellington, and the inanimate masses sprang to life—the British bayonets in one glittering line from end to end of the position advanced with unwavering steadiness against the tumultuous crowd, the fate of Napoleon was decided beyond recal, and for the second time he presented himself in Paris a fugitive from the pursuit of outraged Europe, with the accumulated vengeance of all the offended nationalities ready to fall on his unfortunate country.

A week decided his fate. He went through the form of abdication to prevent a sentence of dethronement. He made for the coast in hopes of an escape to America, but seeing the sea covered with English cruisers, he surrendered to Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, and after a sail for orders to the roads at Plymouth, where thousands of the inhabitants went out in boats to see the hero of so many strange adventures and wonderful exploits, he was carried as prisoner for life to the Island of Saint Helena. There all the little-nesses of his character came out. He fought for trifles, and complained of the slightest inconveniences. A war of spite was carried on between the man who had held the world at

his feet and the governor of a petty speck of earth in the Atlantic Ocean, till after six years of undignified lamentations, and the dictation of his memoirs to his secretaries, he died in a storm of wind and rain, with the recollection of Lodi and Waterloo stirred up by the elemental sounds, and with the expression "*tête d'armée*" on his lips. Meanwhile France was occupied by numerous armies, and subjected to large contributions. In the name of compensation for wrongs inflicted on the subject peoples, and expenses of the garrisons which kept her quiet, she paid more than sixty millions sterling; but she laid up in her heart a fund of hatred and revenge for the humiliation and outrages she experienced, which will continue as long as she is a nation, and remembers the name of Napoleon. The sum, however, even of sixty millions sinks into insignificance when we observe the scale of expenditure on which the contest was carried on. England alone spent annually seventy millions on her fleets and armies in the last years of hostilities; and not content with this lavish display of her wealth, she fitted out an expensive expedition against the pirates of Algiers a short time after the peace was signed, and forced the Dey to surrender his Christian captives, after a bombardment which destroyed his power. The result of all these exertions was, that the National Debt, which had terrified financiers a hundred years before, when it reached eighty millions, had now arisen to ten times that amount, and entailed on the revenue of the country a payment of thirty millions a year.

§ 42. The absorbing interest of the war has thrown domestic occurrences into the shade. The king, after the recurrence at various intervals of a disorder of the brain, had settled into hopeless insanity in 1810. The Prince of Wales became Prince Regent, and continued his father's policy, though he had always opposed it while not admitted to power. But his want of popularity deprived him of the influence he ought to have possessed in repressing or soothing the dis-

content which the exertions to sustain the war had produced, when the glory was over, and the bill had to be paid. Commerce and manufactures felt the reaction caused by the cessation of the feverish energy which had pervaded all the nation while the contest was going on. And the recurrence to a metallic currency introduced by Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel was a further check to the speculative transactions which had given an appearance of prosperity to all the branches of industry.

§ 43. When wages were reduced by the diminution of employment, and food was enhanced in price by the action of a corn law which had been passed on the conclusion of the peace, thousands of idle and ill-fed workmen held meetings in the principal manufacturing towns. Demagogues, impelled by vanity or worse passions, turned these assemblages to their own purposes, and riots broke out in several places. Boasts were made that the starving millions would obtain their objects by force, and even women formed themselves into "Sister Reform Societies," and bound themselves to teach their children to hate and overthrow their tyrannical rulers. Lord Castlereagh, the most energetic of the ministers, allowed his chivalrous courage and contempt for the lower classes to degenerate into cruelty. The leaders were arrested. The assemblages were watched by spies and controlled by police, and at last, at the fatal gathering of the discontented at Peterloo, near Manchester, the yeomanry, composed of farmers maddened by alarm and anxious to retain the advantages of dear bread, were let loose upon the crowd. Women and children were ruthlessly ridden down, men were cut at with the sword, and for a while the fustian jacket of the artisan was considered the uniform of an enemy. The return of the killed in this melancholy affair was very small; the wounded, however, were in great numbers; and on both sides the quarrel became embittered by their mutual wrongs; for the multitudes had hoisted flags with threatening inscrip-

tions, and had practised marching and other military movements, as if in preparation for war. At Peterloo, indeed, no violent demonstration had been made ; there were no weapons among the people, and their behaviour had been ostentatiously peaceable. They had listened, hats off, to "God save the King," and joined in the chorus of "Rule, Britannia;" but by a roundabout process of reasoning, Lord Eldon, with the same slavish adulation of authority and contempt of popular opinion, though not the same bloodthirstiness as his predecessor, Jeffreys, convinced his party that a great assemblage, if it is only numerous enough, was equivalent to high treason. "Numbers constitute force," he said; "force constitutes terror, and terror constitutes illegality."

It was, however, resolved to prosecute the leader, a notorious mob orator of the name of Hunt, and some of his accomplices, on the humbler charge of a treasonable conspiracy; but to arm the government with greater power, if a repetition of the alarming meetings was attempted, the terrified and revengeful cabinet introduced and carried the famous Six Acts, which are worth observing at the present time, as marking the contrast of feeling between it and the terrible period of the riots in 1819.

The first was to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanours. The others prevented the training of persons to the use of arms, and the practice of military evolutions and exercise; increased the punishment for blasphemous or seditious libels; empowered magistrates, for a limited time, to seize arms collected for purposes dangerous to the public peace; subjected certain publications to the duties of stamps upon newspapers, to restrain the bad effects resulting from blasphemous and seditious publications; and the last was an Act for preventing seditious meetings and assemblies, to continue in force for upwards of five years.

It was indeed an awful time, and observers of the widespread disaffection were in despair. The old English respect

for authority seemed to have died out, and there was every appearance of a separation into hostile "classes," which would have broken through the glorious traditions of so many hundred years, during which the different ranks of society were united by the sameness of their interests and hereditary good feeling. We shall see how the gradual elevation of the "worker" and the kinder disposition of the "thinker" have renewed that reciprocal trust on the still surer grounds of liberality and mutual respect.

§ 44. A failure in the direct succession to the crown was another source of uneasiness. The Princess Charlotte, sole daughter of the Regent, had married Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg in 1816, with the universal approbation of the nation; and dark and sincere was the sorrow in every household in the land when it was known, in November of the following year, that the heiress to the throne and her newborn infant were dead. The Prince Regent had continued his enmity to his wife, and even the princess had failed to be a bond of union. The other sons of George III. were requested by Parliament to marry, and in obedience to this constitutional motion, the Duke of Kent had the good fortune to win the hand of the widowed Princess of Leiningen, and the greater happiness still to be the father of Victoria.

§ 45. Before we close this chequered reign, we ought to dwell on the most painful of all its incidents—the quarrel with America in 1812; but the task is so disagreeable, to write or to hear of that fratricidal contest, that we may be excused if we only glance at it for a moment. The ignorant obstinacy of the English administration and the fiery impetuosity of the American people magnified an easily-avoided dispute into a cause of war. England claimed the right of visiting vessels of war in search of her runaway sailors; America thought it would forfeit her independence to submit to the visitation. There were dispatches and protocols, and all the apparatus of diplomacy; but nothing, not even the with-

drawal of the measure she objected to, would keep the young republic from trying her sacrilegious sword against her old mother's shield; and partly to vindicate her honour, but principally with the hope of making a dash at Canada while England was confronting the hosts of Napoleon and braving all the military monarchies of Europe, she uttered the fatal word, and Liverpool and Boston, Glasgow and New York equally went into mourning. Flags were hoisted half-mast high in all the ports, and hopes, even while cannon were resounding on the sea, were entertained of a termination of the unnatural strife.

But the war spirit awoke as the war went on. By launching ships of enormous size and great weight of metal, and calling them frigates or sloops, an easy triumph was obtained by the Americans over British vessels nominally of the same rate. Their attempt, however, on Canada failed, leaving on them the distressing impression that the colonists north of the St. Lawrence were affectionately attached to the British crown. On the soil of America itself the superiority of regular soldiers was seen. Three thousand five hundred men marched from the Atlantic shore to Washington, defeating every force that opposed them on their way, and finally taking possession of the capital. Relying too much, perhaps, on this superiority, an attack was made by a small army of six thousand men on the great city of New Orleans, which was defended by twelve thousand armed combatants, and so strengthened with ditches and fortifications as to render the assault hopeless for so inadequate a force. Nothing daunted, however, the British advanced on both sides of the Mississippi. On the left General Pakenham marched forward to within a few paces of the walls, and was received by so tremendous a fire from the skilled militia-men safely ensconced behind bags of cotton and other defences, that his men fell by the hundred at a time; and, though some companies forced their way within the lines, the slaughter was too deadly; and the successor of the gallant

Pakenham, who was killed in the advance, withdrew from the unequal contest. With this abortive but not inglorious achievement, the war came to a close—a war as unjustifiable in its origin as calamitous to both parties in its course, and we turn from the contemplation of it with the only bright feature of its duration, the kindness and generosity shown by General Jackson, who had conducted the defence, to the sick and wounded, whom the retreating English left to his care.

§ 46. Unconscious of all these great events, the poor old king lingered on in blindness and insanity till the year 1820. His longevity and absence from public business had already invested him with the character of a sovereign who had belonged to another period. Men canvassed his acts with kindness, and dwelt on the private virtues of his life in sad and perhaps invidious contrast to the open vices of his son. The faults of his disposition, his obstinacy, narrowness, and duplicity were forgotten, and his joyous visits to the theatre, where he laughed the loudest of all at the eccentricities of the comedians; his pertinacious adherence to top-boots and boiled mutton; his simple pleasures at Weymouth, and honest, blunt insensibility to flattery on all occasions, were looked upon as the true characteristics of a constitutional king. Four generations had lived under his patriarchal sway; and long after he was secluded from the public view, and long after he was carried to the royal tomb at Windsor, the middle-aged portion of his subjects, who had celebrated his birthday since their earliest youth, kept up the commemoration of the 4th of June as an anniversary that their fathers and grandfathers had looked forward to as the happiest of the year.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1760. Accession of George III.	1762. Lord Bute appointed Prime Minister. England at war with Spain.
1761. Surrender of Pondicherry to the British arms.	
— Resignation of the Prime Minister, William Pitt.	1763. Peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain.

A.D.

1763. Resignation of Lord Bute, who is succeeded by George Grenville as Prime Minister.
 — Arrest of John Wilkes on a general warrant.
1764. Byron's discoveries in the South Seas. Parliamentary grant of 10,000*l.* to Mr. Harrison for discovering the longitude.
1765. The Regency Bill passed in England. American Stamp Act passed.
 — Resignation of Grenville, who is succeeded in the government by the Marquis of Rockingham.
1766. The American Stamp Act repealed.
 — Death of the Pretender.
 — Pitt created Earl of Chatham, and appointed to the Ministry. Duke of Grafton the head of the Treasury.
1768. Royal Academy of Arts established.
1769. Captain Cook's discoveries in the Pacific Ocean.
 — Repeal of taxes imposed on the American colonies in 1767, except tea.
1770. Lord North becomes Prime Minister.
 — Blackfriars Bridge completed, and opened to the public.
- 1773-6. Popular outbreak at Boston, in America. Contests with the colonies; battle of Bunker's Hill, and surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga.
- 1778-79. League between France and America. War with France and Spain. Siege of Gibraltar.
1780. The Spanish fleet defeated by Sir G. Rodney at Cape St. Vincent.
 — Lord George Gordon's riots directed against the Papists.
- 1781-83. Surrender of Lord Cornwallis to the American and French forces at Yorktown, which leads to the declaration and recognition of the independence of the United States.
1782. The French fleet defeated by Rodney off Dominica, and in the West Indies.

A.D.

1782. The Irish Parliament declared to be independent.
 — Lord Shelburne becomes Prime Minister on the death of the Marquis of Rockingham.
1783. Coalition ministry formed on the resignation of Lord Shelburne. William Pitt made Prime Minister.
1787. Impeachment of Warren Hastings for high misdemeanours in the government of India.
1788. Death of Prince Charles Edward, the Pretender.
- 1789-90. Commencement of the French Revolution. Opening of the States-General. The Bastille taken. France divided into eighty-three departments. Titles of nobility abolished.
1791. The Tuilleries forced by an armed mob. Flight and arrest of the King of France. Convention of Pilnitz. Swiss guards massacred. Royal family imprisoned. France declared a republic.
1793. Trial and execution of Louis XVI. and the Queen of France. War declared against France.
1794. Holland conquered by France, and the Duke of York defeated. The Habeas Corpus Act suspended. Lord Howe defeats the French fleet. Battle of Fleurus. Robespierre guillotined, and the atrocious Jacobin Club abolished. Trials and acquittals of Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and others, for treason.
 — George, Prince of Wales, married to Princess Caroline of Brunswick.
1795. Warren Hastings, after a trial of seven years, is acquitted.
 — Holland and Belgium united to the French Republic.
1797. The Bank Restriction Act passed.
 — Sir John Jervis defeats the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent; and the Dutch fleet is defeated by Admiral Duncan. Mutiny of the *Nore*.

A.D.

1798. Irish rebellion. French expedition to Egypt. Nelson's destruction of their fleet at Aboukir. The French fleet defeated by Sir J. B. Warren.
— Income-tax of ten per cent. Habeas Corpus Act suspended.
1799. Seringapatam taken by the English, and Tippoo Saib killed. Bonaparte defeated by Sir Sidney Smith at St. Jean d'Acre. Failure of the British expedition to Holland. Bonaparte declared First Consul.
1800. Union with Ireland. Malta taken by the English. The Northern Powers form an armed neutrality against England.
1801. First meeting of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.
— Battles of Alexandria and of Copenhagen.
— Addington made Prime Minister on the resignation of Mr. Pitt.
1802. Peace with France signed at Amiens.
1803. Renewal of the war with France. Scindia defeated by General Wellesley. The British troops enter Delhi.
1804. Pitt appointed Prime Minister. Bonaparte proclaimed Emperor. Francis II. relinquishes the title of Emperor of Germany.
1805. Spain declares war against England. Battle of Trafalgar, and death of Nelson.
1806. Cape of Good Hope taken possession of by Sir D. Baird.
— Death of Pitt, who is succeeded by Lord Grenville as Prime Minister. Death of Fox.
1807. Copenhagen bombarded, and the Danish fleet surrendered to the British.
1808. Bonaparte prohibits all commerce with Great Britain. Convention of Cintra. Insurrection of the Spaniards. Battle of Vimiera, and occupation of Lisbon by the British.
1809. Battle of Corunna. The French

A.D.

- fleet destroyed in the Basque Roads.
1809. Sir Arthur Wellesley appointed commander-in-chief in the Spanish peninsula. Battle of Talavera. Walcheren expedition.
— Mr. Perceval made Prime Minister.
1810. Wellington occupies the lines of Torres Vedras.
1811. The Prince of Wales appointed Regent. Battles of Fuentes d'Onoro and Albuera. Java surrendered to the British.
1812. The Prime Minister, Perceval, is assassinated, and is succeeded by Lord Liverpool.
— Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. Battle of Salamanca. Madrid taken by the British.
— War with America. The French invasion of Russia. Capture of Seville by the British.
1813. European confederacy against France. Battle of Vittoria, and capture of St Sebastian. Wellington defeats Marshal Soult, and enters France. Napoleon driven out of Germany.
1814. The Allied sovereigns enter Paris. Abdication of Bonaparte, who is sent to Elba. A general peace concluded with France and America. Islands of St. Lucia, Tobago, Malta, the Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope ceded to Britain.
1815. Bonaparte escapes from Elba, and arrives at Paris. His defeat at the battle of Waterloo, and his second abdication, when he is exiled to St. Helena. Treaties of general peace signed at Paris.
1816. Princess Charlotte married to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg Saalfeld.
— Bombardment of Algiers.
1817. Death of the Princess Charlotte.
1818. Death of Queen Charlotte.
1819. Numerous meetings on parliamentary reform. Manchester massacre.
1820. Death of George III.

CHAPTER IV.

GEORGE THE FOURTH.

A.D. 1820 TO A.D. 1830.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis XVIII.; Charles X.

AUSTRIA.—Francis I.

PRUSSIA.—Frederick-William III.

SPAIN.—Ferdinand VII.

RUSSIA.—Alexander; Nicholas.

POPES.—Pius VII.; Leo XII.; Pius VIII.

. The leading administrations of this reign are noticed under the
 “Landmarks of Chronology,” p. 776.

- § 1. Accession of George IV. Public discontent; incompetency of the Government to deal with the altered state of society.—§ 2. The Thistlewood plot to murder the Ministers. The spy system. Threatened insurrection of the Scottish artisans.—§ 3. Bill for disfranchising Grampound rejected.—§ 4. Proceedings against Queen Caroline. Bill of Pains and Penalties abandoned. Her conduct at the Coronation of George IV. Her death and funeral.—§ 5. National discontent. Disgraceful state of our laws. Our criminal code the opprobrium of Europe. Difficulties attending every attempt at reform.—§ 6. Lord Eldon and Mr. Peel. George Canning appointed Secretary for Foreign Affairs.—§ 7. Congress of Verona, and the Holy Alliance. England refuses all connexion with the Continental alliance. Canning's declaration against the French invasion of Spain. He acknowledges the independence of the Spanish American Colonies.—§ 8. War of public opinion at home and abroad. Tory fanaticism of Lord Eldon. Mr. Huskisson.—§ 9. Free-trade measures, and their prosperous results.—§ 10. The Catholic claims. Death of the Duke of York and the Earl of Liverpool. Administration of George Canning. Resignation of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Eldon.—§ 11. Death of Canning. His genius and talents.—§ 12. Destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino, and emancipation of Greece.—

§ 13. Public agitation on the Catholic question. Return of Daniel O'Connell for the county of Clare.—§ 14. Passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, under the administration of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. O'Connell and Irish agitation.—§ 15. Domestic life of George IV. His profligate character and vicious habits. His death.

§ 1. THE new king was already fallen into the sere and yellow leaf when he began to reign, with few of the blessings which should accompany old age. The country was professedly at peace; but there was great uneasiness in many of the seats of industry, and our politicians had been slow in adapting themselves to the altered position of affairs. The glory of the Peninsular war still dazzled their eyes, and they did not see that the labouring population had many just grounds of complaint. Harsh laws were harshly administered; the energies of the nation were repressed by injudicious legislation, and a bitter spirit had grown up between town and country, consumer and producer, which threatened at no distant time to end in civil war. Religious dissensions raged at the same time. Ireland was divided into two hostile camps—overbearing Orangemen and revengeful Catholics; and the wiser men of the Liberal party already perceived that the existence of the nation was imperilled without a repeal of the Catholic disabilities and a reform in Parliament. These were the two public cries which agitated this reign; and at the time when confidence in the crown and respect for its wearer might have soothed the contending factions, the conduct of George IV. embittered the feelings on both sides, and endangered the stability of the monarchy.

§ 2. A mad and cruel plot to murder the ministers was the first open proof of the wide-spread discontent. A man of the name of Thistlewood was the leader in this meditated crime, and was arrested with his associates in a stable near the Edgeware Road, where they had met to arrange the method of putting the members of the Cabinet to death while they were at dinner with the Premier. There was little open

sympathy with the designers of so wholesale a murder when they were executed after a patient trial ; but a darker stain rested on the ministry, who had been threatened, than even on the planners of this atrocious conspiracy. The horrible system of spies had been re-introduced ; information was given of the progress of the design by persons in Government pay who pretended to be zealous in the murderers' cause ; and compared with the mean poltroonery and blood-seeking duplicity of the agents in this discovery, Edwards and Oliver the informers, the bold audacity of Thistlewood and his bravos was looked on with a kind of respect.

The fatal act, long planned, had been delayed by the accession of the new king ; but the country was still farther alarmed when the disaffection of a great portion of the Scottish artisans took the form of actual resistance to authority, and after keeping Glasgow and Paisley almost in their own possession for some time, they confronted the dragoons at Bonnymure, and called for a general rising and an overthrow of the constitution. Parliament assembled at the beginning of the new reign ; but before it met vengeance had overtaken the ringleaders of this strange attempt.

§ 3. The public mind, however, continued greatly agitated, and Lord John Russell began his long and busy career as a legislator and statesman, by introducing a bill for the transfer of the franchise of Grampound, a borough which all parties acknowledged to be incurably corrupt, to the rich and populous town of Leeds. But alteration, in many minds at that time, was equivalent to revolution, and not a few of the more consistent of the Tories looked on Lord John as only a little removed from the Thistlewoods and Paisley weavers, from whom they had so recently escaped. The Bill was lost, and Grampound pocketed its bribes for a short time longer.

§ 4. It was at this inauspicious moment that George called the public attention to his domestic affairs by the bold and ill-advised measure of a Bill of Divorce against the Queen.

Caroline of Brunswick, after the death of her daughter, the Princess Charlotte, had resided constantly abroad. Her conduct had attracted the notice of foreign populations by its effrontery ; and she now threatened to bring the spectacle of her vices and revenge to the land of which her husband was king. Many propositions were made to bribe or to deter her from the visit : recognition of her rank, and large increase of income, as long as she did not return to England ; exposure, neglect, and a public prosecution if she ventured to cross the Channel. The quarrel between the royal pair became the property of the political parties, and both sides must have been occasionally ashamed of their leaders, when the Whigs drew up in compact phalanx under the banners of the most abandoned and brazen-faced of princesses, to defend her from the tyrannous oppressions of the most selfish and unprincipled of kings. That both the chief personages were guilty of the excesses imputed to them made little difference in the zeal of their respective champions. Henry Brougham, the political as well as legal defender of the Queen, described her as an angel of purity and patience ; and the placemen who believed in quarter-day and the king, described him as glowing with the virtues of the Scipios and Antonines.

We need not dwell on these degrading scenes. The third reading of the Bill against the Queen was carried by so small a majority that it amounted to an acquittal, and ministers declined to proceed. Great rejoicings marked this very dubious triumph ; but popular enthusiasm was chilled by the conduct of its object. She offended good taste by her ostentatious opposition to her husband, when her only possible object could be to hurt his feelings. She tried to force her way to his coronation, and paraded her wrongs in the eyes of a virtuous middle class, whose compassion for her sufferings could not blind them to the improprieties of her behaviour. But friend and foe were glad to let the subject sink into oblivion when death put an end to her miserable and guilty

career, on the 7th of August, 1821. Yet death itself did not remove the fate which seemed to darken over her life. The land that refused her its crown was not to be honoured with her grave, and when her corpse was carried through the City, in riotous demonstration of the popular discontent, a collision took place between the military and the irritated populace. Two men were killed, and Caroline of Brunswick was conveyed to her final resting-place amid the shrieks of wounded mourners and the curses of infuriated dragoons.

§ 5. From this time a ray of approaching light became visible through the darkness of the national discontent. In the Cabinet were men of kind hearts, though warped in their political views by the current of their education. Eldon, the Chancellor, was so wedded to the faults as well as virtues of the constitution, that he thought it never could survive the absence of a single blot. Bigotry, ignorance, corruption, and cruelty were as indispensable portions of the English constitution in this great lawyer's eyes as the provisions of Magna Charta; and with tears of disappointment and sobs of anger, he perceived his colleagues yielding to the new opinions. Our criminal code had been the opprobrium of Europe; for it showed a disregard of human life which would have disgraced the Chinese. We hanged for the smallest attempts at pilfering as well as the greatest crimes. The gallows at Newgate groaned, month after month, with ten and fifteen culprits at a time. If they had stolen to the value of five shillings; if they had blackened their faces when they had committed the smallest theft at night; if they had been found disguised in the Mint, or been detected injuring Westminster Bridge, the punishment was death. Sir James Mackintosh, the honoured successor of Sir Samuel Romilly in the path of mercy and wisdom, succeeded in getting Parliament to consent to a mitigation of punishment for some of those crimes, and to promise further inquiry in the same direction. Lord Eldon declared that England's sun

had set for ever, and the British constitution was at an end, if the law was frittered away by these philanthropic absurdities, and wept as if the honour of the nation was destroyed. He wept again when Brougham returned to his favourite subject, and gained proselytes to his scheme of educating the poor; and when Lord John Russell finally succeeded in getting Grampound disfranchised, and its members transferred to the county of York, his head became a fountain of tears. But the tears of this bigoted placeman expressed the feelings of the numerical majority of the nation. It is the higher praise to the wise statesmen who advocated those measures, that for a long time they were without the national support. To be a reformer was to be looked on coldly by their equals and distrusted by the middle class. But they had the more painful struggle to maintain against the aid of the worthless demagogues who pretended to be the only friends of the people, and hailed every departure from the established state of things as an advance towards the overthrow of all our institutions.

§ 6 If it had been given to Lord Eldon to look into the seeds of time he might have been excused if he had given way to more copious tears than ever, when he saw the appointment of Robert Peel to the office held by Lord Sidmouth.

But fortunately he did not see in that young statesman anything which excited his suspicion that a bolder innovator than the boldest of his enemies had found his way into the Cabinet, and that he was sitting side by side with a man who would mitigate the laws, emancipate the Catholics, accept a reform of Parliament, repeal the corn laws, and launch his country on a voyage of boundless improvement, teaching it the most difficult of lessons a nation can be taught—that timely changes are the only safeguards of a State.

While all the future fruits of his liberal meditation lay undeveloped in Mr. Peel, the hopes of the reformers were fixed on his showier rival, Mr. Canning. A pupil and friend of

Mr. Pitt, George Canning had imbibed the earlier sentiments of his illustrious master on the subject of national progress, and had been debarred from office by the persistence with which he advocated the Catholic claims. To get him as far removed as possible from a government which could not admit him as a colleague, and feared him as an opponent, the ministers rejoiced when the India Company nominated him to be Governor-General of India, and considered that his liberalism, his oratory, and wit would be safer among the denizens of Calcutta than at home. But just at this time the leader of the administration, the chief supporter of the despotic tendencies of the king, and principal adversary of a milder system, the Marquis of Londonderry, better known by his former title of Castlereagh, died by his own hand; and Canning, having become indispensable, was made Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

§ 7. While this appointment showed the disposition of England towards more liberal measures, there were reaction and despotic triumph in almost every nation on the Continent. In great States and small the rulers repented of the constitutional liberties they had granted or promised to their subjects at the end of the war; and the natural exasperation of the deceived populations was put down by the sword. A congress of sovereigns, blasphemously calling itself the Holy Alliance, was summoned at Verona, where the compression of the refractory peoples was arranged into a system. Great equally in peace and war, the Duke of Wellington, our representative at this conclave, protested against the interference of France with the internal affairs of Spain, where the blood-stained Ferdinand complained that his powers were diminished by the constitution he had sworn to maintain. The withdrawal of Wellington from the congress dissolved for ever England's connexion with the Holy Alliance; and Canning henceforth took a bolder tone. If France attacked Portugal as well as Spain, England would defend her ally; if France

obtained the cession of any Spanish colony, England would disallow the claim. The minister, rising with the occasion, and finding the country unanimous in his favour, declared that the liberties of a nation were not the gift of an absolute king, to be bestowed and resumed at pleasure, but the absolute right of the people, under whatever form of government they chose. France persisted in marching to the aid of the Spanish tyrant; but Canning kept his hand upon his sword, and the war did not spread. He did more than prevent a European struggle, for he recognised the independence of the Spanish colonies which had thrown off the yoke of the mother country, and by this act "called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

§ 8. Thus liberal abroad, it was impossible to continue the old system of inertness and repression at home. We had made our name a word of hope in the ears of all the oppressed nationalities; not from any vain expectation they entertained of our aiding them by force of arms, but the war of opinion had already begun, in which bayonets play a very secondary part; and chief combatant in these new hostilities was the oldest constitutional kingdom in the world—the kingdom which had tried longest the experiment of a limited monarchy and a popular representation, and found them to answer best. Every step in the rise of England in European estimation was registered by Lord Eldon's tears. That lachrymose lawyer was like Niobe during all those years when the favourite children of his fanaticism were slaughtered by the unpitying George Canning; and he sorrowed, and of his sorrowing found no end, when Mr. Huskisson, a great mercantile authority, was admitted to the Cabinet, and gave unmistakable intimations of a tendency to the frightful heresy of Free Trade.

§ 9. The first experiment was made upon silk. The duties on the raw material were reduced from five shillings and sevenpence halfpenny to threepence; and in spite of the pro-

pheries of the protectionists and the fears of the silk-weavers themselves, the measure was attended with instantaneous success; work increased and wages rose; the manufacture was doubled in three years, and in less than ten we exported silk to France, which hitherto had had almost a monopoly of the finer fabrics. The navigation laws felt the impulse of the new spirit, and commerce was freed from many of the restrictions which cramped its expansion. Prosperity spread to all branches of our trade, and was only interrupted in 1825 by one of the periodical panics to which over-speculation gives rise.

§ 10. But one great question towered above all others, whether the country was prosperous, or suffering from a commercial crisis. The Catholic claims grew in importance every year, and after O'Connell had roused the millions of his countrymen to assert their rights with threats of civil war, and had failed in disturbing the firmness of the great Protestant leaders, who maintained the inherent incapacity of a follower of the pope to legislate for a free and Protestant people, the nation was perplexed between its desire to do justice and its fear of the result. Peel himself said the time was come when the decision could not long be put off. Canning on this subject so roused the distrust of the Duke of York, the next heir to the crown, that he proposed his expulsion from the ministry, and only relied on the resolution of the premier, Lord Liverpool, to keep the country from the revolutionary concessions of an adventurer. But the Duke of York and the Earl of Liverpool were removed from the scene within a few days of each other, the royal duke by death, the plodding minister by a disease of the o'er-laboured brain. The way was now opened for the most brilliant of debaters, and for three months the "adventurer" was Prime Minister of England (April to August). The only member of the cabinet who behaved well to Canning on this elevation was Robert Peel; six of his colleagues sent in their resignations, from the ill-concealed

motive of embarrassing the new chief, whom they despised as obscure in his birth, and feared as too liberal in his principles. Peel's resignation was delivered by word of mouth, and the rivals parted with mutual respect. By this time the great thought of emancipation had formed itself in the mind of the cautious statesman as well as in that of the glittering rhetorician ; but it was a thought, and nothing more. He could not belong to an administration pledged to relieve the Catholics ; he would not belong to one consisting entirely of their opponents. The Duke of Wellington ceased to be Commander-in-chief, and Lord Eldon bade adieu to the woolsack, with a perfect persuasion that that event was the sure forerunner of the ruin of the country. He wept over the prospect of the successful Papists, and still more deeply over the loss of twenty thousand a year.

§ 11. The short ministry of Canning was stormy and unhappy. Tory friends deserted him ; Whig politicians approved his measures, but were personally as estranged as their rivals. Lord Grey attacked him with deliberate malice, and professed to have no confidence in his sincerity. Canning could not answer, for the assault took place in the House of Lords, and the chill of death was already creeping over his heart. He struggled on, preparing for a full vindication of his policy in the next session,—strengthening his party with the adhesion of Brougham and other well-known Liberals, and giving promise of a final settlement of the questions that had disturbed the nation so long, when suddenly the wasted machinery of life gave way, and on the 8th of August he expired. No soldier on the field of battle ever more surely died in the service of his country than this overtasked and ill-requited statesman. Lifted by his genius above the ordinary level of his associates, it was difficult for them to believe that so brilliant a wit could be a careful politician, so sparkling a poet a firm-handed ruler of men ; and perhaps it was the strain of those two opposite tendencies that proved too much for his

strength. Devoting himself to literature, he might have lived to be the honoured competitor with Scott and Byron; humbling himself to the petty details of political routine, he might have vegetated on to extreme old age—fit reward of the golden mediocrity of Sidmouth or Eldon; but combining the poet with the financier, the wit with the diplomatist, he lost credit with the sagacious vulgar for all his diversified powers. They could not believe in his logic, his verses were so admirable; nor in the point of his repartees, his ideas on trade and religion were so full of common sense.

§ 12. The year that witnessed Canning's death saw the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino, the practical effect of which was to secure the emancipation of Greece. For many years the cause of this most degenerate descendant of the classic Hellas, round which so many glorious recollections are gathered, had excited the interest of all the lovers of liberty in Europe. Lord Byron had died in the cause in 1824, after lavishing money and toil on behalf of the base and ungrateful population, which proved its consanguinity with Leonidas and Aristides by a total want of either honesty or courage. Still the halo of the past concealed the degradation of the present, and scholars and patriots rejoiced when the prospect of freedom and glory opened once more to the Peloponnesus and Attica. France, England, and Russia were in effect the liberating powers; for their united fleets destroyed the Turks and Egyptians; but in addition to rescuing Greece from the sovereignty of the Sultan, they exposed the whole of his empire undefended to the assaults of the Czar. Some notion of this possible result was very early prevalent in England, and while rejoicings were taking place for our naval achievement, the victory was generally named an "untoward event."

§ 13. The speeches on the subject of Catholic Emancipation in Parliament had been followed by great demonstrations in Ireland, which the divided state of opinion in this country disabled a minister from putting an end to, either by conces-

sion or force. The Duke of Wellington had become premier in January, and on losing the services of several of the more advanced of his cabinet, including Lord Palmerston, in June, had consolidated an administration which seemed resolved against yielding to the clamours raised by O'Connell and the priests. But when O'Connell, though disqualified from taking a seat in Parliament, found that there was no law to prevent his becoming a candidate for election, and was returned as member for the county of Clare, the circumstances became entirely changed ; the contest was no longer between Papists and Protestants, but between a Protestant law and a qualified constituency. It was the people who were disfranchised, and not merely the Catholic who was disentitled to sit.

§ 14. The Duke of Wellington, who had already agreed to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act, by which he granted emancipation to the Dissenters, perceived the logical obligation of conceding the same boon to the adherents of the old faith. All men of unbiassed minds saw the same necessity, and the stronger intellects among those whose education had hindered them from a dispassionate opinion, came to the same conclusion. Among these Peel, who held the foremost place in the confidence of his party, and had already acquired the respect of the whole nation by his patriotic and useful services, could no longer repress the conviction which had been slowly taking possession of his mind, that his former ground was untenable. By a great effort tearing himself away from the easy triumph of heading, for many years to come, an administration pledged to refuse the claim of Ireland but relying on the bigotry, and perhaps the military force of the rest of the empire, he preferred the sacrifice of office, power, and private friendships, to the chances of a struggle ending in alienation, if not in civil war between the countries. He took on himself the obloquy of carrying the measure he had hitherto opposed ; and on the 13th of April, 1829, the Catholic Relief Bill received the royal assent, and

the declarations of gratitude and loyalty so profusely uttered by the organs of Irish opinion were relied on as sufficient indemnities for the legal supremacy the Protestants had resigned. The gratitude was probably sincere, and the loyalty faithfully intended, but the conduct of the great body of the Roman Catholics has reduced the advocates of the measure to rely for their defence on its abstract justice, and not on its results. O'Connell spent his life in pandering to the passions of his countrymen, and coaxing them out of their hard-earned pence. To extract the last copper from a pauper he maligned the policy and religion of the English nation, and left successors to his ribaldry and falsehood, who have managed to keep alive the animosity of their dupes to the present time.

Oxford University had dismissed her favourite representative, Peel, on hearing of his change, and, as if to mark the measure of her indignation, elected Sir Robert Inglis, with the one great virtue of consistency, in his place. The Duke of Wellington, in the heat and passion of that furious period, challenged the Earl of Winchelsea, the most fiery and hot-headed of his assailants, to a duel, for certain imputations on his acts and motives. But his opponent, though willing to give satisfaction, as it was called, to the conqueror of Napoleon, would not raise his sacrilegious hand against a life so dear to his country, and fired in the air. This was the only action of the Great Duke which his biographers would willingly conceal. But the public sentiment was so outraged by the proceeding, that even his illustrious example had no effect in re-introducing the barbarous custom of deciding on questions of honour and character pistol in hand, and duelling fell into disuse and contempt once more.

§ 15. During all these years of domestic struggle and momentous change the king lived retired from the public observation, amid the clumsy magnificence of Brighton or the coarse orgies of Carlton House. Naturally endowed with good abilities, his position had rendered them useless, and as he was

debarred from the national service by the dislike of his father, and encouraged in vice and extravagance by the members of his private circle, he set an example of profligacy of living and looseness of principle which offended the moral feelings of his people. A Henry VIII., happily without his fondness for blood, a Charles II., unfortunately without his wit, he recalled the two worst periods of our history by his disregard of the most sacred ties, and his addiction to sensual gratifications. Yet some allowance must be made for a man who had formed his tastes and morals according to the ideas of the last century. It is unfortunate for him that the change was so rapid from the brutalized excesses of the former period to the more decorous principles of the latter years of his life, that he was a contemporary of both those states of opinions. In his youth he was not thought the worse of for exhibitions of drunkenness and other vices, which, when he reached his riper manhood, were considered marks of depravity, and were visited with disgrace; and he presented the most melancholy spectacle the human eye can see—an old man continuing a career of impropriety to the last, and unconscious, all the time, of the disgust excited by his conduct. He died on the 25th of June, 1830, having comprised within the twenty years of his regency and reign greater events in war and legislation than any similar period had produced.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1820. Accession of George IV.	1824. Huskisson's free-trade measures.
— Proceedings against Queen Caroline, wife of George IV. The Bill of Pains and Penalties abandoned.	1825. A ruinous commercial panic.
— The Cato-street conspiracy for murdering his Majesty's ministers.	1827. Death of Canning, the Prime Minister, who is succeeded by Lord Goderich.
1821. Death of Napoleon Bonaparte.	— Death of the Duke of York.
— Death of Queen Caroline. Serious riots at her funeral.	— Battle of Navarino, and emancipation of Greece.
1823. Congress of Verona, and the Holy Alliance.	1828. The Test and Corporation Acts repealed. Duke of Wellington Prime Minister.
	1829. Catholic Relief Bill passed.
	1830. Death of George IV.

CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

A.D. 1830 TO A.D. 1837.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis-Philippe (Bourbon-Orleans).

AUSTRIA.—Francis I.; Ferdinand I.

PRUSSIA.—Frederick-William III.

SPAIN.—Ferdinand VII.; Maria Isabella II.

RUSSIA.—Nicholas.

POPES.—Pius VIII.; Gregory XVI.

* * The leading administrations of this reign are noticed under the
 “Landmarks of Chronology,” p. 787.

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1. Accession of William IV. His moral character and social virtues.
 —§ 2. The French revolution. Charles driven from the kingdom.
 —§ 3. Agitation for Parliamentary reform. Lord Grey appointed
 Prime Minister, and Lord Brougham the Lord Chancellor, Lord
 Althorp made Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord John Russell,
 Mr. Stanley, and Lord Palmerston added to the administration.—
 § 4. Agitation for Parliamentary Reform. The measure is finally
 passed. Its important results. Leading features of the Reform Act.
 —§ 5. West Indian Slave Emancipation Bill passed.—§ 6. State of
 Political feeling. Declining power of the Whig Administration.
 Increasing popularity of Sir R. Peel.—§ 7. Retirement of Lord Grey,
 and Lord Melbourne's appointment to the head of the Ministry.
 Reforms in the Irish Church. O'Connell and Irish agitation.—
 § 8. The New Poor Law passed. Its advantages.—§ 9. The Mel-
 bourne Cabinet dissolved.—§ 10. The great political and social
 changes in our domestic and foreign relations.—§ 11. Sir R. Peel
 returns from Italy, and accepts the appointment of Prime Minister.
 The Duke of Wellington discharges all the offices of the Cabinet
 during Sir Robert's absence. Energy and talents of the new minister.
 His various useful measures. New Marriage Act. Sir Robert
 defeated on the Irish Appropriation Clause. His resignation.—
 § 12. Lord Melbourne's second Administration. Agitated state of
 Ireland. Rebellion in Canada.—§ 13. Death of the king.

§ 1. WILLIAM THE FOURTH formed a favourable contrast with his brother in the openness of his manners and the attachment he bore to his wife, Queen Adelaide. The public rejoiced to see the severe morals of the Court of George III. restored under the guidance of this gentle and religious princess, and in all the changes that occurred in politics and feeling, one unvarying sentiment of reverence for her virtues and trust in her goodness pervaded the public mind. With regard to her husband, there was not the same unchangeableness of confidence or affection. His freedom from stiffness and restraint, the undignified simplicity of his appearance, and the declarations he made of adhesion to the popular cause endeared him to the multitude at first. They were delighted to see the sailor king comport himself with the hail-fellow-well-met joviality of a British tar; and even the opponents of reform were pleased to see the popularity of the sovereign, as the dislike entertained for his predecessor had almost endangered the throne. In a short time the novelty of a crowned king walking about with an umbrella under his arm and using the language of the cockpit wore off. Great things were going on at home and abroad, and it was feared the new ruler would be found unequal to the crisis.

§ 2. France and England, though so different in manners and government, always act upon each other in the turning points of their fortunes with nearly irresistible power. In a few weeks after the accession of King William, on the 29th of July, a revolution, less bloody, but as complete as that of 1793, drove Charles X. from Paris, and awakened with tenfold force the hopes and apprehensions of the contending parties in this country. The obstinacy of the Bourbon, in resisting the desire of his people for greater freedom, encouraged the wiser politicians in England to meet the wishes of our countrymen with timely reforms. But the Revolution itself—the overthrow of a government and the flight of a legitimate sovereign—alarmed the timid with the fear of a

similar catastrophe here; and the Duke of Wellington, in the first surprise at the success of the discontented over his friend the Prime Minister of France, had the misfortune to declare that no reform in Parliament was required.

§ 3. The gauntlet thus thrown down was taken up by the Liberals throughout the kingdom, and popular indignation could only be controlled by the appointment of a new Ministry, presided over by Lord Grey, and supported by the eloquence of Brougham, who was made Lord Chancellor, and the manly honesty of Lord Althorp, who was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Other men of great influence were in the administration,—Mr. Stanley (now Earl Derby), Lord Palmerston, and Lord John Russell. Thus fully manned and ably steered, the vessel of Reform went on. The energy and vigour of the crew were guarantees that the voyage would be rapid, and the skill of the steersman was a guarantee that it would be safe.

§ 4. After a year and a-half of tempestuous altercations, with the king looking helplessly on, as if unable to comprehend what the disturbance was about, or interfering in it in a way which only showed how little weight he possessed in the decision of the question, the great Bill was carried, and the political machinery of the country was arranged to the general satisfaction. The Duke of Wellington, the leader of the obstructives, had declined to give his consent, but agreed to absent himself and his followers from the House of Lords while the crowning vote was taken.

When we consider the few evils which resulted from the measure, we may look with surprise on the anticipations of its enemies. Never were we so nearly on the verge of civil war. Troops were kept under arms during the nine days' exclusion from office of the Whigs, and the substitution of a new Cabinet under the Duke, from the 9th to the 18th of May, 1831; Parliament petitioned for a creation of peers to carry the Bill in opposition to the wishes of the existing majority

in the Lords; meetings were held in the principal towns; preparations were made for a march of two hundred thousand artisans and other reformers from Birmingham to London, and everything portended the darkest termination to the struggle, when suddenly the clouds cleared up, the king gave his royal assent, and power was conveyed to the middle class in a degree proportioned to their increase in wealth and enlightenment. The object of the Reform Bill was the disfranchisement of fifty-six boroughs which had returned one hundred and eleven members, and the reduction of thirty-one which had hitherto elected two members to a single return. The number of seats to be redistributed was one hundred and forty-three; and of these sixty-five were given to the counties, and the remainder to new or enlarged constituencies in the boroughs and metropolitan districts. The aggregate number of members remained the same (658), and Scotland and Ireland had a slight increase and a new distribution of their representatives. The franchise in counties was of different kinds,—a 10*l.* copyhold; a leasehold of the same amount, if for sixty years; or of 50*l.* if for twenty years; the possession of a freehold of the annual value of 40*s.*,—the old qualification, which dated from a time when 40*s.* were of the value of 30*l.*; or a yearly holding of the value of 50*l.* by tenants at will. When Lord Grey was forced to yield to this proviso introduced by the Tories, he declared that it made the dreaded Reform Bill the most aristocratic measure which had ever passed the Commons. The borough franchise was uniform, being an occupation of a dwelling-house of the value of 10*l.*, with the payment of rates and taxes.

§ 5. The same strength of public opinion, which had enabled the Ministry to carry through the Reform Bill in spite of the resistance of a great portion of the upper classes, was sufficient to silence opposition to the next great measure they introduced—the emancipation of the slaves in all the English colonies. For many years this question had been

growing in importance, and enlisting more and more the sympathies of philanthropic and religious men. The honoured names of Clarkson and Wilberforce were foremost in the great struggle, and after seeing their efforts crowned with success by the abrogation of the slave trade in 1807, they both lived to reap the reward of their labours. Wilberforce heard on his death-bed that his triumph was secure, and Clarkson saw the extinction of slavery itself in all the dominions of the British crown in the year 1833. The nation, as if ashamed of the share it had had in the propagation of the nefarious system by which man held property in his fellow-man, grudged nothing to wash the guilt away. The great repentance was not to be worked out at the expense of the present masters; but, burdened as we were with taxes, and amid the doubts and uncertainties of the new constitution, we paid twenty millions as compensation to the slave-owners, and fixed a period within which the chains were to fall from the wrists of seven hundred and seventy thousand two hundred and eighty slaves. The first day that rose upon so many freemen was the 1st of August, 1834; and although the commercial results to the colonies have proved to be more disadvantageous than the advocates of the Act maintained, we have never grudged the sacrifice, either of trade or money, which cleared our national conscience of so deep a stain.

§ 6. Dissensions soon after this weakened the power of the Administration. Some of the ministers were satisfied with what had been achieved, and considered it wiser to pause calmly and watch the results of the battles already won; while others were for carrying on their reforming march while the first enthusiasm of success remained. But they were exposed to two dangers which seemed to neutralize each other, but which, in fact, were like separate enemies, assaulting them on either flank. The venal and vulgar support of O'Connell offended the taste of Lord Grey and the loftier-minded members of his ministry, and detached from it the confidence of the more

scrupulous of the Liberals throughout the country. On the other extremity was the deep and far-seeing enmity of Sir Robert Peel, who came forth again as the head of a great party, having lived down the clamours raised against him by his deserted followers on the carrying of the Catholic claims, and by a masterly policy of watching the Whigs, and spreading, not only confidence, but liberal feelings among the country gentlemen and clergy, converting them from their old character of blind and narrow-minded Tories, into educated, firm, and progressive Conservatives.

§ 7. Every year the position of this great politician and blameless patriot grew higher; and when the haughty Lord Grey and his aristocratic followers retired, and his successor, Lord Melbourne, placed the actual existence of his administration in the hands of so unprincipled a demagogue as O'Connell, in reliance that the Conservative opposition would preserve him from the extremities to which his imperious ally would drive him, the common sense of the land directed all men's attention to the wisest of statesmen and most practised of parliamentary leaders, and Sir Robert Peel pursued his quiet career in re-establishing his forces, with an assurance of an early return to power. Already the public confidence had been shaken even in Lord Grey by his behaviour to the Irish Church. Mr. Stanley, the present Earl of Derby, as Secretary for Ireland, had introduced and carried a measure for the extinction of ten of the Irish bishoprics and the diminution of the tithes. This, among other bold innovations, alarmed the fears of the king. All his zeal in the cause of reform had vanished, and he saw nothing in the future but sedition and revolution. The Irish policy was not likely to restore his satisfaction, for O'Connell replied to every attempt to stop his violence by promising a repeal of the Union to his priest-ridden followers, and by marshalling thousands of them to listen to his passionate harangues. Holding the Cabinet in one hand by intimidation, and the

peace of the country in the other, he enriched himself with the terrified offerings of the ministry, and his salary, under the name of rent, extorted from the poor. From this thralldom the English nation was now anxious to see its king and Parliament relieved, and William only waited for an opportunity to dismiss his official advisers.

§ 8. The last great measure of this reign was the New Poor-Law. The labouring population had been reduced by the Law of Settlement to the same condition of confinement to one particular spot as in the days when serfs were inalienably attached to the soil. The parish in which a man's settlement was secured became the utmost range of his employment. Neighbouring parishes guarded themselves against his intrusion, which would make them responsible for his maintenance in sickness and old age, and submitted to a want of hands rather than import them from a contiguous district where the labourers were too many. The peasantry, as a body, were rapidly becoming paupers; for as the rates were almost universally applied in aid of wages, the independent workman found the value of his services diminished, and was gradually losing the pride and self-respect which should keep him from charitable support. A check to this was put by the Act of 1834. By this the Law of Settlement was modified, and a wide sphere given for the disposal of labour. The hedger and ditcher out of employment at home could carry his spade and pickaxe where he chose. The area which provided the funds for the support of a poor-house was greatly increased by the union of many parishes for this common object; and while the great principle of all poor laws was maintained, that any persons who had no other means of support should be fed and clothed by the community, the feeding was determined to be of the humblest kind, and even that, not earned without some work. No lazy pauper could lounge up to the poor-house and demand his week's allowance, and loaves of bread in proportion to the pauper children he

had left at home. No dissolute woman could flaunt in insolent finery on the money she received for the keep of her illegitimate children. If charity kept them from starvation, it tried to make their position inferior to that of the honest worker, and no enactment was ever crowned with a more excellent success in the improvement of the moral and physical condition of the labouring class. The canker of pauperism was eating into the resources of the country at a rate which in a short time would have sapped our national strength. The expense of supporting the paupers—who formed a very different body from the poor—had reached, in 1830, the appalling sum of eight millions; in 1851 it had sunk to three millions, with a great increase of comfort and content.

§ 9. At the time, however, the easy benevolence of people who were not exposed to the burden was offended by the apparent harshness of the provisions for the protection of the honest labourer. The pauper's fate became a theme of pity and indignation, and William perceived with pleasure that the hour was come to rid himself of his trammels, and he suddenly, on the death of Lord Spencer, which carried his son, Lord Althorp, into the House of Lords, sent for Sir Robert Peel, and dissolved the administration.

§ 10. A great administration, which did marvellous things in the three years of its power, and preserved the peace of the country and of the world under the most alarming circumstances. The French Revolution of 1830 had had the same disturbing effects on other nations as on England. Belgium in the following year threw off the union with Holland, and elected the most cautious and politic of princes to be her sovereign, in the person of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widowed husband of our Princess Charlotte. The Duke of Orleans, who by that time had mounted the throne of Charles X., under the name of Louis Philippe, performed his first act of sovereignty by sending the troops of France to force the Dutch to consent to the separation, and had suc-

ceeded in his object by the siege of Antwerp and the threat of further hostilities. Greece also at last found a prince to wear its worthless crown, in the person of Otho, a Bavarian; from east to west the impulse of the great movement in Paris had been felt, and Portugal, Spain, and Poland were shaken with the same convulsion. Firm and collected through it all, the ministry of Lord Grey prepared for the possibility of foreign exertions, by securing confidence and good government at home; and perhaps no similar instance of calm perseverance in the performance of great duties, and noble reliance on the fortunes of their country, was ever shown by a population reforming abuses in the midst of such appalling dangers, since the Romans went on with their daily avocations when Hannibal was at the gate.

§ 11. When the king sent for Sir Robert Peel, the great statesman was in Italy, little expecting to be summoned to take the government into his hands. He hurried home, and found that all the offices of the administration had been kept for his disposal by the extraordinary energy of the Duke of Wellington, who performed the duties of them all himself. He was President of the Council, Prime Minister, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and three Secretaries of State. The Cabinet, by this means, had the advantage of being unanimous, as it consisted of only one man; and Sir Robert, on his return in December, 1834, found that none of the work had been neglected, and that his prospect of continuing in power was better than he had hoped. A manifesto issued from Tamworth gave a sketch of the policy he proposed. It was at once liberal and conservative, and he was enabled to appeal to his past exertions in the reform of legal and ecclesiastical abuses as a proof of his resolution to meet the requirements of the time. When Parliament, however, assembled, he found that ancient prejudice had refused to believe in the sincerity of his desire for improvement, and the majority against him was irresistible. Yet great and elevating was the spectacle

of this strong-hearted minister contending with his foes; rising into an eloquence of expression and wideness of view unsuspected equally by friend and enemy, and perhaps even by himself; throwing off the narrowing bonds within which his early education had confined him, and already giving evidence that no political effort was beyond his power, and no array of hostility to what he believed the benefit of his country sufficient to daunt his courage. For five months he relied on the forbearance of Parliament to give him a fair trial, and in that time laid the foundation for the alteration in the Marriage Law, by which dissenters are relieved from the necessity of being married in a church; and for a Commutation of Tithes, by which the quarrels between clergymen and their parishioners are prevented. He showed qualities in the face of that compact majority which disarmed it of its hostility and secured its respect; but the necessities of party overcame the growing admiration of the individual man, and he resigned office on the 8th of April. The ostensible ground on which the Whigs gained their object was what is called the Appropriation Clause. In this they provided that any surplus revenue derived from reforms in the Irish Church should be declared applicable to secular objects. Sir Robert expressed his willingness to apply the surplus to any object connected with the Church. The majority in favour of Lord John Russell, who introduced the motion, was very large, and he has remained contented with the triumph ever since, the subject never being afterwards introduced in all the years during which the conquerors were in power.

§ 12. The Reformers were restored under the premiership of Lord Melbourne; but without the aid of Lord Brougham, who was not invited to return to the woolsack. The majority which had overthrown Sir Robert Peel was composed of the Irish members, the majority of English representatives having been his supporters. This circumstance gave increased power to O'Connell and increased un-

easiness to the king. But the state of affairs produced by the numerical majority of the ministry and the moral preponderance of the minority acted as a bar to legislation altogether, unless, as in the case of the Reform of Corporations, the evils were too glaring to be endured. The Reform of the Irish Church was carried in the Commons and rejected by the Lords; and a further indisposition to yield to the noisy claims of interested agitators was produced by the first rolling of a thunder-cloud in Canada, which ended in rebellion and bloodshed.

§ 13. Dangers were accumulating on every hand, and again the real lovers of our constitution were rendered uneasy by the feeble abilities and wavering purpose of the occupant of the throne. Unable to strive against, or perhaps to comprehend, the involved condition of parties and the threatening aspect of our foreign relations, the aged monarch was restless and unhappy. With every disposition to do well, he was incapacitated from any decided line of conduct by the complete absence of self-reliance. His death, therefore, was not considered a national disaster when it occurred on the 20th of June, 1837, although timorous men might have been alarmed at seeing the sceptre transferred to the light and delicate hand of a maiden of eighteen, whom the nation had watched with affectionate earnestness and pride as the Princess Victoria.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

A.D.	A.D.
1830 Accession of William IV.	1833-34. West Indian Slave Emancipation Bill passed.
— Revolution in France. Expulsion of Charles X. and accession of Louis-Philippe.	1834. Poor-laws Amendment Bill passed.
1831. Lord Grey made prime minister, and Lord Brougham lord chancellor.	— Lord Melbourne and Sir Robert Peel successively prime ministers.
1831-32. Parliamentary Reform Bill passed.	— Both Houses of Parliament destroyed by fire.
1832. Cholera rages to a fearful extent.	— The New Poor-Law passed.
1833. Assembling of the first reformed parliament.	1835. Municipal Corporation Reform Bill passed.
	— New Marriage Act.
	1837. Death of William IV.

CHAPTER VI.

VICTORIA.

A.D. 1837 TO A.D. 1858.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

FRANCE.—Louis-Philippe.

AUSTRIA.—Ferdinand; Francis-Joseph.

PRUSSIA.—Frederick-William III. Frederick-William IV.

SPAIN.—Maria-Isabella II.

RUSSIA.—Nicholas; Alexander II.

POPES.—Gregory XVI.; Pius IX.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE PRESENT REIGN.

Viscount MELBOURNE and his colleagues continued till 1841.

Sir Robert PEEL, Duke of Wellington, Lord Wharncliffe, Lyndhurst, Buckingham, Sir James Graham, Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Stanley, Goulburn, Haddington, Ripon, Sir George Murray, Sir H. Hardinge, Ellenborough, &c, till 1846.

Lord John RUSSELL (Prime Minister), Lansdowne, Minto, Cottenham, Sir G. Grey, Lord Palmerston, Earl Grey, Sir C. Wood, Lord Auckland, Hobhouse, Clarendon, Lord Campbell, Morpeth, Clanricarde, Macaulay (from 1846 till 1852).

Earl of DERBY (Prime Minister), St. Leonards, Lonsdale, Salisbury, Disraeli, Walpole, Malmesbury, Pakington, Northumberland, Herries, &c. (1852).

Coalition Ministry—Earl of ABERDEEN (Prime Minister), with Lord John Russell, Palmerston, Graham, Gladstone, Lansdowne, Cranworth, Newcastle, Argyle, Grenville, S. Herbert, Molesworth, &c. (from 1852 to 1855).

On the resignation of the Earl of Aberdeen, in 1855, Lord Palmerston becomes Prime Minister; and on his resignation, in 1858, Lord Derby was appointed to the head of the Government, in conjunction with Lord Chelmsford, Disraeli, Salisbury, Hardwicke, Walpole, Malmesbury, Right Hon. J. Peel, Sir E. B. Lytton, Sir J. Pakington, Lord Stanley, &c.

In 1859 Lord Derby's administration was superseded by Lord Palmerston's, which, at the present time (1860) stands thus: Viscount PALMERSTON, First Lord of the Treasury; Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord John Russell, Foreign Secretary; Sir G. C. Lewis, Home Secretary; Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Secretary for War; Sir C. Wood, Indian Secretary; Duke of Somerset, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Campbell, Lord Chancellor; Earl Granville, President of the Council; Duke of Argyll, Privy Seal; Earl of Elgin, K.T., Postmaster General; Right Hon. T. M. Gibson, Board of Trade; Mr. C. P. Villiers, Poor Law Board; Mr. Cardwell, Chief Secretary for Ireland; Sir George Grey, Duchy of Lancaster.

§ 1. Accession of Queen Victoria. Unsettled state of affairs at home and abroad.—§ 2. Insurrection in Canada. Its causes.—§ 3. The rebellion suppressed, and Lord Durham sent as Lord High Commissioner to adjust all existing disputes. Disturbances in Jamaica. Resignation of Lord Melbourne.—§ 4. Sir Robert Peel appointed Prime Minister. Chartism. The ladies of the Queen's bedchamber.—§ 5. Lord Melbourne re-appointed minister. The Queen's marriage with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg. Her distinguished virtues.—§ 6. National distress, and popular discontent. The Chartist leaders. Anti Corn-law League.—§ 7. The Corn-law disputes.—§ 8. Sir Robert Peel resumes office. Cobden, Villiers, and Bright strenuously support the Corn-law agitation.—§ 9. Famine in Ireland, and repeal of the Corn-laws.—§ 10. O'Brien's rebellion in Ireland.—§ 11. The Chartist demonstrations. Louis Napoleon a special constable. The French revolution.—§ 12. Discovery of gold in California.—§ 13. Death of Sir Robert Peel.—§ 14. The Crystal Palace in Hyde Park.—§ 15. Coup d'État of Louis Napoleon. Becomes "Emperor of the French."—§ 16. Death of the Duke of Wellington. His character.—§ 17. Designs of Russia against Turkey. Disputes respecting the Holy Sepulchre. Preparations for war. The Crimea, and Sebastopol. Destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope.—§ 18. Declaration of war against Russia. The Crimean expedition. Siege of Sebastopol, the difficulties and sanguinary contests attending it. Death of Lord Raglan, the commander-in-chief.—§ 19. Lord Aberdeen superseded in the Ministry by Lord Palmerston. Operations of the British squadron in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff. Capture of Sebastopol.—§ 20. Peace of Paris.—§ 21. Disputes with China, and capture of Canton.—§ 22. The Indian mutiny, and revolt of the Bengal army. Sanguinary contests with the mutineers.—§ 23. Butcheries of Agra and Delhi. Arrival of British troops, and defeat of the rebels. Trial and punishment of the Great Mogul, the King of Delhi.—§ 24. Historical retrospect of our Indian possessions. Fatal expedition to Afghanistan. Retributive vengeance fully carried out against the Affghans.—§ 25. The government of India transferred from the East India Company to the Imperial Crown of England.

§ 1. THE accession of Victoria occurred at one of the most anxious and unsettled moments of our history. The reforms already carried had only excited the appetite for more, and the aspect of foreign affairs was dark and troubled. The despotic powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia used every exertion to fetter the press and obliterate the last remains of liberty which had been secured to the smaller nations by the settlement of 1815. Russia made no concealment of the object of the unjustifiable war she declared on the free mountaineers of Circassia, which was to gain the unquestioned mastery of the Black Sea, and gain her first station towards the British possessions in India. Louis-Philippe, in a meaner and more contemptible manner, carried on the same war against freedom in France by cajolery and deceit, and succeeded in rendering the Charter nugatory, and his statesmen as corrupted and unprincipled as himself. War was raging in Spain and Portugal, and finally a rebellion was in full operation in our great colony of Canada.

§ 2. Parliament had been greatly to blame in shutting its ears to the complaints of the Canadians. It committed the mistake of perpetual interference with the proceedings of the legislatures of both the provinces into which the country was divided, and cheated the populations with an appearance of self-government, while they were rendered powerless by the supreme authority claimed by the Crown. Lower Canada was almost entirely French, having remained without much alteration in manners and customs since it was attached to England by the conquest of Quebec in 1759. Upper Canada was a place of emigration to the active portion of the English middle class, which could not find a field for its energies at home; and had been occupied by the loyalists of America who crossed the St. Lawrence and the lakes to avoid the government of the Republic, against which they had fought in the revolutionary war. Their descendants retained their principles of devoted affection to the English throne,

and hatred of their southern neighbours. But the imported Englishmen, and the hereditary Canadians, and the French settlers farther down, were equally offended with the proceedings of the Home Government; and if they had persisted in a peaceful exposition of their grievances would have obtained every object of their desire. But the Anglo-Saxons remembered the results of the American insurrection, and the poor Frenchmen on the Three Rivers, who had continued unchanged in their simple habits and religious tenets in the midst of the storm that wrecked Church and monarchy in the old country, began to have glorious memories of the great Revolution, and found a Mirabeau, and, they hoped, a Napoleon, in the person of a M. Papineau, who took O'Connell for his model in effrontery and cowardice, and almost transcended the original.

§ 3. When it came to actual fighting, the contest could not be doubtful. The higher class of English settlers came to the aid of the military power, and after repelling by force a riotous multitude of Americans who showed their sympathy with rifles and bowie-knives in their hands, the disturbance was put down; and Lord Durham, who was sent out as Lord High Commissioner, to put all matters in the North American Provinces on a satisfactory footing, regained the public confidence by an act of indemnity, wherein mercy, as its opponents maintained, was more prominent than justice. Since that time the powers of the United Colonial Parliament have been enlarged, and our countrymen, both in the upper and lower districts, are as patriotic and obedient as the men of Essex or Surrey. The uneasiness, however, extended to some of our other possessions. Jamaica almost followed the example of Canada in resisting English regulations by force. Lord Melbourne, with the hasty bravado of a man of natural indecision, who is at last obliged to take a part, proposed to suspend the Constitution of the island for five years, and rule it directly from home. Tories, Whigs, and Radicals

were all offended, on different grounds, by this proposition. The Minister, alarmed at the opposition he experienced in Parliament, resigned his office, and the Queen sent for Sir Robert Peel.

§ 4. The position held by this statesman was something like that of the Old Guard in the armies of Napoleon. The nation saw the skirmishes and repulses of the Whig and Tory light infantry with amazing equanimity, because it knew that if a crisis came, and the enemies of the Constitution were too powerful for the ordinary soldiers of the line, there was always a force in reserve on which it could fall back with the certainty of support. The dangers seemed sufficient to justify recourse to the Conservative chief. Chartism was in the first days of its youthful vigour, and discontent was widely spread, from the scarcity of the harvest. All Europe seemed on the eve of some mighty change, and Sir Robert Peel was the man for the situation. But the Ladies of the Bedchamber, the wives of the Whig nobility, who considered they had a vested interest in their office by reason of their husbands' politics, persuaded Lord Melbourne to resist their being turned away on the change of administration, and the expectant Minister, perceiving that his influence was not yet sufficient to displace a few countesses from their court employments, declined the government of the country, and in the midst of much hooting and laughter Lord Melbourne resumed his place as chief of the Cabinet and champion of the ladies-in-waiting.

§ 5. During this second administration of Lord Melbourne took place the marriage of the Queen with her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg. A happier marriage never occurred in the humbler ranks of life. The prince was endowed with every quality, personal and mental, to render him worthy of the highest elevation; and when to the mutual charms of beauty and youth, the bride and bridegroom added the warmth of a sincere and long-cherished affection, nothing

was wanting to the perfection of their happiness. If the union was fortunate for themselves, it was no less productive of blessings to the country. The loyalty which existed as a principle in the repelling days of the five Hanoverian kings, grew into a passion towards the wise and gentle wife and matron, who set the example of all the household virtues, and proved herself—

“ Worthy of earth’s proudest throne,
Nor less, by excellence of nature fit
Beside the unadorned hearth to sit,
Domestic queen where grandeur is unknown.”

§ 6. But in the year we have now reached there was perplexity and distress. There were riots, with loss of life, in various parts of England; and at Newport, in Monmouthshire, there was an action with the military, in which a borough magistrate, of the name of Frost, made himself conspicuous on behalf of the Five Points of the Charter. These were, Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Annual Parliaments, Payment of Members, and the Abolition of a Property Qualification. The leaders were punished with transportation, and for a time the struggle seemed at an end. It was impossible that all these disturbances of feelings and destruction of the old landmarks of English life could arise from a very enthusiastic desire for the points of the Charter. The secret of discontent lay deeper. Many sagacious observers concluded that the dearness of food was the origin of the evil, and the Anti-Corn-law League began its career in Manchester, and never paused till it attained its object, in 1846.

§ 7. From this time the progress of that great question is the history of the nation. Lord John Russell, as a last expedient for retaining power, after he had lost the confidence of the Commons, made a proposal for a fixed duty of eight shillings a quarter on wheat, and less sums upon the inferior grains. This was so halting a measure that it failed to please either party; the Protectionists would not surrender the

sliding scale, by which the amount of duty was regulated in proportion to the price of corn, so as to prevent it from ever falling below a remunerative value; and the Abolitionists would submit to no compromise. Their actions were regulated by the highest principles of political economy, and they would not depart from them. Parliament on this was dissolved, and in an early part of the next session Sir Robert Peel was at last installed in office, and the field lay open to him for the display of his highest powers.

§ 8. The hopes of the Corn-law supporters rose to the highest pitch; for their confidence in the wisdom and courage of their leader was unbounded; they therefore joined readily in a modification of the graduated scale, which lowered the duties; and the country, seeing the tendency of the minister's acts, took no notice of the reactionary speeches of his supporters, and even submitted to an income-tax of sevenpence in the pound to enable him to carry other measures of liberality. Meantime the exertions of the Anti-Corn-law League were triumphant everywhere. Mr. Cobden's powers of lucid statement, Mr. Villiers's persevering efforts in Parliament, the energy of Mr. Bright, and the more sustained oratory of Mr. W. J. Fox, brought the question home to the understanding of the middle class; and Sir Robert Peel, whose sympathies were with the masses, pondered the arguments of those distinguished men, and saw with heavy heart that all the intricacy of the sliding scale did not cheapen the poor man's loaf. He paused for a long time, and gave dubious responses to the furious inquiries of his followers, from which the people soon perceived that the feelings of the great statesman were enlisted on their side. Difficulties still remained from the exigencies of party government in a free country; and the man who suffered so deeply by his self-sacrifice on the Catholic claims, and who had been repaid by those he benefited with such ingratitude, might be pardoned if he hesitated a second time to make himself the victim of his

convictions, and forfeit the rewards of office and the opportunity of doing good on a question on which his political friends were unanimously against him, and slanderous tongues were ready to misconstrue his motives and ridicule his scruples.

§ 9. But in this memorable year the Irish famine began. The harvest had been deficient in England, and in Ireland the potato had been struck with disease. Thousands languished in pain and hunger, with no help possible, so sudden was the outbreak of the misery, and thousands died even when England, suffering herself, had poured forth her treasures to alleviate the wants of her neighbours. It was the hand of God that wrought this great calamity, and Sir Robert Peel bowed to the dreadful lesson. He could not continue to charge a heavy duty at the outports on the very food which was required for the famishing millions. If once he released the corn from a duty, he could never re-impose it, and his course was immediately taken. He rent the ties of party, and bound the national gratitude for ever to his name. Maligned by disappointed friends, opposed by ungenerous enemies, he bated no jot of earnest endeavour, and finally succeeded in seeing the great charter of industry—the free-trade in corn—added to the statute-book. He prepared to pay the penalty in the loss of power, the enmity of former allies, and the grudging praise of the very persons whose triumph he had secured ; but his reward was the reverence of the nation, and the blessing of every cottage in the land. The dreaded measure has turned out to be more beneficial to its opponents than even to its friends, and the most fertile source of disagreement between the rich and poor has been for ever dried up by the abrogation of a hateful law, by which the labourer's loaf was enhanced in price for the landlord's benefit. Henceforth the poorest in the land knows that if his food at any time rises in price, it is the effect of adverse seasons, and not of the enactments of man. He may there-

fore be hungry, but he is not disaffected. This great bill became law on the 26th of June, 1846.

§ 10. The storm had been too boisterous for the waves suddenly to subside; but Sir Robert Peel, greater in the nominal absence of power, through the sway he exercised by his moral influence both on Parliament and the nation, saw the pacifying effects of his policy under circumstances of difficulty and danger. It is almost ridiculous now to speak of the attempt at a rebellion in Ireland in 1847, or a demonstration of the Chartists in 1848, as causing alarm; but at the time the hollowness of the rebellion and the demonstration were not fully known. Mr. Smith O'Brien, with the vain desire to be the Achilles of an Irish Iliad, only rose to be the Thersites. Too refined in mind to share in the coarse aspirations of the bloodthirsty peasantry whom his harangues excited, and too liberal and enlightened to be the tool of the howling and ignorant priesthood which urged him on, but did not share his danger, he led forth his motley array to fight; but on sight of a few policemen retired to the undignified privacy of a neighbouring garden, and was discovered hiding in a bed of cabbages. He was sentenced to transportation amid the laughter of the audience, and only learned in the leniency of the law a new lesson in foul-mouthed vituperation of the English people, which in a few years contemptuously allowed him to return.

§ 11. The Chartist demonstration had a still more contemptible ending, but was accompanied by such gloomy and disturbing incidents in Paris, that for a moment the Isle was frightened from its propriety, and a miserable party of discharged workmen and dissolute idlers, amounting to about twenty thousand men, were watched by a hundred and fifty thousand special constables, all of the middle or higher orders, any hundred of whom could have put the terrified petitioners to ignominious flight. Their march was to Kennington Common, and their object was to carry a petition to West-

minster demanding the Five Points of their constitutional scheme, while the intimidation produced by their imposing numbers overawed the legislature. Glad to escape from their ludicrous position, the wretched dupes of the impostor named O'Connor, who pocketed their subscriptions and betrayed their cause—they slunk into the obscurity of forgetfulness and contempt, furnishing only a few martyrs to the cause by their transportation for a term of years.

Among the special constables on that famous 10th of April, was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of the great Napoleon, and destined to run a still more extraordinary course. He had resided for some years in England, after escaping from the fortress of Ham, to which Louis Philippe had condemned him for a landing at Boulogne with the object of overthrowing his government. That tricky and undignified government had been overthrown by other hands in the last days of the previous February, and the Prince, standing with the truncheon in his hand in defence of peace and order, was no doubt musing on the opening made for the great name he bore by the banishment of the Orleans dynasty and the proclamation of a Republic in France. We shall meet with this amateur policeman in the character of President and Emperor, displaying in both an intellectual vigour and personal courage which might have done honour to the Corsican conqueror who founded his family greatness.

§ 12. News arrived in this same year from the extreme West almost as startling as the proceedings of the revolutionists in Paris. Gold had been found in immeasurable quantity on the banks of the Sacramento river in California. The same strata extended over vast regions in that newly-acquired territory of America, and the wildest anticipations were indulged in as to the effects of this discovery on the commerce and happiness of the world. It was not for nearly three years (in 1851) that a similar discovery was made in the still wealthier soil of British Australia; and European

affairs lost a portion of their interest in the greedy haste with which thousands of all classes of society rushed to those two richly-endowed districts, with the certainty of realizing gigantic fortunes with the pickaxe and spade. Though individual expectations have been disappointed, the aggregate coinage, added to the general circulation, is very large, and trade has everywhere been facilitated by the greater abundance of the precious metal.

§ 13. Sir Robert Peel just lived long enough to know that the reign of peace, which it was supposed his measure of free-trade had inaugurated, was to be celebrated by the erection of a Temple of Concord, in the shape of a magnificent palace, capable of containing a hundred thousand visitors, and specimens of the arts and manufactures of every region on the globe. An accidental fall from his horse terminated his life on the 2nd of July, 1850, at the very period when he had attained the highest eminence ever occupied by a statesman in this country, where, without the formal authority of office, his decision was looked to by both parties as decisive on all the great questions of the time.

§ 14. The Crystal Palace rose as if by the spell of an enchanter, and presented to the multitudes who thronged to it from all parts of the world the spectacle of a new style of architecture more illustrative of the nineteenth century than any adaptation of the finest model could have been. Everything was new. The walls were of glass, the pillars were thin and graceful cylinders of iron, forming a building as light as the cloud pavilions in a rich sunset, and as strong at the same time as a battlemented tower of the days of feudalism. This gorgeous space was filled with the fabrics, glorious in colour and exquisite in quality, of all the workers throughout the world; and the mixed races who gazed enchanted on the magic scene—the dark denizen of the East, gorgeous in shawl and diamond, the yellow Mogul, and the rival nationalities of Europe—gave evidence to the success of

the great idea. It was a tribute paid to the genius of commercial friendships, and all peoples from henceforth were to rejoice in the blessings of peace. These hopes were as brittle as the material of which the building was composed. Before the end of the year preparations were making for war all over the Continent, and France, as usual, gave the signal for uneasiness and disturbance.

§ 15. Louis Napoleon had been named President of the Republic for three years, in honour of the brilliant warrior whose statue still looks down on admiring Paris from the column in the Place Vendôme. His declarations of attachment to the Republican form were so solemn, and his behaviour so simple and unassuming, that the most conscientious of Democrats were satisfied with the choice they had made. But as the end of his presidency drew near, the suspicions of the Parliamentary leaders had been excited. They perceived a spirit of tampering with the army, and recurrence on every fit occasion to the military traditions of the Empire; and on the 1st of December, 1851, they determined to obviate the danger they feared, by arresting the chief of the State, and appointing another in his place. Napoleon, who had preserved a countenance of the most stolid want of expression throughout his interviews with the leading Republicans, was beforehand with them by a few hours. Before the dawn his Parliamentary and military opposers were arrested without form of law, and conveyed to different places of confinement. Paris was guarded by enthusiastic soldiers, who saw the courage of the uncle in the proceedings of the nephew; and, under the pressure of fear and uncertainty, the great majority of the people, to whom universal suffrage had been extended by the revolution, voted for Napoleon's continuance in office for ten years more. The path was now clear before him. He had all the powers of the State in his hands, and all the forces of the nation at his disposal. He had recourse a second time to the suffrages of the people, and on the 2nd of

December, 1852, was acknowledged "Emperor of the French by the grace of God and the national will."

§ 16. Before this strange and startling event, the Duke of Wellington, the opponent of the first of the Imperial dynasty, died full of years and glory. He expired at Walmer on the 14th of September, at the age of eighty-three years—all of which he lived in honour and devoted to the public service. He left to the study and admiration of his countrymen a character whose elements were so grandly simple, that for a while they obscured the gigantic proportion in which all his virtues were moulded. His scientific caution hid the fiery impulse of the most dashing genius for war which existed even in the time of Napoleon. His rigid adherence to the prosaic calls of duty hindered people from perceiving that under that commonplace word he comprehended a love of glory which might have warmed the heart of Cæsar or Alexander; and under that cold and inflexible exterior bore a spirit of charity and kindness which made him the almoner and friend of all the distressed. The great soldier, as mellowing years went on, disappeared in the sagacious statesman and humble Christian. More tears were shed on the coffin of that clear-headed, honest-hearted old man, whom we had learned to look upon with as much affection as respect, than would have been excited by the loss of any other public character in the prime of life; for we felt he was the link that bound us to the great days of old, and that in the troubled times to come, in the clash of foreign war or domestic struggle, "we ne'er should look upon his like again."

§ 17. The minute-guns that were fired over the funeral car of the departed hero awoke an uneasy echo in the East. The ambition of Russia had been held in check by the presence in British councils of the man who guarded the peace of Europe for forty years; but availing himself of the distracted state of our party combinations and the credulity of Lord Aberdeen, the Czar made his long-prepared attempt on the integrity of

the Turkish Empire, on pretence of some dispute between the Greek and Catholic Churches at Jerusalem for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre, and seized the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia as material guarantees that his demands should be complied with. But the Czar of Paris was as much interested in this weighty religious question as the Czar of Moscow, and stepped forward as champion of the Catholic faith. England was in the curious position of believing the three parties concerned to be heretics, heathens, or schismatics, and had scarcely more affinity to the Greek patriarch than the Mahomedan sheik-al-Islam, or the Roman Pope. Yet she found herself preparing to fight, and her ministers persuaded her it would be a very easy struggle and very short. And so the Crimean war began.

Whatever was done with the keys of the holy places, the Dardanelles should not be held by the Russians. Our position in the Mediterranean and our maintenance of India were equally menaced by the presence of a warlike and enterprising people at Constantinople; and the Turks must be kept in possession of the noblest site for commerce and empire which the whole world can offer, because their bigotry, brutality, and incapacity for civilization make them unable to derive any benefit from their local advantages. The bribe of Egypt, which Russia offered to England as her share of the "sick man's" inheritance, was indignantly rejected, and the united fleets of France and England entered the Sea of Marmora for the protection of the Sultan, and great expeditions were fitted out at the same time for the Baltic and the Black Sea.

The proceedings of the Northern fleet have been harshly criticised, because no great battle was fought. But it is no slight proof of superiority that in that narrow and shallow sea, where the Muscovites had hitherto ruled supreme, their flag entirely disappeared. Cooped up in the unapproachable harbour of Cronstadt, they listened to the cannon of the allies, whose firing was heard at St. Petersburg itself. No man

on any of the shores of England had a moment's dread of a Russian bombardment ; nor had any merchant the loss of a night's sleep from fear of the enemy's cruisers on any sea. The British admiral obtained the results of great victories without the slaughter (or the fame) attending a pitched battle ; and attention was speedily withdrawn from his apparently peaceful pursuits to be concentrated on the siege of Sebastopol.

This was the strongest fortress in the Russian empire, and stored with all the warlike munitions which could be accumulated within its walls. Its harbour was filled with nearly a hundred vessels of varying size from a hundred to five guns. A large army was posted on favourable points for the defence of the country, and Europe looked on, as in the ancient days of tournament to the death, at the struggle of three nations of the West—England, France, and Sardinia—against the immeasurable empire of the East and North. Turkey counted for very little in this death-grapple of nations, although it disappointed all the previous expectations and prophecies of its enemies by the gallant defence it made at Silistria and the victory of Oltenitza. These were but interludes in the drama, and would have had no effect on the final result. The detached armies therefore of Turks and Russians guarded their respective banks of the Danube, and the principal Powers began—though still nominally at peace.

The attack upon the Turkish fleet at Sinope, after a declaration by the Czar that he would not commence aggressive hostilities in the Black Sea, roused the anger of the French and English, who had been deceived by their confidence in his truth. The Turks, relying like their allies on the solemn asseverations of their enemy, were lying unprepared for any attack, and were destroyed, after a heroic resistance, by a squadron of four times their force. Terrified at what they had done, though the navies of France and England were down in the Bosphorus, the Russians retired to the harbour of

Sebastopol, and celebrated their victory with feasts and illuminations. If Nelson had been in command, he would not have waited for a declaration of war, but would have carried his ships into the Black Sea in time to intercept the pirates on their return from the scene of their exploit; but there was neither a Nelson in the East nor a Pitt at home. The Ministry, up to this time, had deluded themselves with the belief that we could oppose a great empire by force without going to war; and when this amazing expectation was dispelled by the massacre at Sinope, they found themselves unprepared for the terrible conflict into which they had drifted, and were only supported by the recollections of the last great European contest, and the place we had held with Wellington at the head of our army.

§ 18. The declaration of war took place on the 27th of March; and the first operation was to secure the flank of the invading forces by quelling a rising in favour of our enemy by the cowardly and ambitious Greeks. A small division, landing at the Piræus, sufficed to dispel the military ardour of the fatuous king and his intriguing wife, and for a while the tin swords of Marathon and Thermopylæ were left in their highly ornamented sheaths. An army of nearly sixty thousand men, with a hundred and thirty guns, was disembarked on the coast of the Crimea, at a point left unguarded by the Russians, and Lord Raglan, a noble and chivalrous soldier, who showed higher qualities of generalship than any of the other leaders in the war, took the command of the English brigades, and led them on the way to Sebastopol. They were opposed, on the 20th of September, by a large force of Russians, stationed on a strongly fortified elevation above the river Alma; and French and English, united for the first time for nearly two hundred years, vied with each other in courage and perseverance, and met amid shouts of mutual congratulation on the summit of the blood-stained hill. It was proudly discovered that the fighting qualities

of our men continued unimpaired, and the next news was impatiently expected, as London and Paris were equally convinced that Sebastopol would fall in a few days.

But the north side of the great arsenal was strongly guarded, and useless to the assailants even if secured. The strength of the place lay on the southern shore, and a great military feat was performed by Lord Raglan, who led his whole army, unknown to the enemy, by a roundabout road to the other side of the harbour; and having placed the French at Kamiesch, and sent the fleet round to occupy the landing-place of Balaclava for the English, he opened fire upon the citadel on the 17th of October. Numbers as well as position were greatly in favour of the Russians. Illness and the Alma had diminished our force. Our artillery was deficient in weight and quantity. The commissariat, even at that early period, gave evidence of inefficiency, and the approaching winter in that cold and tempestuous climate was a subject of universal dread. Already the besieged felt that the chances were on their side. Multitudes of fresh soldiers were marching from all parts of the empire to the chosen battle-field, and the positions of the antagonists became gradually reversed. The Russians were the assailants; the Allies acted on the defensive. The glorious blunder of the Balaclava charge took place on the 25th. Between six and seven hundred men of the Light Brigade were sent to attack a whole army at the distance of a mile and a half, at the other end of a narrow gully, and saw before them and on each side, artillery, horse, and foot, with batteries looking straight at their front as they raced up the Valley of Death. The charge of the gallant six hundred will live in song and history as the most uncalled-for waste of life and brightest display of bravery that any nation can show. Onward, with sword in hand, knowing all the time the hopelessness of the task, galloped the fated few. Saddles became empty, horses fell in mid career, shells poured in among them, and cannon and

musket pierced them with their iron shower. They reached the batteries, sabred the gunners, and, still at the same headlong speed, pursued their backward way. On a height above the gorge, spectators were gathered who could not speak or move while the tremendous sight was before them, and could only murmur their regret and admiration, when an advance of our heavy cavalry drove off the pursuing Russians, and three hundred survivors received the wild congratulations of the camp. Nearly four hundred gallant Englishmen were the victims of some fatal mistake, or a contemptible misunderstanding between two officers, who carried their personal quarrel into the details of public service. Yet not altogether uselessly were those noble lives laid down. The dash of the exploit had never been equalled, and the Czar himself perceived that men who would face such odds would never be subdued.

Ten days after Balaclava another fight raised still higher the fame of English courage, and lowered still more the reputation of English skill. The Russians assaulted the very inadequate garrison of the heights of Inkerman by surprise. Fifty thousand of them climbed the hill, and threw themselves among the eight thousand men who guarded the post. It was a hand-to-hand fight. The cold bayonet did it all. Desperate lines met with shocks and cries, and then dispersed into single encounters, where sheer strength of arm and firmness of eye were the arbiters of the struggle. For several hours this unequal combat went on. Fresh assailants came pouring in. The defenders were tired and unsupported; when all of a sudden the gallant Bosquet, with six thousand of the light infantry of France, came up at double quick. With a cheer of generous applause, the Zouaves and Chasseurs dashed in to the aid of their English friends; the confused multitudes of the assailants were rolled down the declivity, and the position of Inkerman was saved.

Then came a fiercer and more irresistible enemy than all the Russian hordes. A storm, on the 15th of November,

swept the Black Sea with uncontrollable fury, sinking our provision ships, and endangering the whole fleet ; and with this frightful overture the tragedy of the winter began. Provisions were scarce ; there was no communication between the landing-place at Balaclava and the camp, though only six miles apart ; there was no order or regularity in the distribution of supplies. Horses died of starvation and cold on the exposed platform ; disease spread fearfully among the troops, and despondency, mixed with indignation, was the universal sentiment at home. Yet Lord Raglan did not despair. With the same manly kindness which had gained him so many hearts, as Military Secretary to "the Duke," he bore up against the privations of his position and the taunts and accusations of an exacting public. Coldly defended by the inefficient holders of office, who demanded great achievements and supplied him with feeble means, he never lost his temper, never showed how deep the disappointment was eating into his heart, never uttered a syllable of blame, but trusted all to the truth-revealing qualities of time. Time has done him justice, but he was not spared to hear its verdict. When the Malakoff and the Redan were unsuccessfully attacked on the 18th of June, 1855, his gallant spirit sank, yet without a whisper of complaint ; and he died on the 28th ; the noblest sacrifice to official incapacity the annals of the war produced.

§ 19. A gleam of hope shone through the darkness when Lord Palmerston succeeded Lord Aberdeen in the February of this year. The death of the Czar Nicholas in March was an additional ground of confidence in the restoration of peace ; but before the energetic Premier could apply himself to the rectification of the faults and oversights of his predecessors, an effort was made to negotiate, and a Conference was opened at Vienna, to which Lord John Russell went as representative of England. The parties were probably not yet sincere in their wish for terms, and Lord John returned from his feeble attempt at diplomacy to resume his more congenial

labours as a leader of parliamentary intrigues. The war that for a space had failed renewed its activity; and enormous efforts were made to strengthen the hands of the besiegers. A railway had already been laid down between the harbour and the lines; a profusion of food and comforts was poured into the Crimea; hospitals under the management of Miss Florence Nightingale, and other devoted ladies, were established in Constantinople and other places; fresh troops were daily landed from France; and as the Russians at the commencement of the siege had sunk their whole navy in the harbour, to bar the entrance to the united fleets, the ships of war were sent into the Sea of Azoff, and carried destruction to the Russian possessions on all the coasts of the Black Sea.

At length the preparations of all kinds were completed, and the 8th of September was selected for the final effort. The commander of the English was General Simpson; while Marshal Pelissier commanded the French. The assault on the Redan was entrusted to the English, for the purpose of diverting attention from the main attack, which was to be made by the French on the Malakoff. This had been found out, when too late, to be the key of the Russian defence. Of these two fortifications, the Redan was the more dangerous to assault. It was two hundred yards from the nearest parallel, and the assailants were exposed to a murderous fire while they traversed that space. It was strongly garrisoned, and could not be entered by surprise. The Malakoff was within a few feet of the French ditches, and the garrison was not on its guard. Nevertheless, Pelissier sent a body of ten thousand men to the assault after a furious cannonade; and with foolhardiness, or ignorance of the most presumptuous kind, a brigade of two thousand five hundred Englishmen was launched against a Russian force of double the amount ensconced within strong walls, with thousands of muskets and guns pointed to the level over which the besiegers had to

advance. They forced their way in spite of all these difficulties into the building, and defended themselves against the repeated attacks of the enemy with a courage equal to the soldiers of Inkerman. At last, however, overpowered but unsubdued, they withdrew from the fatal Redan, and saw the tricolor floating in triumph on the summit of the Malakoff. The town which had resisted so heroically was subdued at last by an accidental assault. The losses on both sides in this crowning operation were very slight. The garrison had been taken unawares. It had been so absorbed in the terrible scene going on at the Redan that it did not attend enough to its own affairs. French riflemen scrambled with the agility of famished tigers into the place, and the fate of Sebastopol was sealed. With this great effort the power of the Russians was exhausted. France also found it imperative to put an end to the sacrifices of men and money the contest constantly entailed. England alone, which had entered almost blindfold into the war, and had been shaken for a moment by the breakdown of her military system and the sufferings of her soldiers, was ready to go on. Her resources were untouched, her ancient warlike spirit had become universal and irresistible, and single-handed she was anxious to continue the contest.

§ 20. The pride of the Russians had obtained a counterpoise for their defeat in the Crimea by great successes in Asia. They had taken the city of Kars, defended by Turks and English, under the command of General Williams, and driven Omar Pacha, the Ottoman commander-in-chief, down to the sea coast. Successful, therefore, in the East, where the fame of these victories spread their reputation as still irresistible though assaulted by three of the European nations, they could afford to submit their proposals for peace to a congress which assembled in Paris. Austria, which throughout the quarrel had shown her usual selfishness and dishonesty, advocated the cause of the Czar, and the terms were

more favourable than the vanquished had any reason to expect. Affairs in Asia were restored to their former state. The Black Sea was interdicted to the ships of war of all nations, except a few light vessels of the Turks and Russians. The Danube was declared free, and for the satisfaction of our Baltic allies, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, the Aland Isles were to be kept unfortified by the Czar. Sardinia raised her voice in favour of the independence of Italy and the curtailment of Austrian domination in that peninsula. Privateering also was declared illegal during hostilities; and the goods of enemies, except contraband of war, were covered by the neutral flag. But the impatience of the late belligerents did not allow much discussion. The peace was hurriedly concluded, and the worn-out populations looked forward to a long period of prosperity and peace (30th March, 1856).

§ 21. In the more immediate interest of these European events, the foreign affairs of England commanded little attention. Yet incidents of far greater magnitude than the siege of Sebastopol were drawing to their final consummation both in China and Hindostan. A mighty opening for Christian civilization was made in those two dark regions, and we trust without presumption that war and tumult have been but the dreadful prelude to the spread of Gospel truth. With the Chinese our intercourse had been conducted on very unsatisfactory terms, as it was found impossible to keep that childishly civilized and intrinsically barbarous people to the terms of a treaty we had entered into with them in 1842. In fatal forgetfulness of the Oriental mind, which sees only weakness or cowardice in justice and moderation, we had allowed some of our rights to remain unexercised, and permitted language and behaviour on the part of the governors and mandarins which were studiously intended to humiliate and insult us. An act of open violence, in the seizure of a vessel under English protection in the river of Canton, brought affairs to a crisis on the 8th of October, 1856. The

Imperial Commissioner Yeh, one of the most bloodthirsty ruffians recorded in history, would offer neither apology nor reparation, and it was found necessary to send a special ambassador to arrange all matters in dispute, and offer a display of British power which should make a sufficient impression on the natives' fears. Lord Elgin was the statesman chosen to carry on the negotiation, and hurried across to Singapore to wait the arrival of the ships and troops with which his authority was to be supported. At Singapore he met General Ashburnham, who had left India to take the command of the Chinese expedition, and from him heard the first report of the mutiny of the Sepoys, and the appalling magnitude of our danger. With a courage and self-reliance which only great men display, Lord Elgin altered the destination of the troops. He diverted them from China to Hindostan, leaving the barbarians of the Flowery Land to a surer punishment at some future time, and took on himself the whole responsibility of the delay.

§ 22. The moral support was equal to the material. The gallant opposers of that ferocious mutiny felt that their country had not forgotten them; and from that time the tide was turned. Courage, self-sacrifice, the dash of headlong valour, and the nobler fortitude of refined and delicate women, were now certain of appreciation; and never was national pride so stimulated in the midst of national grief as by the heroic endurance and magnificent efforts of the outnumbered English in that darkest period of our annals. It is scarcely possible to speak yet without mingled tears and triumph of the sufferings and exploits of the victims and survivors of that unequalled crime. Disaffection had existed for a long time in the native armies. They had been spoiled by kindness which they did not understand, and had deceived their benefactors with pretended gratitude. On pretence of some fear that we intended to interfere with their religion, they broke out in mutiny and murder in several quarters at once,

slew their officers in cold blood, and formed themselves into combined armies of great force. The massacre of Cawnpore, where several hundred English were faithlessly destroyed by order of a villain called Nana Sahib, placed the quarrel on a basis on which no quarter could be given on either side. Till that innocent blood was avenged there could neither be honour nor safety to Europeans in Hindostan. But the mutineers were twenty to one in number. They had arms and treasure, military discipline learned in their masters' school, and the first advantages of a surprise. Yet great men rose as if by enchantment everywhere. Havelock carried victory before him wherever he went. Lord Canning, the Governor-General, showed energy and determination; the gallant Lawrences carried on a fraternal rivalry in heroism and skill. All the characteristics of the noblest of our race came forth magnified and embellished under the pressure of that great necessity. The garrison of Lucknow—consisting of few soldiers, indeed, but animated by the presence of ladies and maidens who looked to them with a spirit of trust and resignation worthy of the wives and sisters of the men who were already gathering for their rescue—fought on against their innumerable assailants, though they were uncheered with the knowledge that deliverance was at hand. The pent-up excitement of that beleaguered family found its relief in prayer. But even upon earth they boasted "great allies"—

"Their friends were exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind."

§ 23. The great capital of Agra was subjected to the same trials. A rebel army was outside the walls. Delhi was nominally besieged by the English; but little progress was made against enormous numbers, and two generals had already yielded to fatigue and anxiety; a military repulse was experienced at Dinapore, and Havelock was in retreat.

It was at this time that two gentlemen walking in the Garden Reach at Calcutta heard the rustle of sails on the river,

and saw the stately form of the *Shannon* rounding a point, and presenting a deck crowded with fighting men and broadsides filled with guns. They threw their hats in the air, and waved their arms, and one of them, of an eloquent turn of mind, evidently made an address to the good old ship which would have made her figurehead blush with modesty if she had only been within hearing; but the boom of her great sixty-eight pounders saluting the flag on Fort-William, and shattering the window-panes with the loudness of their thunders, filled the City of Palaces with delight; and all men felt that India was saved. The gallant Sir William Peel, worthy son of the great minister, was in command of the noble vessel. In a week he had organized the Naval Brigade, and was on his way to the seat of war. Sir Colin Campbell arrived on the scene of his future glories as commander-in-chief, and by a series of exploits unequalled in romance, and skilful combinations beyond the comprehension of the enemy, the dignity of the British name was restored. Punishment was meted out to the guilty, and as a conclusive sign that the long struggle was over between the real wielder of power and the nominal possessor of the authority of the Moguls, the King of Delhi was tried for mutiny and treason, and sentenced by an English court. Thus died out in infamy and weakness the greatest dynasty of Hindostan.

§ 24. Little more than a hundred years before, the British flag waved over a few factories on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. A trading firm, under the name of the East India Company, had obtained some privileges, and the promise of protection from the native chiefs. Rising in ambition as they increased in wealth, they interfered with the domestic policies of the royal houses, and gave the first sign of the military genius which was to spread its influence from sea to sea at Clive's great battle of Plassy in 1757. Other great men arose, and after succeeding in destroying the hostile influence of the French, and driving them from all their pos-

sessions, the field was clear for the exercise of all the virtues for which the Anglo-Saxon race has ever been celebrated. The consciousness of power, and the ennobling principle of self-reliance, made young lieutenants and peaceable civilians rise into law-givers and rulers of men. The Company grew, in spite of the common prejudices against mercantile pursuits as narrowing the heart and blunting the feelings of honour. There appeared men in the service of that Company who displayed Roman powers of government, and wider range of political views than any of the statesmen of Europe. From Clive to Wellington there arose a series of great commanders, and from Hastings to Canning a series of distinguished governors, such as the world had never seen. If unsucces attended some of their later measures, the result should not be allowed to interfere with the grandeur of the conception or the method of execution. We had reverses against which no human wisdom could provide ; a mutiny at Vellore in 1806, and the defeat and capture of an army, were atoned for by the triumphs that immediately ensued.

In 1839 Lord Auckland directed an expedition to Afghanistan, for a purpose which appeared to justify the expense and risk. It succeeded in the object it aimed at, and the northern gate of India seemed barred against Russian attack by the possession of Cabul. In the December of 1842 the disaster came. There was an old and valetudinarian general, an indiscreet envoy, and a discontented people. A rising took place, and retreat was resolved upon too late. The passes from that mountainous region into Hindostan were beset with enemies ; the season was intolerably severe. The French sufferings in the flight from Moscow were repeated on a smaller scale, but with more complete destruction. Twenty thousand men, women, and children, followers of the camp, perished along with nearly five thousand English soldiers, and every hearth in England was saddened by the news. Party feeling also ran high. Lord Auckland, a Whig, was

withdrawn ; and Lord Ellenborough, a Tory, was installed in Calcutta. With a love of display and fondness for admiration which exposed him to ridicule, the new Governor-General had qualities of the highest kind. He burned to recover our old renown, and warmed every one in India with the same desire. Nobly served by the heroic Nott and Pollock, the honour of our flag was retrieved by a succession of victories, and our standard was planted once more in the capital of the Afghans ; but with that retribution our efforts ceased. We evacuated the country, and contented ourselves with the level lands on the east of the Kyber Pass. Sir Charles Napier, after victories at Meeanè and Hyderabad, which recalled the marvels of Plassy and Assaye, attached the territory of Scinde to our dominion ; and till the outbreak of the mutiny already described, in 1857, there seemed neither enemy nor rival from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

§ 25. Authority so great, a region so extensive, and military forces on such an imperial scale, seemed no longer fitted for the nominal rule of the Indian Company. It was resolved to unite the name of power to the reality, which had in effect resided for a long time in the government at home. The traditions of the humble days of widening trade and increasing dividends remained with the board in Leadenhall-street, after the decision of higher matters was taken out of their hands. The forms of authority still remained ; and their seal was still attached to the commissions of the army, and the appointment of civil servants who were to rule over districts as large as kingdoms.

“ The old order changeth, giving place to new,
For God fulfils himself in many ways ; ”

and after a debate in Parliament, the great deed was consummated in the transference of all the remaining power of the Company to the imperial crown. The successors of the early “ Adventurers trading to the East,” disappeared from history at the same time with the successor of Akbar and

Aurungzebe ; and encouraging peaceful enterprise like the first, and governing a wider realm than owned the sway of those Eastern kings, Victoria assumed the sceptre over two hundred millions of additional subjects, and on the 2nd of August, 1858, became Empress of Hindostan.

LANDMARKS OF CHRONOLOGY.

•• The different administrations of this reign are given at the head of the present chapter (p. 788).

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| <p>A.D.
 1837. Accession of Queen Victoria. Crowned in Westminster Abbey, June 28, 1838
 1838. Entire abolition of slavery in the British colonies.
 — Insurrection in Canada.
 1839. Aden, in Arabia, taken by a British force.
 1840. Queen Victoria marries Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg Gotha.
 — War between Great Britain and China.
 1841. Union of Upper and Lower Canada.
 1842. Advantageous treaty of peace with China, after the British had captured several of the Chinese ports.
 1843. Opening of the Thames Tunnel.
 — Disruption of the Church of Scotland.
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